



Prima pars.

Here begynneth the Segge of Thebes ful
laureably tolde by Iohn Lydgate Monke of
Seynt Anuevynge it to be callid of Caedmon

his quod I. sch of yome Cutesye
I outede am in to yome Courpenye
and admyted a tale for to cele
by hym that hath power to compele
I mene our hoste governere and gyde

Of yome ekeone rydunge here bysye
thogh my wit bareyne be and dulle
I wolde reherce a story wonderfulle
Toucheinge the segge and defensoun
Of worthy Thebes the myghty royale Toun
Bilk and bygonne of olde tynagite
Upon the tyme of worthy Josue
by diligence of hyge Aluphion
Cheeff cause first of this foundacyon

ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPT

From an early sixteenth-century manuscript now in the possession of the British Museum. The shrine of Thomas Becket, archbishop of Canterbury, was a celebrated resort for medieval pilgrims. The city with its cathedral appears in the background.

MEDIEVAL AND MODERN HISTORY

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"For the roots of the present lie deep in
the past, and nothing in the past is dead
to the man who would learn how the pre-
sent comes to be what it is." WILLIAM
STUBBS, *Constitutional History of England*

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PREFACE

THIS book, as the title indicates, covers both the Middle Ages and modern times. The entire work has been written since the outbreak of the World War, and its probable consequences have been kept constantly in mind. The author of a textbook dealing with European history ought to make plain the remoter causes, as well as the immediate antecedents, of a struggle epochal in the life of humanity. How far I have succeeded in doing so must be left to the reader's judgment.

Teachers will find abundant bibliographical material in the "Suggestions for Further Study." Nearly all the historical works there cited are well adapted to the needs of pupils in secondary schools. The "Studies" following each chapter are based directly on the text; they may be used either in the daily recitation or for review after the entire chapter has been read. The "Table of Events and Dates," forming the appendix, should be consulted frequently, and some of the more important dates should be committed to memory. Care should also be taken that pupils acquire a correct pronunciation of all proper names mentioned in the text and incorporated in the index and pronouncing vocabulary.

The best collateral reading in connection with a textbook consists of sources. To provide them in convenient form the author has prepared *Readings in Medieval and Modern History* and has inserted in footnotes references to this work. As stated in the preface, "Each chapter deals with a single epoch or personality and presents the work of a single author, thus avoiding the scrappy effect necessarily produced by a set of short, unrelated extracts. Since most of the selections are good literature as well as good history, I hope that students will be tempted to turn to the original sources from which excerpts

have been taken, and to read in them at length for their own enjoyment." References have also been made to the author's *Historical Source Book*, which includes thirty-three documents ranging from Magna Carta to the Covenant of the League of Nations.

The text of the entire work has been carefully revised for this new edition, and opportunity has also been taken to insert additional maps, plates, and illustrations.

HUTTON WEBSTER

LINCOLN, NEBRASKA

May, 1925

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SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

Students of history should have access to the *American Historical Review* (N.Y., 1895 to date, quarterly, \$4.00 a year). This journal, the organ of the American Historical Association, contains articles by scholars, critical reviews of all important works, and notes and news. The *Historical Outlook* is edited in coöperation with committees of the American Historical Association and the National Council for the Social Studies (Philadelphia, 1909 to date, monthly, \$2.00 a year). Every well-equipped school library should contain the files of the *National Geographic Magazine* (Washington, 1890 to date, monthly, \$3.00 a year) and of *Art and Archaeology* (Washington, 1914 to date, monthly \$5.00 a year). These two periodicals make a special feature of illustrations. *Current History* (N.Y., 1914 to date, monthly, \$3.00 a year) contains much matter of contemporary interest.

Useful books for the teacher's library include H. E. Bourne, *The Teaching of History and Civics in the Elementary and the Secondary School* (N.Y., 1902, Longmans, Green & Co., \$1.90), Henry Johnson, *The Teaching of History* (N.Y., 1915, Macmillan, \$1.40), R. M. Tryon, *The Teaching of History in Junior and Senior High Schools* (Boston, 1921, Ginn & Co., \$1.48), H. B. George, *Historical Evidence* (N.Y., 1909, Oxford University Press, American Branch, \$1.80), J. H. Vincent, *Historical Research* (N.Y., 1911, out of print), Frederic Harrison, *The Meaning of History and Other Historical Pieces* (new ed., N.Y., 1900, Macmillan, \$2.00), J. H. Robinson, *The New History* (N.Y., 1912, Macmillan, \$2.00), and H. B. George, *The Relations of History and Geography* (new ed., N.Y., 1910, Oxford University Press, American Branch, \$2.25). The following reports are indispensable:

- Historical Sources in Schools.* Report to the New England History Teachers' Association by a Select Committee (N.Y., 1902, out of print).
- A History Syllabus for Secondary Schools.* Report by a Special Committee of the New England History Teachers' Association (N.Y., 1904, Heath, \$1.60).
- A Bibliography of History for Schools and Libraries.* Published under the auspices of the Association of History Teachers of the Middle States and Maryland (2d ed., N.Y., 1915, Longmans, Green & Co., 60 cents).

For chronology, genealogies, lists of sovereigns, and other data the most valuable works are Arthur Hassall, *European History, 476-1920* (new ed., N.Y., 1920, Macmillan, \$4.00), G. P. Putnam, *Tabular Views of Universal History* (new ed., N.Y., 1915, Putnam, \$3.00), and K. J. Ploetz, *A Handbook of Universal History*, translated by W. H. Tillinghast (new ed., Boston, 1915, Houghton Mifflin Co., \$3.75).

Dictionaries
and encyclo-
pedias

The following syllabi and bibliographies have been prepared for collegiate instruction :

Syllabi and
bibliographies

BEAZLEY, C. R. *A Notebook of Medieval History, 323-1453* (N.Y., 1917, Oxford University Press, American Branch, \$1.35).

EARLE, E. M. *An Outline of Modern History* (new ed., N.Y., 1925, Macmillan, \$1.60). Contains valuable map studies.

LEES, BEATRICE A. *Bibliography of Medieval History* (London, 1917, Historical Association, 2s.). A classified and annotated list of references, covering the period 400-1500.

MUNRO, D. C., and SELLERY, G. C. *A Syllabus of Medieval History, 395-1500* (N.Y., 1913, Longmans, Green & Co., \$1.00).

PAETOW, L. J. *Guide to the Study of Medieval History* (Berkeley, Cal., 1918, Univ. of California Series, \$2.00). Elaborate bibliographies and topical outlines.

THOMPSON, J. W. *Reference Studies in Medieval History* (University of Chicago Press, 3 vols., each \$1.00).

An admirable collection of maps for school use is W. R. Shepherd, *Historical Atlas* (new ed., N.Y., 1923, Holt, \$3.90), with about two hundred and fifty maps covering the historical field.

Atlases

Other valuable works are E. W. Dow, *Atlas of European History* (N.Y., 1907, Holt, \$2.50), Ramsay Muir, *Hammond's New Historical Atlas for Students* (new ed., N.Y., 1914, Hammond, \$4.00), and C. G. Robertson and J. G. Bartholomew, *An Historical Atlas of Modern Europe from 1789 to 1914* (N.Y., 1915, Oxford University Press, American Branch, \$2.50). Much use can be made of the inexpensive and handy *Literary and Historical Atlas of Europe* by J. G. Bartholomew in "Everyman's Library" (N.Y., 1910, Dutton, \$1.00).

Wall maps
and charts

Other atlases in "Everyman's Library" are devoted to Asia, Africa and Australasia, and America, respectively.

The Webster-Knowlton-Hazen *European History Maps*, prepared by Hutton Webster, D. C. Knowlton, and C. D. Hazen, include eighteen maps for ancient history and twenty-six for medieval and modern history (Chicago, A. J. Nystrom & Co., complete set in chart form with tripod, \$87.50). These maps may also be had separately. The maps in this series are on a very large scale ($48\frac{3}{4} \times 38\frac{1}{4}$ inches), omit all irrelevant detail, present place names in the modern English

form, and deal with cultural as well as political subjects. They are accompanied by a Teacher's Manual for each of the two sections. A somewhat similar series of wall maps, forty-three in number, size 44 X 32 inches, has been prepared by J. H. Breasted, C. H. Huth, and S. B. Harding (Chicago, Denoyer-Geppert Co.). Schools should also possess good physical wall maps and blackboard outline maps.

The "Studies" following each chapter of this book include various exercises for which small outline maps are required. Such maps are sold by D. C. Heath & Co., Boston, New York, Chicago. Useful atlases of outline maps are also to be had of the McKinley Publishing Co., Philadelphia, A. J. Nystrom & Co., Chicago, and of other publishers.

The best photographs of medieval and modern works of art must usually be obtained from the foreign publishers in Naples, Florence, Rome, Munich, Paris, Athens, and London, or from their American agents. In addition to photographs and lantern slides, a collection of stereoscopic views is very helpful in giving vividness and interest to instruction in history. The Keystone stereographs, prepared by the Keystone View Company, Meadville, Penn., are cordially recommended. Notable collections include Lehmann's *Geographical Pictures*, *Historical Pictures*, and *Types of Nations*, and Cybulski's *Historical Pictures* (Chicago, A. J. Nystrom & Co., and Denoyer-Geppert Co.); each picture separately mounted on rollers.

To vitalize the study of geography and history there is nothing better than the reading of modern books of travel. In addition to the volumes mentioned below, the school library should contain Hammerton's *Wonders of the Past* (Putnam, 4 vols.) and Johnston and Guest's *The World of To-day* (Putnam, 4 vols.). These two series are written in a popular style, are accurate, and are very well illustrated.

DWIGHT, H. G. *Constantinople, Old and New.*

FORMAN, H. J. *The Ideal Italian Tour.*

HAY, JOHN. *Castilian Days.*

JACKSON, A. V. W. *Persia, Past and Present.*

KINGLAKE, A. W. *Eothen.*

LUCAS, E. V. *A Wanderer in London.*

————— *A Wanderer in Paris.*

————— *A Wanderer in Florence.*

TAYLOR, BAYARD. *Views A-Foot.*

WARNER, C. D. *In the Levant.*

WINTER, WILLIAM. *Shakespeare's England.*

————— *Gray Days and Gold in England and Scotland.*

The following works of historical fiction comprise only a selection from a very large number of books suitable for supplementary reading. For extended bibliographies see E. A. Baker, *A Guide to Historical Fiction*, and Jonathan Nield, *A Guide to the Best Historical Novels and Tales*. An excellent list of historical stories, especially designed for children, will be found in the *Bibliography of History for Schools and Libraries*, parts viii-ix.

BLACKMORE, R. D. *Lorna Doone*. Monmouth's Rebellion, 1685.

COOPER, J. F. *The Last of the Mohicans*. The French and Indian War, 1754-1763.

DICKENS, CHARLES. *Barnaby Rudge*. Gordon riots in London, 1780.

——— *The Tale of Two Cities*. London and Paris at the time of the French Revolution.

DOYLE, (Sir) A. C. *The White Company*. The English in France and Castile, 1366-1367.

DUMAS, ALEXANDER. *The Three Musketeers*. Time of Richelieu.

——— *Twenty Years After*. Time of Mazarin.

ELIOT, GEORGE. *Romola*. Florence in the latter part of the fifteenth century.

ERCKMANN, ÉMILE, and CHATRIAN, ALEXANDER. *The Conscript and Waterloo*.

HAWTHORNE, NATHANIEL. *The Scarlet Letter*. Massachusetts in the seventeenth century.

HUGO, VICTOR. *Notre-Dame de Paris*. Paris, late fifteenth century.

——— *Ninety-Three*. Insurrection in La Vendée, 1793.

IRVING, WASHINGTON. *The Alhambra*. Sketches of the Moors and Spaniards.

KINGSLEY, CHARLES. *Westward Ho!* Voyages of Elizabethan seamen and the struggle with Spain.

LEVER, CHARLES. *Charles O'Malley*. The Peninsular War.

——— *Tom Bourke of "Ours"*. French wars of the Consulate and Empire.

MANZONI, ALESSANDRO. *The Betrothed*. Milan under Spanish rule, 1628-1630.

READE, CHARLES. *The Cloister and the Hearth*. Eve of the Reformation.

SCOTT, (Sir) WALTER. *The Talisman*. Reign of Richard I, 1193.

——— *Ivanhoe*. Richard I, 1194.

——— *Old Mortality*. Scottish Covenanters, 1679.

SHORTHOUSE, J. H. *John Inglesant*. Life in England and Italy during the seventeenth century.

SIENKIEWICZ, HENRYK. *With Fire and Sword*. Poland in the seventeenth century.

STEEL, (Mrs.) F. A. *On the Face of the Waters*. Indian Mutiny, 1857.

STEVENSON, R. L. *The Black Arrow*. War of the Roses.

THACKERAY, W. M. *Henry Esmond*. England during the reigns of William III and Queen Anne.

——— *The Virginians*. England and colonial Virginia in the eighteenth century.

TOLSTOY, (Count) L. N. *War and Peace*. Napoleon's campaigns in Russia.
Sevastopol. Crimean War.

It is unnecessary to emphasize the value, as collateral reading, of historical poems and plays. To the brief list which follows should be added the material in M. E. Windsor and J. Turrill, *Lyra Historica* (Oxford University Press) and Katharine Lee Bates and Katharine Coman, *English History told by English Poets* (Macmillan). Historical
poetry

BROWNING, ELIZABETH B. *The Cry of the Children* and *The Forced Recruit*.

BROWNING, ROBERT. *Hervé Riel* and *An Incident of the French Camp*.

BURNS, ROBERT. *The Battle of Bannockburn*.

BYRON, (Lord). "The Eve of Waterloo" (*Childe Harold*, canto iii, stanzas 21-28) and *Ode to Napoleon Buonaparte*.

CAMPBELL, THOMAS. *Hohenlinden*, *The Battle of the Baltic*, *Rule Britannia*, and *Ye Mariners of England*.

COWPER, WILLIAM. *Loss of the "Royal George."*

HALLECK, FITZ-GREENE, *Marco Bozzaris*.

HEMANS, FELICIA. *The Landing of the Pilgrims*.

KIPLING, RUDYARD. *Recessional* and *The White Man's Burden*.

LONGFELLOW, H. W. "The Saga of King Olaf" (*Tales of a Wayside Inn*), *The Skeleton in Armor*, *The Norman Baron*, *The Belfry of Bruges* and *Nuremberg*.

LOWELL, J. R. *Villafranca*.

MACAULAY, T. B. *The Armada*, *The Battle of Ivry*, and *The Battle of Naseby*.

MILLER, JOAQUIN. *Columbus*.

MILTON, JOHN. *To the Lord General Cromwell*.

ROSSETTI, D. G. *The White Ship*.

SCHILLER, FRIEDRICH. *The Maid of Orleans*, *William Tell*, *Maria Stuart*, and *Wallenstein*.

SCOTT, (Sir) WALTER. "Flodden Field" (*Marmion*, canto vi, stanzas 19-27, 33-35).

SHAKESPEARE, WILLIAM. *King John*, *Richard the Second*, *Henry the Fourth*, parts i and ii, *Henry the Fifth*, *Henry the Sixth*, parts i, ii, and iii, *Richard the Third*, *Henry the Eighth*, and *The Merchant of Venice*.

SOUTHEY, ROBERT. *After Blenheim*.

TAYLOR, BAYARD. *The Song in Camp*.

TENNYSON, ALFRED. *Boadicea*, *St. Telemachus*, *St. Simeon Stylites*, *Sir Galahad*, "The Revenge": *A Ballad of the Fleet*, *Ode on the Death of the Duke of Wellington*, *The Charge of the Light Brigade*, and *The Defense of Lucknow*.

THACKERAY, M. W. *King Canute*.

WOLFE, CHARLES. *The Burial of Sir John Moore*.

Full information regarding the best translations of the sources of medieval and modern history is to be found in one of the Reports
 Sources previously cited — *Historical Sources in Schools*, parts
 ii-iv. Hutton Webster's *Readings in Medieval and
 Modern History* (Heath, \$1.64) provides narrative and biographical

selections from the sources, while the same editor's *Historical Source Book* furnishes the text of important documents with introductions and notes. Use may also be made of the following collections:

- OGG, F. A. *A Source Book of Medieval History* (N.Y., 1907, American Book Co., \$1.72).
 ROBINSON, J. H. *Readings in European History* (Abridged ed., Boston, 1906, Ginn, \$2.00).
 THATCHER, O. J., and McNEAL, E. H. *A Source Book for Medieval History* (N.Y., 1905, Scribner, \$2.50).
Translations and Reprints from the Original Sources of European History (N.Y., 1894-1899, Longmans, Green & Co., 6 vols., each \$2.00).

Most of the books in the following list are inexpensive, easily procured, and well adapted in style and choice of topics to the needs of high-school pupils. Some more advanced and costly works are indicated by an asterisk (*). For detailed **Modern works** bibliographies, often accompanied by critical estimates, see C. K. Adams, *A Manual of Historical Literature*, and the *Bibliography of History for Schools and Libraries*, parts iv-v.

GENERAL WORKS

- * ABBOTT, W. C. *The Expansion of Europe, 1415-1789* (N.Y., 1918, Holt, 2 vols. in one, \$5.00). Emphasizes cultural aspects of modern European history.
 * BEARD, C. A. *Introduction to the English Historians* (N.Y., 1906, Macmillan, \$3.50). A book of selected readings.
 * CUNNINGHAM, WILLIAM. *An Essay on Western Civilization in its Economic Aspects (Medieval and Modern Times)* (N.Y., 1901, Putnam, \$1.35). "Cambridge Historical Series."
 DAVIS, W. S. *A Short History of the Near East* (N.Y., 1922, Macmillan, \$2.50).
 DAY, CLIVE. *A History of Commerce* (new ed., N.Y., 1923, Longmans, Green & Co., \$2.50). The most scholarly treatment in English.
 GOODYEAR, W. H. *Roman and Medieval Art* (new ed., N.Y., 1897, Macmillan, \$2.00).
 ———. *Renaissance and Modern Art* (N.Y., 1894, Macmillan, \$2.00).
 * GREEN, J. R. *Short History of the English People*, edited by Mrs. J. R. Green and Miss Kate Norgate (London, 1893-1895, Macmillan, 4 vols., £4, 4s.). A beautifully illustrated edition of this standard work.
 * HAYES, C. J. H. *A Political and Social History of Modern Europe* (N.Y., 1916, Macmillan, 2 vols., \$7.25). A college textbook covering the period 1500-1915; provided with full bibliographies.
 JACOBS, JOSEPH. *The Story of Geographical Discovery* (N.Y., 1898, Appleton, \$1.00).
 LIBBY, WALTER. *An Introduction to the History of Science* (Boston, 1917, Houghton Mifflin Co., \$2.35). Fascinating reading.

- MARVIN, F. S. *The Living Past* (new ed., N.Y., 1915, Oxford University Press, American Branch, \$2.00). Suggestive survey of intellectual history.
- PATTISON, R. P. D. *Leading Figures in European History* (N.Y., 1912, Macmillan, \$2.00). Biographical sketches of European statesmen from Charlemagne to Bismarck.
- REINACH, SALOMON. *Apollo; an Illustrated Manual of the History of Art throughout the Ages*, translated by Florence Simmonds (new ed., N.Y., 1914, Scribner, \$2.00). The best brief work on the subject.
- SEIGNOBOS, CHARLES. *History of Medieval and Modern Civilization*, edited by J. A. James (N.Y., 1907, Scribner, \$1.48).
- *History of Contemporary Civilization*, edited by J. A. James (N.Y., 1909, Scribner, \$1.48).
- TURNER, E. R. *Europe, 1450-1789* (N.Y., 1923, Doubleday, Page & Co., \$3.50).
- WEBSTER, HUTTON. *History of the Far East* (N.Y., 1923, Heath, \$1.40).
- *History of Latin America* (N.Y., 1924, Heath, \$1.64).

THE MIDDLE AGES

- * ADAMS, G. B. *Civilization during the Middle Ages* (new ed., N.Y., 1914, Scribner, \$2.75).
- ARCHER, T. A., and KINGSFORD, C. L. *The Crusades* (N.Y., 1894, Putnam, \$2.50). "Story of the Nations."
- BATESON, MARY. *Medieval England* (N.Y., 1903, Putnam, \$2.50). Deals with social and economic life; "Story of the Nations."
- * BRYCE, JAMES. *The Holy Roman Empire* (new ed., N.Y., 1904, Macmillan, \$3.75). A famous work, originally published in 1864.
- CHURCH, R. W. *The Beginning of the Middle Ages* (N.Y., 1877, Scribner, \$2.00). "Epochs of Modern History."
- CUTTS, E. L. *Scenes and Characters of the Middle Ages* (London, 1872, De La More Press, 7s. 6d.).
- DAVIS, H. W. C. *Medieval Europe* (N.Y., 1911, Holt, 90 cents). "Home University Library."
- *Charlemagne, the Hero of Two Nations* (N.Y., 1899, Putnam, \$2.50). "Heroes of the Nations."
- EMERTON, EPHRAIM. *An Introduction to the Study of the Middle Ages* (Boston, 1888, Ginn, \$1.92).
- FOORD, EDWARD. *The Byzantine Empire* (N.Y., 1911, out of print). The most convenient short treatise; lavishly illustrated.
- * GIBBON, EDWARD. *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, edited by J. B. Bury (N.Y., 1914, Macmillan, 7 vols.). The best edition, illustrated and provided with maps, of this standard work.
- GUERBER, H. A. *Legends of the Middle Ages* (N.Y., 1896, American Book Co., \$2.00).
- HASKINS, C. H. *The Normans in European History* (Boston, 1915, Houghton Mifflin Co., \$2.00).
- * HEARNshaw, F. J. C. (editor). *Medieval Contributions to Modern Civilization* (London, 1921, Harrap, 10s. 6d.).

- * LUCHAIRE, ACHILLE. *Social France of the Time of Philip Augustus*, translated by E. B. Krehbiel (London, 1912, Murray, 10s. 6d.). A historical masterpiece.
- * MUNRO, D. C. *The Middle Ages* (N.Y., 1921, Century Co., \$3.50).
- * MUNRO, D. C., and SELLERY, G. C. *Medieval Civilization* (new ed., N.Y., 1907, Century Co., \$2.50). Translated selections from standard works by French and German scholars.
- TAPPAN, EVA M. *When Knights were Bold* (Boston, 1911, Houghton Mifflin Co., \$3.00). An economic and social study of the Feudal Age; charmingly written for young people.
- * THORNDIKE, LYNN. *The History of Medieval Europe* (Boston, 1917, Houghton Mifflin Co., \$3.50). A college textbook.

TRANSITION TO MODERN TIMES

- BOURNE, E. G. *Spain in America, 1450-1580* (N.Y., 1904, Harper, \$2.25). "American Nation Series."
- CHEYNEY, E. P. *European Background of American History, 1300-1600* (N.Y., 1904, Harper, \$2.25). "American Nation Series."
- CREIGHTON, MANDELL. *The Age of Elizabeth* (new ed., N.Y., 1897, Scribner, \$1.75). "Epochs of Modern History."
- GARDINER, S. R. *The Thirty Years' War* (N.Y., 1874, Scribner, \$1.75). "Epochs of Modern History."
- HUDSON, W. H. *The Story of the Renaissance* (N.Y., 1912, Holt, \$2.50). A well-written volume.
- * HULME, E. M. *The Renaissance, the Protestant Revolution, and the Catholic Reformation in Continental Europe* (new ed., N.Y., 1915, Century Co., \$3.50). The best work on the subject by an American scholar.
- SEEBOM, FREDERIC. *The Era of the Protestant Revolution* (N.Y., 1875, Scribner, \$2.00). "Epochs of Modern History."
- * SMITH, PRESERVED. *The Age of the Reformation* (N.Y., 1920, Holt, \$5.00). "American Historical Series."

THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

- FIRTH, C. H. *Oliver Cromwell and the Rule of the Puritans in England* (N.Y., 1900, Putnam, \$2.50). "Heroes of the Nations."
- * HASSALL, ARTHUR. *The Balance of Power, 1715-1789* (N.Y., 1896, Macmillan, \$2.90). "Periods of European History."
- . *Louis XIV and the Zenith of the French Monarchy* (N.Y., 1895, Putnam, \$2.50). "Heroes of the Nations."
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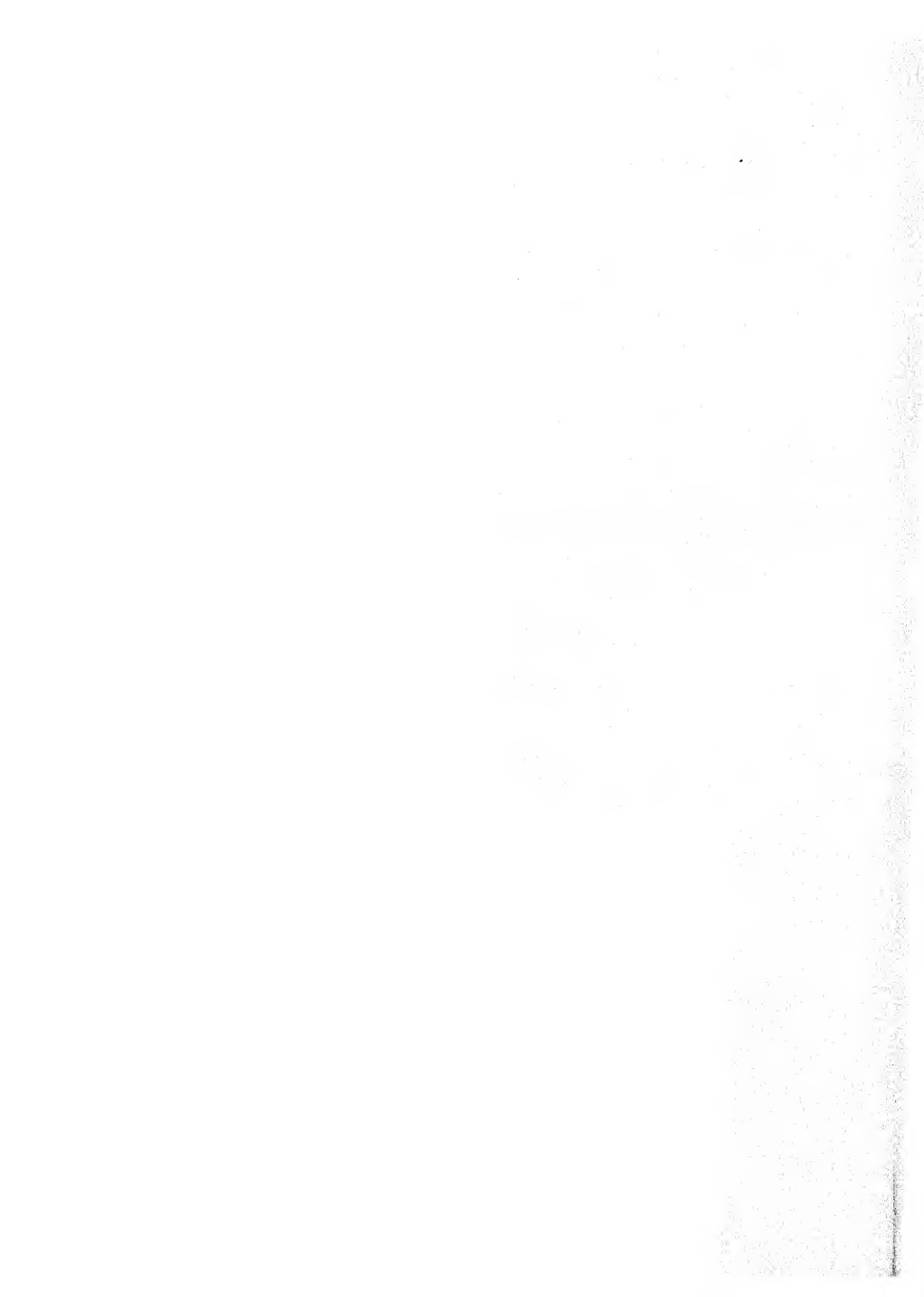
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MEDIEVAL AND MODERN HISTORY

CHAPTER I

WESTERN EUROPE DURING THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES, 476-962¹

1. Western Europe

THE geographical boundary between western and eastern Europe may for practical purposes be taken as a line drawn northward from the Adriatic through the Baltic Sea and the Gulf of Bothnia to the North Cape. That part of the continent west of this line has had a unified civilization. Many of the countries of western Europe once formed provinces of the Roman Empire; all of them during the Middle Ages came under the dominion of the Roman Papacy; and even in modern times they possess a certain community of interests and ideals which separates them sharply from the countries of eastern Europe.

Unity of
western
Europe

But the civilization of western Europe has not been confined within the narrow limits of the Continent. During the last four centuries it has expanded over America, Australia, the islands of the Pacific, and vast areas of Asia and Africa. Western Europeans have introduced into these remote regions their languages, government, customs, religion, even their literature and art, until to-day the greater part of the world has become subject to European influence.

Expansion
of western
Europe

The civilization of western Europe is traceable to four principal origins, namely, Greece, Rome, Christianity, and the Teutonic peoples. To Greece Europe owes the characteristic qualities of its intellectual life.

Origins of
western
Europe

¹ Webster, *Readings in Medieval and Modern History*, chapter i, "Stories of the Lombard Kings"; chapter ii, "Charlemagne."

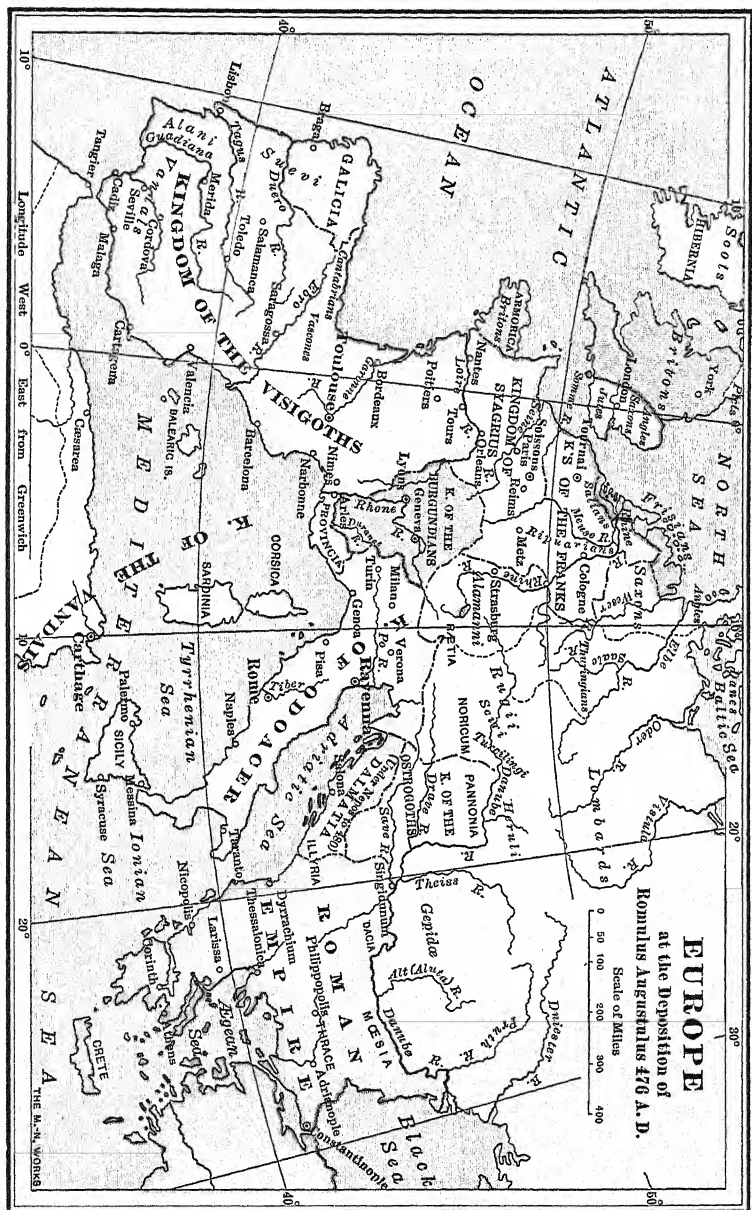
2 Western Europe During the Early Middle Ages

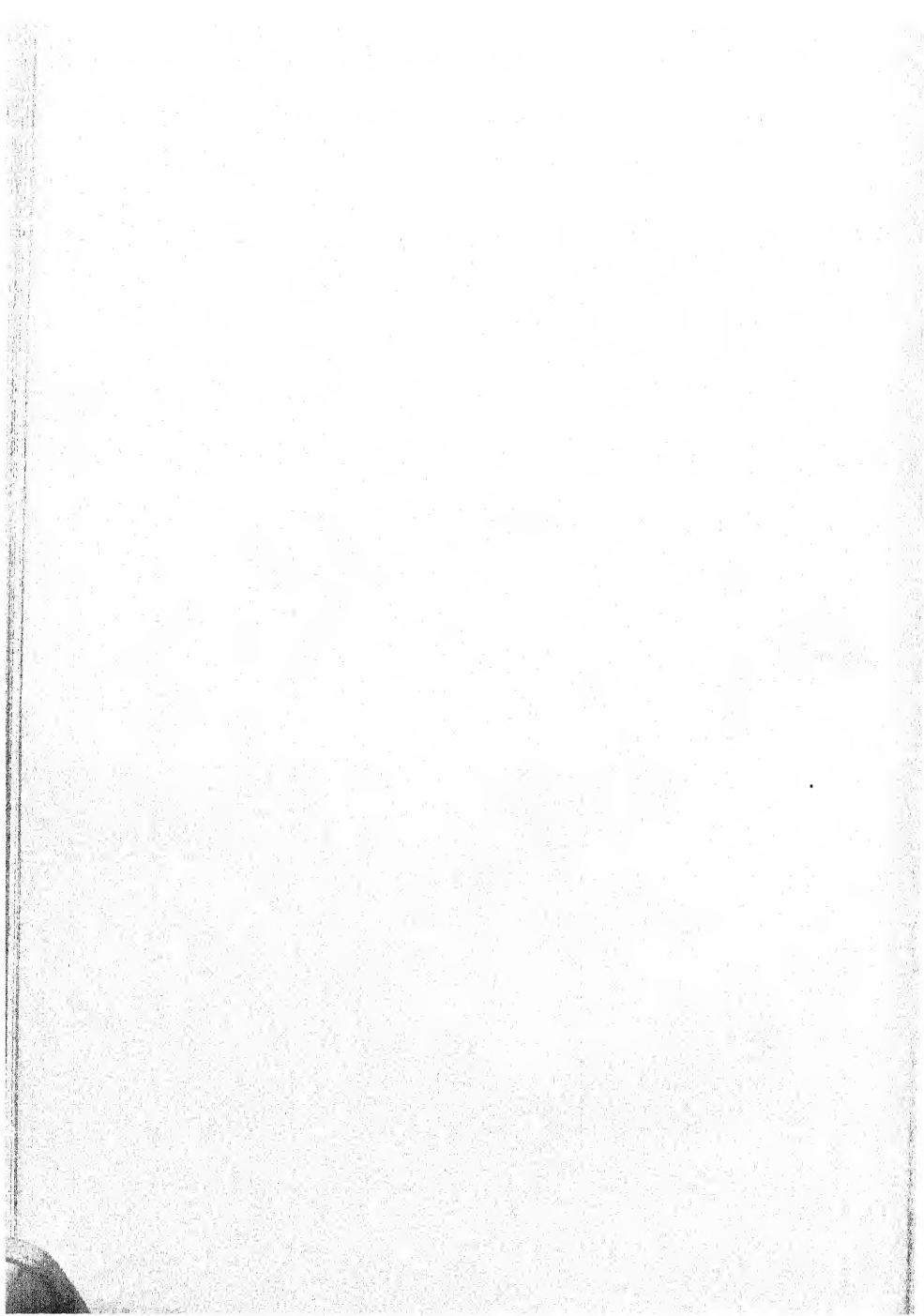
From Rome it derives its conceptions of law and politics. The Christian Church gave to Europe religious unity. The invasions of the Germans broke up the Roman Empire and led to the foundation of what became the separate European nations.

We are not to suppose that the inroads of the Germans ended with the dissolution of the Roman Empire in the West (476).

Transition to the Middle Ages Odoacer, who in that year deposed the puppet-emperor, Romulus Augustulus, was himself followed by other German leaders. Their efforts to carve out kingdoms for themselves in western Europe introduced a long period of disorder and confusion. The study of these troubled times leads us from the classical to the medieval world, from the history of antiquity to the history of the Middle Ages.

Limits of the Middle Ages The period called the Middle Ages is not well defined either as to its beginning or its close. For an initial date we may select the year 476, when western Europe was almost wholly occupied by the Germans. Roman emperors still reigned in the East, but in the West barbarian kings divided between them the heritage of the Cæsars. The extinction of the line of western emperors does indicate, in a somewhat striking way, the close of ancient times. For concluding dates we may select those of the invention of printing (about 1450), the capture of Constantinople by the Ottoman Turks (1453), the discovery of America (1492), and the opening up of a new sea-route to the East Indies (1498). Such significant events, all falling within the second half of the fifteenth century, seem to mark the conclusion of medieval, and the beginning of modern, times. The student will understand, however, that it is really impossible to separate by precise dates one historic period from another. The change from antiquity to the Middle Ages and, again, from the medieval to the modern world, was in each case a gradual process extending over several centuries. The truth is that the social life of man forms a continuous growth, and man's history, an uninterrupted stream.

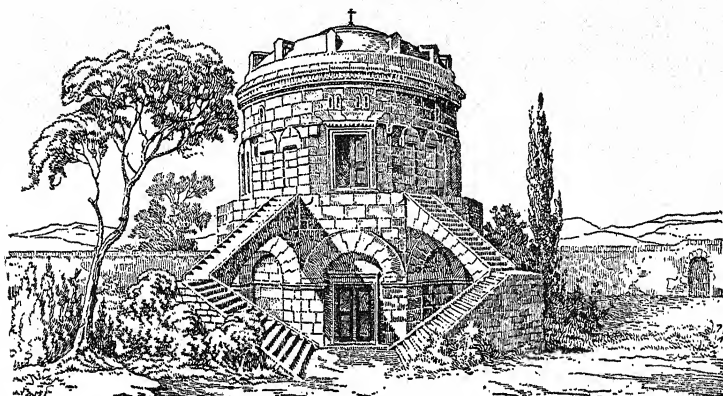




2. The Ostrogoths in Italy, 488-553

The kingdom which Odoacer established on Italian soil did not long endure. It was soon overthrown by the Ostrogoths. At the time of the "fall" of Rome in 476 they occupied a district south of the middle Danube, which the government at Constantinople had hired them to defend. The Ostrogoths proved to be expensive and dangerous allies. When, therefore, their chieftain,

The Ostrogoths under Theodoric



TOMB OF THEODORIC AT RAVENNA

A two-storied marble building erected by Theodoric in imitation of a Roman tomb. The roof is a single block of marble, 33 feet in diameter and weighing more than 300 tons. Theodoric's body was subsequently removed from its resting place, and the mausoleum was converted into a church.

Theodoric, offered to lead his people into Italy and against Odoacer, the Roman emperor gladly sanctioned the undertaking.

Theodoric led the Ostrogoths — women and children as well as warriors — across the Alps and came down to meet Odoacer and his soldiers in battle. After suffering several defeats, Odoacer shut himself up in the strong fortress of Ravenna. Theodoric could not capture the place and at last agreed to share with Odoacer the government of Italy, if the latter would surrender. The agreement was never carried into effect. When Theodoric

Ostrogothic
invasion of
Italy, 488-
493

4 Western Europe During the Early Middle Ages

entered Ravenna, he invited Odoacer to a banquet and at its conclusion slew him in cold blood. Theodoric had now no rival in Italy.

Though Theodoric gained the throne by violence and treachery, he soon showed himself to be, as a ruler, wise, broad-minded, and humane. He had lived as a youth in the imperial court at Constantinople, and there had become well acquainted with Roman ideas of law and order. Roman civilization impressed him; and he wished not to destroy but to preserve it. Theodoric reigned in Italy for thirty-three years, and during this time the country enjoyed unbroken peace and prosperity.

The enlightened policy of Theodoric was exhibited in many ways. He governed Ostrogoths and Romans with equal consideration. He kept all the old offices, such as the senatorship and the consulate, and by preference filled them with men of Roman birth. His chief counselors were Romans. A legal code, which he drew up for the use of Ostrogoths and Romans alike, contained only selections from Roman law. He was remarkably tolerant and, in spite of the fact that the Ostrogoths were Arians, was always ready to extend protection to Catholic Christians. Theodoric patronized literature and gave high positions to Roman writers. He restored the cities of Italy, had the roads and aqueducts repaired, and so improved the condition of agriculture that Italy, from a wheat-importing, became a wheat-exporting country. At Ravenna, the Ostrogothic capital, Theodoric erected many notable buildings, including a palace, a mausoleum, and several churches. The remains of these structures are still to be seen.

The influence of Theodoric reached far beyond Italy. He allied himself by marriage with most of the German rulers of the West. His second wife was a Frankish princess, his sister was the wife of a Vandal chieftain, one of his daughters married a king of the Visigoths, and another daughter wedded a Burgundian king. Theodoric by these alliances brought about friendly relations

Theodoric,
king of Italy,
493-526

Theodoric's
rule in Italy

Theodoric's
foreign
policy



EUROPE IN THE SIXTH CENTURY

6 Western Europe During the Early Middle Ages

between the various barbarian peoples. It seemed, in fact, as if the Roman dominions in the West might again be united under a single ruler; as if the Ostrogoths might be the German people to carry on the civilizing work of Rome. But no such good fortune was in store for Europe.

Theodoric died in 526. The next year a great emperor, Justinian, came to the throne at Constantinople. Justinian had no intention of abandoning to the Germans the rich provinces of Sicily and Italy. Although the Ostrogoths made a stubborn resistance to his armies, in the end they were so completely overcome that they agreed to abandon the Italian peninsula. The feeble remnant of their nation withdrew northward through the passes of the Alps and, mingling with other barbarian tribes, disappeared from history.

End of the
Ostrogothic
kingdom, 553

3. The Lombards in Italy, 568-774

The destruction of the Ostrogothic kingdom did not free Italy of the Germans. Soon after Justinian's death the country was again overrun, this time by the Lombards. The name of these invaders (in Latin, *Langobardi*) may have been derived from the long beards that gave them such a ferocious aspect. The Lombards seized the territory north of the river Po — a region ever since known as Lombardy — and established their capital at Pavia. They afterwards made many settlements in central and southern Italy, but never succeeded in subduing the entire peninsula.

Invasion of
Italy by the
Lombards

The rule of the Lombards at first bore hard on Italy, which they treated as a conquered land. In character they seem to have been far less attractive than their predecessors, the Visigoths and Ostrogoths. Many of them were still heathen when they entered Italy, and others were converts to the Arian form of Christianity. In course of time, however, the Lombards accepted Catholicism and adopted the customs of their subjects. They even forgot their German language and learned to speak Latin. The Lombard

Lombard
rule in Italy

kingdom lasted more than two centuries, until it was overthrown by the Franks.¹

The failure of the Lombards to conquer all Italy had important results in later history. Sicily and the extreme southern part of the Italian peninsula, besides large districts containing the cities of Naples, Rome, Genoa, Venice, and Ravenna, continued to belong to the Roman Empire in the East. The rulers at Constanti-

Results of the Lombard invasion



LOMBARD POSSESSIONS IN ITALY ABOUT 600 A.D.

nople could not exercise effective control over their Italian possessions, now that these were separated from one another by the Lombard territories. The consequence was that Italy broke up into a number of small and practically independent states, which never combined into one kingdom until our own

¹ See page 13.

8 Western Europe During the Early Middle Ages

time. The ideal of a united Italy waited thirteen hundred years for its realization.¹

4. The Franks under Clovis and His Successors

In 486, just ten years after the deposition of Romulus Augustulus, the Franks went forth to conquer under Clovis,² one of

Clovis, king
of the
Franks, 481-
511

their chieftains. By overcoming the governor of Roman Gaul, in a battle near Soissons, Clovis destroyed the last vestige of imperial rule in the West and extended the Frankish dominions to the river Loire. Clovis then turned against his German neighbors. East of the Franks, in the region now known as Alsace, lived the Alamanni, a people whose name still survives in *Allemagne*, the French name of Germany.³ The Alamanni were defeated in a great battle near Strassburg, and much of their territory was added to that of the Franks. Clovis subsequently conquered the Visigothic possessions between the Loire and the Pyrenees, and compelled the Burgundians to pay tribute. He thus made himself supreme over nearly the whole of Gaul and even extended his authority to the other side of the Rhine.

Clovis reigned in western Europe as an independent king, but he acknowledged a sort of allegiance to the Roman emperor

The Franks
and the
Gallo-
Romans

by accepting the title of honorary consul. Henceforth to the Gallo-Romans he represented the distant ruler at Constantinople. The Roman inhabitants of Gaul were not oppressed; their cities were preserved; and their language and laws remained undisturbed. Clovis, as a statesman, may be compared with his eminent contemporary, Theodoric the Ostrogoth.

The Franks were still a heathen people, when they began their career of conquest. Clovis, however, had married a

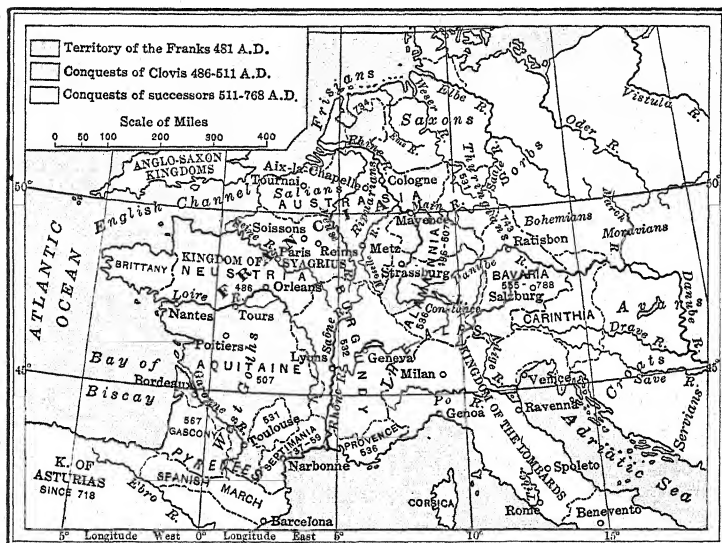
¹ The modern kingdom of Italy dates from 1859-1870.

² His name is properly spelled Chlodweg, which later became Ludwig, and in French, Louis.

³ On the other hand, the inhabitants of Gaul came to call their country *France* and themselves *Français* after their conquerors, the Germanic Franks.

Burgundian princess, Clotilda, who was a devout Catholic and an ardent advocate of Christianity. The story is told how, when Clovis was hard-pressed by the Alamanni at the battle of Strassburg, he vowed that if Clotilda's God gave him victory he would become a Christian. The Franks won, and Clovis, faithful to his vow, had himself baptized by St. Remi, bishop of Reims.

Christianiza-
tion of the
Franks, 496



GROWTH OF THE FRANKISH DOMINIONS, 481-768 A.D.

The conversion of Clovis was an event of the first importance. He and his Franks naturally embraced the orthodox Catholic faith, which was that of his wife, instead of the Arian form of Christianity, which had been accepted by almost all the other German invaders.

Significance
of Clovis's
conversion

Furthermore, the conversion of Clovis gained for the Frankish king and his successors the support of the Roman Church. The friendship between the popes and the Franks afterwards ripened into a close alliance, which greatly influenced European history.

The descendants of Clovis are called Merovingians.¹ They occupied the throne of the Franks for nearly two hundred and fifty years. The earlier Merovingians were strong men, under whose direction the Frankish territory continued to expand, until it included nearly all of what is now France, Belgium, and Holland, besides a considerable part of Germany.

The Frankish conquests differed in two important respects from those of the other German peoples. In the first place, the Franks did not cut themselves off completely from their original homes. They kept permanently their territory in Germany, drawing from it continual reinforcements of fresh German blood. In the second place, the Franks steadily added new German lands to their possessions. They built up in this way what was the largest and the most permanent of all the barbarian states founded in western Europe.

5. The Franks under Charles Martel and Pepin the Short

After the middle of the seventh century the Frankish rulers, worn out by violence and excesses, degenerated into weaklings, who reigned but did not rule. The actual management of the state passed into the hands of officers, called "mayors of the palace." They left to the kings little more than their title, their long hair, — the badge of royalty among the Franks, — and a scanty allowance for their support. The later Merovingians, accordingly, are often known as the "do-nothing kings."

The most illustrious of the mayors was Charles, surnamed Martel, "the Hammer," from the terrible defeat which he administered to the Mohammedans near Tours, in central France. Charles Martel was virtually a king, but he never ventured to set aside the Merovingian ruler and himself ascend the throne. This step was taken, however, by Charles's son, Pepin the Short.

¹ From Merovech, grandfather of Clovis.

Before dethroning the last feeble "do-nothing," Pepin sought the approval of the bishop of Rome. The pope, without hesitation, declared that it was only right that the man who had the real authority in the state should also have the royal title. Pepin, accordingly, caused himself to be crowned king of the Franks, thus founding the Carolingian¹ dynasty (751). Three years later Pope Stephen II came to Pepin's court and solemnly anointed the new ruler with holy oil, in accordance with ancient Jewish custom. The rite of anointing, something unknown to the Germans, gave to Pepin's coronation the sanction of the Roman Church. Henceforth the Frankish sovereigns called themselves "kings by the grace of God."

Accession of
Pepin the
Short, 751

Pepin was soon able to repay his great obligation to the Roman Church by becoming its protector against the Lombards. These barbarians, who were trying to extend their rule in Italy, threatened to capture Rome and the territory in the vicinity of that city, then under the control of the pope. Pepin twice entered Italy with his army, defeated the Lombards, and forced them to cede to Pope Stephen an extensive district lying between Rome and Ravenna. Pepin might have returned this district to the emperor at Constantinople, to whom it had belonged, but the Frankish king declared that he had not fought for the advantage of any man, but for the welfare of his own soul. He decided, therefore, to bestow his conquests on St. Peter's representative, the pope. Before this time the bishops of Rome had owned much land in Italy and had acted as virtual sovereigns in Rome and its neighborhood. Pepin's gift, known as the "Donation of Pepin," greatly increased their possessions, which came to be called the States of the Church. They remained in the hands of the popes until late in the nineteenth century.²

"Donation
of Pepin,"
756

¹ So called from Pepin's son, Charles the Great (in Latin, *Carolus Magnus*). The French form of his name is Charlemagne.

² In 1870 the States of the Church were added to the newly formed kingdom of Italy.

6. Charlemagne and the Revival of the Roman Empire, 800

Pepin was succeeded in 768 by his two sons, one of whom, Charlemagne, three years later became sole king of the Franks.

Charle-
magne, the
man

Charlemagne reigned for nearly half a century, and during this time he set his stamp on all later European history. His appearance and character are familiar to us from a brief biography, written by his secretary, Einhard. Charlemagne, we learn, was a tall, square-shouldered,



CHARLEMAGNE

Lateran Museum, Rome

A mosaic picture, made during the lifetime of Charlemagne, and probably a fair likeness of him.

strongly built man, with bright, keen eyes, and an expression at once cheerful and dignified. Riding, hunting, and swimming were his favorite sports. He was simple in his tastes and very temperate in both food and drink. Except when in Rome, he wore the old Frankish costume, with high-laced boots, linen tunic, blue cloak, and sword girt at his side. He was a clear, fluent speaker, used Latin as readily as his native tongue, and understood Greek when it was spoken.

Much of Charlemagne's long life, almost to its close, was filled with warfare. He fought chiefly against the heathen peoples on the frontiers of the Frankish realm. The subjugation of the Saxons, who lived in the forests and marshes of north-western Germany, took many years. Once when Charlemagne was exasperated by a revolt of the Saxons, he ordered forty-five hundred prisoners to be executed. This savage massacre was followed by equally

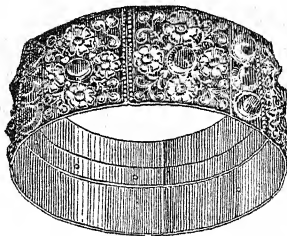
Conquest
and con-
version of
the Saxons,
772-804

severe laws, which imposed the death penalty on those who refused baptism or observed the old heathen rites. By such harsh means Charlemagne at length broke down the spirit of resistance among the people. All Saxony, from the Rhine to the Elbe, became a Christian land and a permanent part of the Frankish realm.

Shortly after the beginning of the Saxon wars the king of the Franks received an urgent summons from the pope, who was again being threatened by his old enemies, the Lombards. Charle-

Conquest
of the
Lombards,
774

magne led an army across the Alps, captured Pavia, where the Lombard ruler had taken refuge, and added his possessions to those of the Franks. Thus passed away one more of the German states which had arisen on the ruins of the Roman Empire. Charlemagne now placed on his own head the famous "Iron Crown" and assumed the title of "King of the Franks and Lombards, and Patrician of the Romans."



IRON CROWN OF LOMBARDY

A small gold diadem, about two inches high. It is studded with jewels. A strip of iron, which, according to pious legend, had been beaten out of one of the nails of the True Cross, is inserted within. The crown was a gift to the Lombards from Pope Gregory I, as a reward for their conversion to Roman Catholicism.

The conquests of Charlemagne were not confined to German peoples. He forced the wild Avars, who had advanced from the Caspian into the Danube valley, to acknowledge his supremacy. He compelled various Slavick tribes, including the Bohemians, to pay tribute. He also invaded Spain and wrested from the Mohammedans a considerable district south of the Pyrenees.¹ This frontier territory received the name of the Spanish March (or Mark).

Charle-
magne's
other
conquests

Charlemagne was a statesman, as well as a warrior. He divided his wide dominions into counties, each ruled by a count,

¹ The rearguard of Charlemagne's army, when returning from Spain, was attacked and overwhelmed by the mountaineers of the Pyrenees. This incident gave rise to the famous French epic known as the *Song of Roland*. See page 250.

Charlemagne's who was expected to keep order and administer justice. The border regions, which lay exposed to invasion, were organized into "marks," under the military supervision of counts of the mark, or margraves (marquises). These officials had so much power and lived so far from the royal court that Charlemagne appointed special agents, called *missi dominici* ("the lord's messengers"), to maintain control over them. The *missi* were usually sent

CHARLEMAGNE'S SIGNATURE

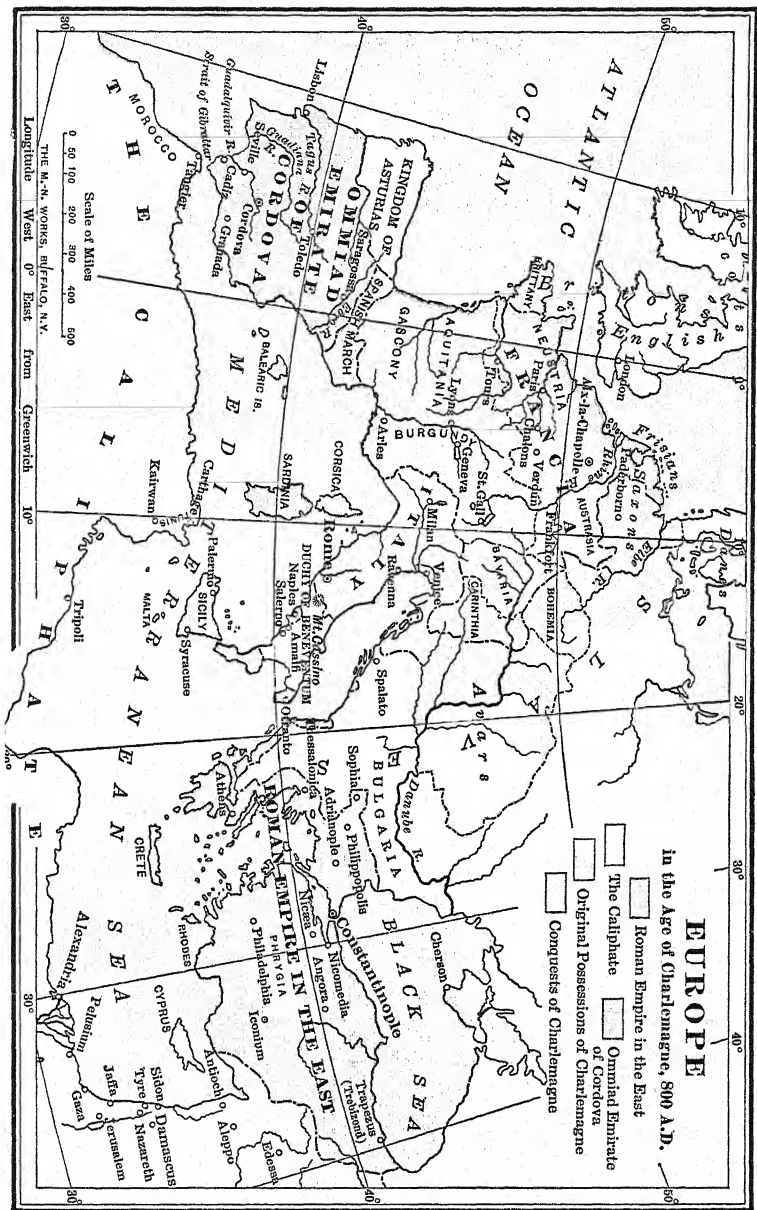
The emperor's signature as attached to a charter signed at Kurstein in 790. Only the small lines within the diamond were made by Charlemagne.

out in pairs, a layman and a bishop or abbot, in order that the one might serve as a check upon the other. They traveled from county to county, bearing the orders of their royal master. In this way Charlemagne kept well informed as to the condition of affairs throughout his kingdom.

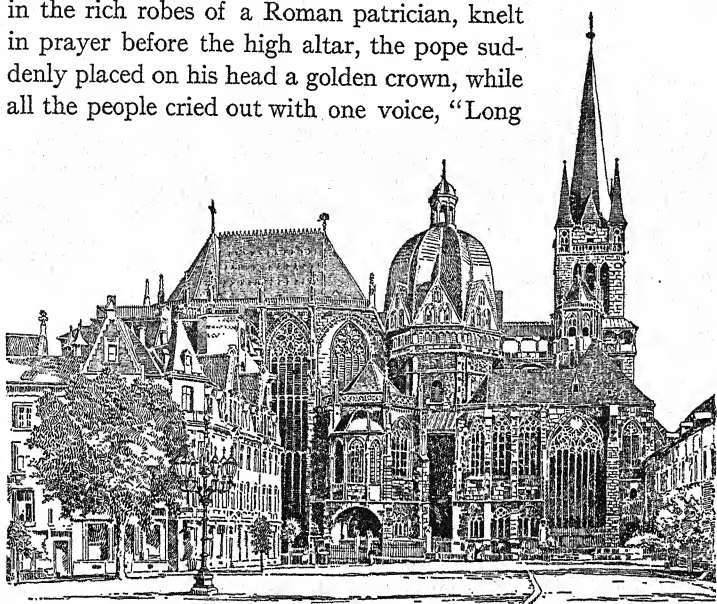
Charlemagne did something for the promotion of education and literary culture among the Franks. He encouraged the establishment of schools in the monasteries and cathedrals, where the sons of both freemen and serfs might be trained for the Christian ministry. He also formed his court into a "school of the palace," in which learned men from Italy, Spain, and England gave instruction to his own children and to those of his nobles. All this work formed only a hopeful beginning. Centuries were to pass before learning in western Europe fully recovered from the low state to which it had fallen during the period of the invasions.

Charlemagne, the champion of Christendom and the foremost ruler in Europe, seemed to the men of his day the rightful successor of the Roman emperors. He had their power, and now he was to have their name. In the year 800 the Frankish king visited Rome

Coronation
of Charle-
magne, 800



to investigate certain accusations made against the pope, Leo III, by his enemies in the city. Charlemagne absolved Leo of all wrong-doing and restored him to his office. Afterwards, on Christmas Day, Charlemagne went to old St. Peter's Church, where the pope was saying mass. As the king, dressed in the rich robes of a Roman patrician, knelt in prayer before the high altar, the pope suddenly placed on his head a golden crown, while all the people cried out with one voice, "Long



CATHEDRAL AT AIX-LA-CHAPELLE

Aix-la-Chapelle (Aachen) was the capital city and favorite residence of Charlemagne. The church which he built here was almost entirely destroyed by the Northmen. The octagonal building surmounted by a dome, which forms the central part of the present cathedral, is a tenth-century restoration of the original structure. The marble columns, pavements, and mosaics of Charlemagne's church were brought by him from Ravenna.

life and victory to Charles Augustus, the great and pacific emperor of the Romans, crowned by God!"

Although Charlemagne appears to have been surprised by the pope's act, it is probable that he wished to become emperor. The imperial title would confer upon him greater dignity and honor, though not greater power, than he possessed as king of the Franks and of the Lombards. The pope, in turn, was glad to reward the man

Reasons for
the corona-
tion

who had protected the Church and had done so much to spread the Catholic faith among the heathen. The Roman people also welcomed the coronation, because they felt that the time had come for Rome to assume her old place as the capital of the world. To reject the eastern ruler, in favor of the great Frankish king, was an emphatic method of asserting Rome's independence of Constantinople.

The coronation of Charlemagne forms one of the most significant events in medieval history. It might be thought a small matter that he should take the imperial title, when he already exercised imperial sway throughout western Europe. But Charlemagne's contemporaries believed that the old Roman Empire had now been revived, and that a German king now sat on the throne once occupied by Augustus and Constantine. Henceforth there was established in the West a line of Roman emperors which lasted until the opening of the nineteenth century.¹

7. Disruption of Charlemagne's Empire, 814-870

The empire of Charlemagne did not long remain intact. So vast was its extent and so unlike were its inhabitants in race, language, and customs that it could be managed only by a ruler of the greatest energy and strength of will. Unfortunately, the successors of Charlemagne proved to be too weak for the task of maintaining peace and order. Western Europe now entered on a long period of confusion and violence, during which the Frankish dominions broke up into separate and warring kingdoms.

Charlemagne's son, Louis the Pious, who became emperor in 814, was a well-meaning but feeble ruler, better fitted for the quiet life of a monastery than for the throne. He could not control his rebellious sons, who, even during his lifetime, fought bitterly over their inheritance. The unnatural strife, which continued after his death, was temporarily settled by a treaty concluded at the

¹ The title of "Holy Roman Emperor," assumed by the later successors of Charlemagne, was kept by them till 1806.

city of Verdun. According to its terms Lothair, the eldest brother, received Italy and the imperial title, together with a narrow stretch of land along the valleys of the Rhine and the Rhone, between the North Sea and the Mediterranean. Louis and Charles, the other brothers, received kingdoms lying to the east and west, respectively, of Lothair's territory. The Treaty



THE FRANKISH DOMINIONS AS DIVIDED BY THE TREATIES OF VERDUN (843 A.D.) AND MERSEN (870 A.D.)

of Verdun may be said to mark the first stage in the dissolution of the Carolingian Empire.

A second treaty, made at Mersen in Holland, was entered into by Louis and Charles, after the death of their brother Lothair. They divided between themselves Lo-
thair's kingdom north of the Alps, leaving to his young son the possession of Italy and the empty title of "emperor." The Treaty of Mersen may be said to mark the second stage in the dissolution of the Carolingian Empire. That empire, as such, had now ceased to exist.

The territorial arrangements made by the treaties of Verdun and Mersen foreshadowed the future map of western Europe.

**Importance
of the two
treaties**

The East Frankish kingdom of Louis, inhabited almost entirely by German peoples, was to develop into modern Germany. The West Frankish kingdom of Charles, inhabited mainly by descendants of Romanized Gauls, was to become modern France. Lothair's kingdom, separated into two parts by the Alps, never became a national state. Italy, indeed, might be united under one government, but the long, narrow strip north of the Alps had no unity of race, no common language, and no natural boundaries. It was fated to be broken into fragments and to be fought over for centuries by its stronger neighbors. Part of this territory now forms the small countries of Belgium, Holland, and Switzerland, and another part, known as Alsace and Lorraine,¹ has remained until modern times a bone of contention between France and Germany.

Even had Charlemagne been followed by strong and able rulers, it would have been a difficult matter to hold the empire

**Renewed
barbarian
invasions**

together in the face of the fresh series of barbarian inroads which began immediately after his death. The Mohammedans, though checked by the Franks at the battle of Tours, continued to be dangerous enemies. They ravaged southern France, Sicily, and parts of Italy. The piratical Northmen from Denmark and Norway harried the coast of France and made inroads far beyond Paris. They also penetrated into western Germany, sailing up the Rhine in their black ships and destroying such important towns as Cologne and Aix-la-Chapelle. Meanwhile, eastern Germany lay exposed to the attacks of the Slavs, whom Charlemagne had defeated but had not subdued. The Magyars, or Hungarians, were also dreaded foes. These wild horsemen entered Europe from the plains of Asia and, like the Huns and Avars to whom they were probably related, spread devastation far and wide. A great part of Europe thus suffered from invasions almost

¹ The French name Lorraine and the German name Lothringen are both derived from the Latin title of Lothair's kingdom — *Lotharii regnum*.

as destructive as those which had brought ruin to the old Roman world.

8. Otto the Great and the Restoration of the Roman Empire, 962

The tenth century saw another movement toward the restoration of law and order. The civilizing work of Charlemagne was taken up by German kings, not of the old Frankish stock, but belonging to that Saxon people which had opposed Charlemagne so long and bitterly. Saxony was one of the five great territorial states, or stem-duchies, as they are usually called, into which Germany was then divided.¹ Germany at that time extended only as far east as the river Elbe, beyond which lay the territory occupied by half-civilized Slavic tribes.

The German stem-duchies

The rulers of the stem-duchies enjoyed practical independence, though they had recognized some king of Germany ever since the Treaty of Verdun. Early in the tenth century the Carolingian dynasty died out in Germany, and the German nobles then proceeded to elect their own kings. Their choice fell first upon Conrad, duke of Franconia, but he had little authority outside his own duchy. A stronger man was required to keep the peace among the turbulent nobles and to repel the invaders of Germany. Such a man appeared in the person of Henry, duke of Saxony, who, after Conrad's death, was chosen king.

Elective kingship of Germany

Henry I, called the Fowler, because he was fond of hunting birds, spent the greater part of his reign in wars against the Slavs, Magyars, and other invaders. He began the conquest from the Slavs of the territory between the Elbe and the Oder. Here arose the mark of Brandenburg, established as an outpost against the Slavs. Brandenburg was to furnish Germany, in later centuries, with the dynasty of the Hohenzollerns.² Henry

Reign of Henry the Fowler, 919-936

¹ The others were Franconia, Swabia, Bavaria, and Lorraine.

² The Hohenzollerns became electors of Brandenburg in 1415, kings of Prussia in 1701, and emperors of Germany in 1871.

the Fowler also conquered the southern part of Denmark and Christianized it. Here he reestablished the mark of Schleswig, which had first been formed by Charlemagne.

Henry the Fowler was succeeded by his son, Otto I, whom history knows as Otto the Great. He well deserved the title.



RING SEAL OF OTTO
THE GREAT

The inscription reads
Oddo Rex.

Reign of
Otto the
Great, 936-
973

Like Charlemagne, Otto presented the aspect of a born ruler. He is described as being tall and commanding in presence, strong and vigorous of body, and gifted with much charm of manner. In his bronzed face shone clear and sparkling eyes, and down his breast hung a long, thick beard. Though subject to violent outbursts of temper, he was liberal to his friends and just to his foes. Otto was a man of immense energy

and ambition, with a high conception of his duties as a sovereign. His reign forms a notable epoch in German history.

Otto continued Henry's work of defending Germany from the foes which threatened to overrun that country. He won his most conspicuous success against the Magyars, who suffered a crushing defeat on the banks of the river Lech in Bavaria (955). These barbarians now ceased their raids and retired to the lands on the middle Danube which they had seized from the Slavs. Here they settled down, accepted Christianity from the Roman Church, and laid the foundations of the kingdom of Hungary.¹ As a protection against future Magyar inroads Otto established the East Mark. This region afterwards assumed importance under the more familiar name of Austria.

Otto the Great is not to be remembered only as a German

¹ The Magyar settlement in central Europe had the important result of dividing the Slavic peoples into three groups. Those who remained south of the Danube (Serbians, Croats, etc.) were henceforth separated from the northwestern Slavs (Bohemians, Moravians, and Poles) and from the eastern Slavs (Russians). See the map facing page 30.

king. His reign was also noteworthy in the history of Italy. The country at this time was hopelessly divided between rival and contending peoples. The emperor at Constantinople controlled the southern extremity of the peninsula. The Mohammedans held Sicily and some cities on the mainland. The pope ruled at Rome and in the States of the Church. A so-called king of Italy still reigned in Lombardy, but he could not manage the powerful counts, dukes, and marquises, who were virtually independent within their own domains. Even the imperial title died out, and now there was no longer a Roman emperor in the West.

Condition of
Italy

The deplorable condition of Italy invited interference from abroad. Following in the footsteps of Charlemagne, Otto the Great led two expeditions across the Alps, assumed the "Iron Crown"¹ of Lombardy, and then proceeded to Rome, where he secured the pope (John XII) against the latter's enemies in that city. Otto's reward was the same as Charlemagne's. On Candlemas Day,² 962, the grateful pope crowned him Roman emperor.

Coronation
of Otto the
Great, 962

The coronation of Otto the Great seemed to his contemporaries a necessary and beneficial act. They still believed that the Roman Empire was suspended, not extinct; and that now, one hundred and fifty years after Charlemagne, the occasion was opportune to restore the name and power associated with the golden age of the first Frankish emperor. Otto's ardent spirit, one may well imagine, was fired with this vision of imperial sway and the renewal of a title around which clustered so many memories of success and glory.

Meaning of
the coronation

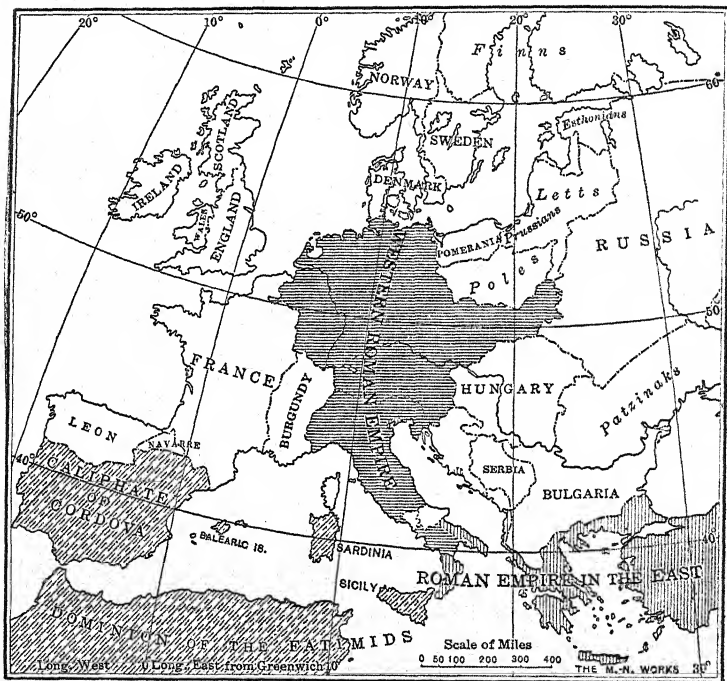
But the outcome of Otto's restoration of the Roman Empire was good neither for Italy nor for Germany. It became the rule, henceforth, that the man whom the German nobles chose as their king had a claim, also, to the Italian crown and the imperial title. The efforts of the German kings to make good this claim led to their constant interference in the affairs of Italy. They

Ultimate
results of
the coronation

¹ See the illustration, page 13.

² February 2.

treated that country as a conquered province which had no right to a national life and an independent government under its own rulers. At the same time they neglected Germany and failed to keep their powerful territorial lords in subjection. Neither Italy nor Germany, in consequence, could become a



EUROPE IN THE AGE OF OTTO THE GREAT, 962 A.D.

unified, centralized state, such as was formed in France and England during the later Middle Ages.

The empire of Charlemagne, restored by Otto the Great, came to be called in later centuries the "Holy Roman Empire."

The Holy Roman Empire The title points to the idea of a world monarchy — the Roman Empire — and a world religion — Roman Christianity — united in one institution.

This magnificent idea was never fully realized. The popes and emperors, instead of being bound to each other by the closest

ties, were more generally enemies than friends. The conflict between the Empire and the Papacy formed a significant episode in the later history of the Middle Ages.

9. The Anglo-Saxons in Britain, 449-839

From the history of Continental Europe we now turn to the history of Britain. That island had been overrun by the Germans after the middle of the fifth century. The Jutes came from northern Denmark, the Angles, from what is now Schleswig-Holstein, and the Saxons, from the neighborhood of the rivers Elbe, Weser, and Ems in northern Germany. The Anglo-Saxon conquest of Britain was a slow process, which lasted at least one hundred and fifty years. The invaders followed the rivers into the interior and gradually subdued more than half of what is now England, comprising the fertile plain district in the southern and eastern parts of the island.

Though the Anglo-Saxons probably destroyed many flourishing cities and towns of the Romanized Britons, it seems likely that the conquerors spared the women, with whom they intermarried, and the agricultural laborers, whom they made slaves. Other natives took refuge in the hill regions of western and northern Britain, and here their descendants still keep up the Celtic language and traditions. The Anglo-Saxons regarded the Britons with contempt, naming them Welsh, a word which means one who talks gibberish. The antagonism between the two peoples died out in the course of centuries; conquerors and conquered intermingled; and an English nation, partly Celtic and partly Teutonic, came into being.

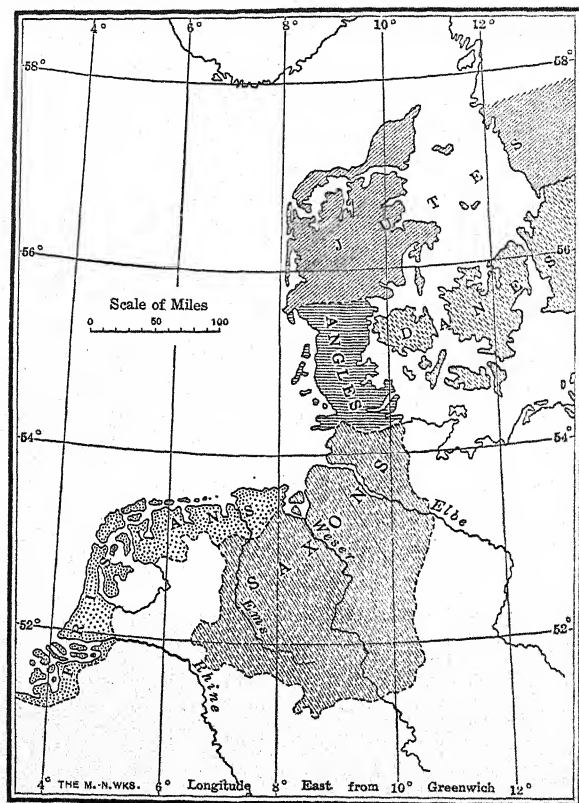
The Anglo-Saxons started to fight one another before they ceased fighting their common enemy, the Britons. Throughout the seventh and eighth centuries, the Anglo-Saxon states were engaged in almost constant struggles, either for increase of territory or for supremacy. The kingdoms farthest east — Kent, Sussex, Essex, and East Anglia — found their expansion checked by

Anglo-Saxon
conquest of
Britain

Nature of
the conquest

The seven
kingdoms in
Britain

other kingdoms — Northumbria, Mercia, and Wessex — which grew up in the interior of the island. Each of these three stronger states gained in turn the leading place.



CONTINENTAL HOME OF THE ENGLISH

The beginning of the supremacy of Wessex dates from the reign of Egbert. He had lived for some years as an exile at the court of Charlemagne, from whom he doubtless learned valuable lessons of war and statesmanship. After returning from the Continent, Egbert became king of Wessex and gradually forced the rulers of the other states to acknowledge him as overlord. Though

**Egbert and
the suprem-
acy of
Wessex,
802-839**

Egbert was never directly king of all England, he began the work of uniting the Anglo-Saxons under one government. His descendants have occupied the English throne to the present day.

When the Germans along the Rhine and the Danube crossed the frontiers and entered the western provinces, they had already been partially Romanized. They understood enough of Roman civilization to appreciate it and to desire to preserve it. The situation was quite different with the Anglo-Saxons. Their original home lay in a part of Germany beyond the borders of the Roman Empire and remote from the cultural influences of Rome. Coming to Britain as barbarians, they naturally introduced their own language, laws, and customs wherever they settled. Much of what the Anglo-Saxons brought with them still lives in England, and from that country has spread to the United States and the vast English colonies beyond the seas. The English language is less indebted to Latin than any of the Romance languages, and the Common law of England owes much less to Roman law than do the legal systems of Continental Europe. England, indeed, looks to the Anglo-Saxons for some of the most characteristic and important elements of her civilization.

10. Christianity in the British Isles

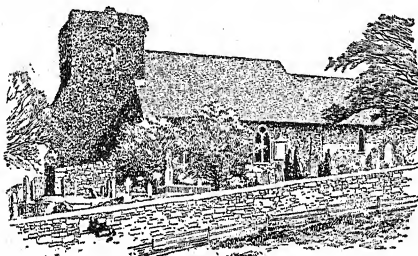
The Anglo-Saxons also brought to Britain their heathen faith. Christianity did not come to them until the close of the sixth century. At this time more or less intercourse had sprung up between the people of Kent, lying nearest to the Continent, and the Franks in Gaul. Ethelbert, the king of Kent, had even married the Frankish princess, Bertha. He allowed his Christian wife to bring a bishop to her new home and gave her the deserted church of St. Martin at Canterbury as a place of worship. Queen Bertha's fervent desire for the conversion of her husband and his people prepared the way for an event of first importance in English history — the mission of Augustine.

Anglo-Saxon
Britain

Preparation
for Roman
Christianity

The pope at this time was Gregory I, better known, from his services to the Roman Church, as Gregory the Great. The kingdom of Kent, with its Christian queen, seemed to him a very promising field for missionary enterprise. Gregory, accordingly, sent out the monk Augustine with forty companions to bring the gospel to the heathen English. The king of Kent, already well disposed

Mission of
Augustine,
597



ST. MARTIN'S CHURCH, CANTERBURY

The present church, dating from the thirteenth century, occupies the site of a chapel built before the arrival of Augustine. The walls still contain some of the Roman bricks used in the original structure. St. Martin's Church was the scene of the earliest work of Augustine in Canterbury.

toward the Christian faith, greeted the missionaries kindly and told them that they were free to convert whom they would. Before long he and his court embraced Christianity, and the people of Kent soon followed the royal example.

The monks were assigned a residence in Canterbury, a city which has ever since

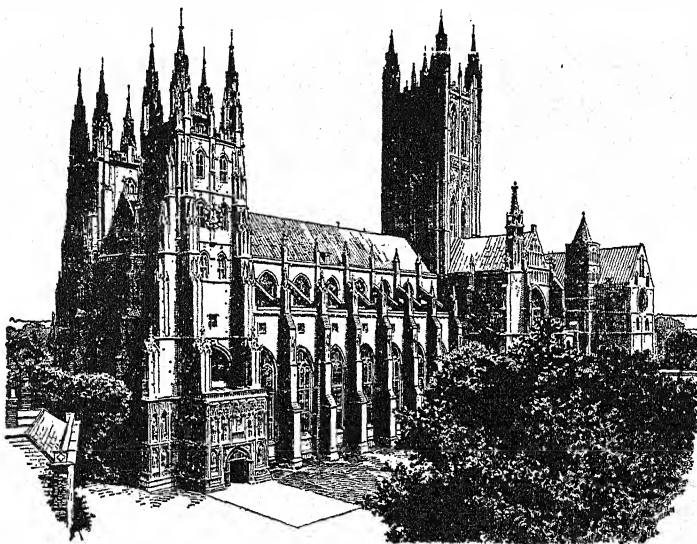
remained the religious capital of England. From Kent Christianity in its Roman form gradually spread into the other Anglo-Saxon kingdoms.

Augustine and his monks were not the first missionaries to Britain. Roman soldiers, merchants, and officials had introduced Christianity among the Britons as early as the second century. During the fifth century the famous St. Patrick had carried Christianity to the heathen Irish. The Anglo-Saxon invasion of Britain drove many Christians to Ireland, and that island in the sixth and seventh centuries became a center from which devoted monks went forth to labor in western Scotland and northern Britain. Here they came in contact with the missionaries from Rome.

The Celtic Christians followed some customs which differed

from those observed by Roman Christians. They computed the date on which Easter fell according to a system unlike that of the Romans. They permitted their priests to marry; the Romans forbade the practice. Their monks shaved the front of the head from ear to ear as a tonsure, while Roman monks shaved the top of the head, leaving a "crown of thorns." These dif-

Differences
between
Celtic and
Roman
Christianity



CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL

The choir dates from the twelfth century, the nave, transepts, and central tower, from the fifteenth century. One of the two towers at the west front was built in 1184-1184. The beautiful stained glass in the windows of the choir belongs to the thirteenth century.

ferences may not seem very important, but they were enough to prevent the coöperation of Celtic and Roman missionaries for the conversion of the heathen.

The rivalry between Celtic and Roman Christians was finally settled at a church gathering, or synod, called by the king of Northumbria at Whitby. The main controversy at this synod concerned the proper date for Easter. In the course of the debate it was asserted that the Roman custom had the sanction of St. Peter, to whom Christ had

Synod of
Whitby, 664



intrusted the keys of heaven. This statement was enough for the Northumbrian king, who thereupon decided in favor of the Roman claim, declaring that he would not oppose St. Peter, "lest when I come before the gates of the kingdom of heaven, he who holds the keys should not open to me."¹ The representatives of the Celtic Church then withdrew from England, leaving the field clear for Roman missionaries.

The decision of the Synod of Whitby in favor of Rome meant that all England henceforth would recognize the pope's authority in religious matters. It remained a Roman Catholic country until the time of the Reformation, nearly nine hundred years later.² The Celtic Christians in Ireland and Scotland in the course of time also became the devoted children of the Roman Church.

The British
Isles become
Roman
Catholic

11. The Fusion of Germans and Romans

We have now followed the fortunes of the Germans for five centuries from the end of the Roman Empire in the West. Most of their kingdoms, it has been seen, were not permanent. The Visigothic and Burgundian dominions in Gaul yielded to the Franks, and those of the Visigoths in Spain, to the Mohammedan Arabs. The Vandal possessions in North Africa were regained by the emperors at Constantinople. The rule of the Ostrogoths in Italy endured for only sixty years, and that of the Lombards passed away after two centuries. The kingdoms established by the Franks and the Anglo-Saxons alone developed into lasting states.

The
Germanic
kingdoms

But even where the Germans did not found permanent kingdoms, they mingled with the subject provincials and adopted much of the old Roman civilization. The fusion of the two peoples naturally required a long time, being scarcely completed before the middle of the tenth century. It was hindered, in the first place, by the desire of the Germans to secure the lands of the Romans. Wherever the barbarians

Hindrances
to fusion

¹ Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, iii, 25.

² The separation from Rome occurred in 1534, during the reign of Henry VIII.

settled, they appropriated a large part of the agricultural soil. How much they took varied in different countries. The Ostrogoths seem to have seized one-third of the land in Italy; the Visigoths, two-thirds of that in Gaul and Spain; the Anglo-Saxons, perhaps all the tillable soil of Britain. It could not but be galling to the Romans to surrender their farms to the barbarians. In the second place, the Germans often assessed heavy taxes on the Romans, which they themselves refused to pay. Tax-paying seemed to the Germans a mark of servitude. In the third place, a barrier between the two peoples arose from the circumstance that each had its particular law. For several centuries following the invasions there was one law for the Romans — that which they had enjoyed under the empire — and another law for the Germans — their old tribal customs. After the Germans had lived for some time in contact with the Romans they wrote out their laws in the Latin language. These “Laws of the Barbarians” still survive and throw much light on their early beliefs and manners.

In spite of the hindrances to fusion, it seems true that conquerors and conquered felt no great dislike for each other and that, as a rule, they freely intermingled. Certain conditions directly favored this result.

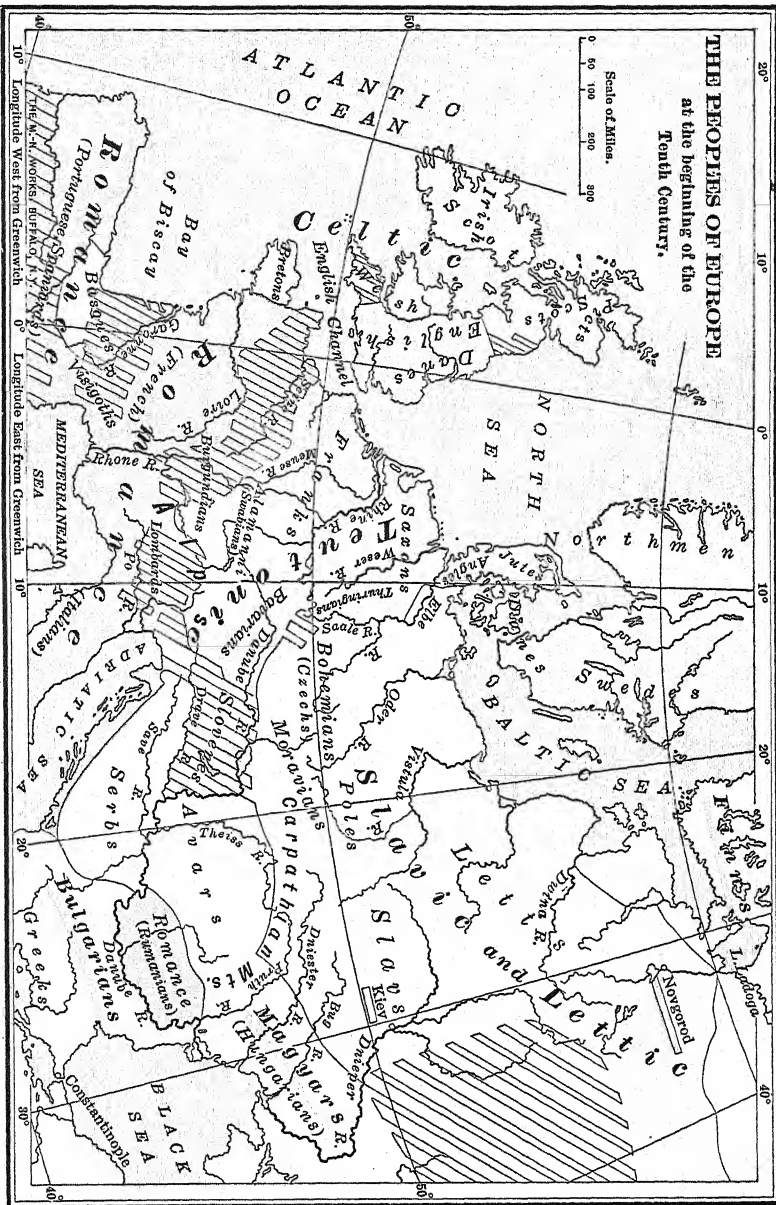
Conditions
favoring
fusion

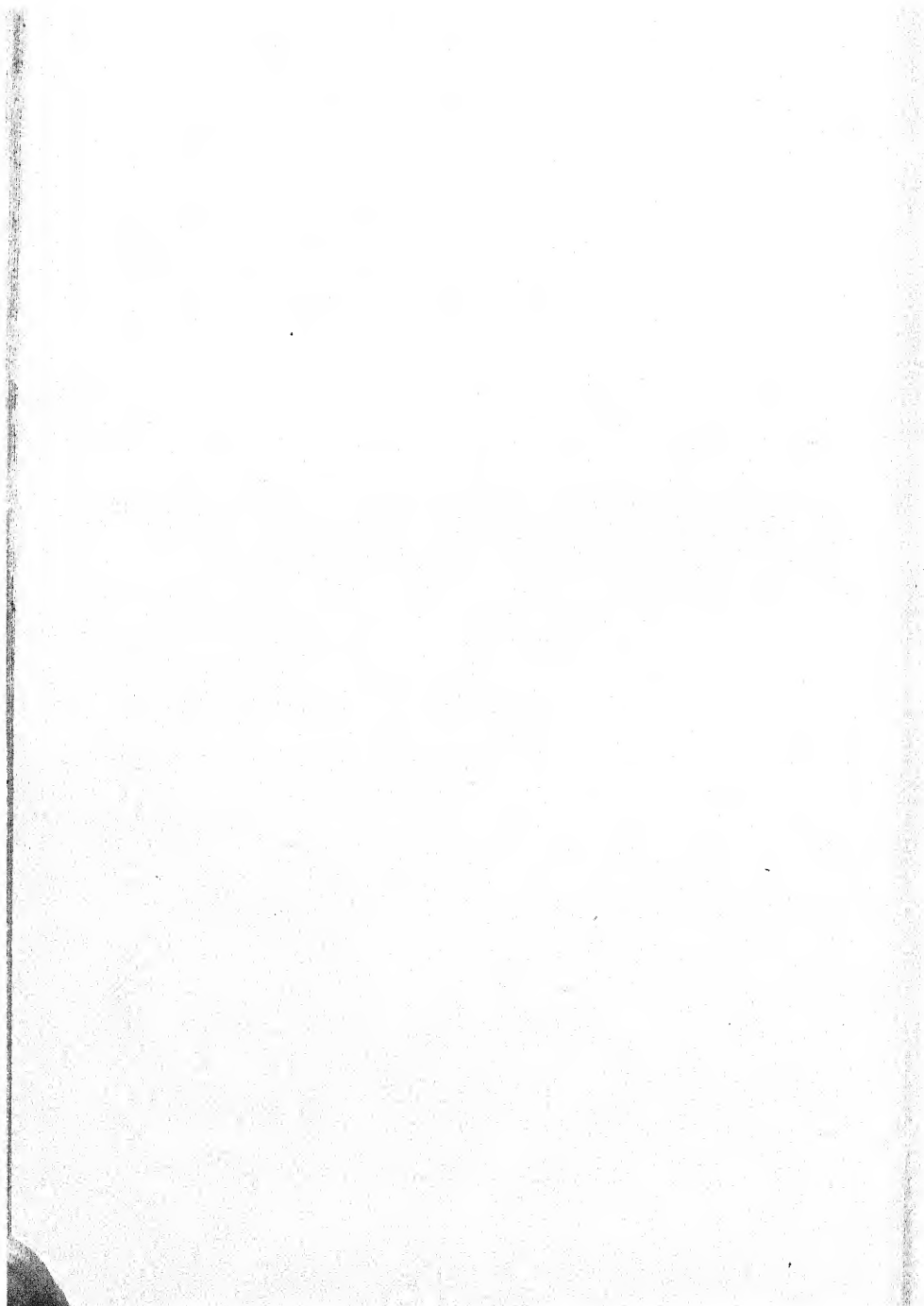
First, many Germans had found their way within the empire as hired soldiers, colonists, and slaves, long before the invasions began. Second, the Germans came in relatively small numbers. Third, the Germans entered the Roman world, not as destroyers, but as homeseekers who felt a real reverence for Roman civilization. Fourth, some of the principal Teutonic peoples, including the Visigoths, Burgundians, and Vandals, were already Christians at the time of their invasions, while other peoples, such as the Franks and the Anglo-Saxons, were afterwards converted to Christianity. As long, however, as most of the barbarians remained Arian Christians,¹ their belief stood in the way of friendly intercourse with the Roman provincials, who had accepted the Catholic faith.

¹ See page 47. note 1.

THE PEOPLES OF EUROPE at the beginning of the Tenth Century.

Scale of Miles.
0 60 120 240 360





If western Europe during the early Middle Ages presented a scene of violence and confusion while the Germans were settling in their new homes, a different picture was afforded by eastern Europe. Here the Roman Empire still survived and continued to uphold for centuries the Roman tradition of law and order. The history of that empire forms the theme of the following chapter.

Contrast
between
East and
West

Studies

1. On an outline map indicate the boundaries of the empire of Charlemagne, distinguishing his hereditary possessions from those which he acquired by conquest.
2. On an outline map indicate the boundaries of the empire of Otto the Great.
3. What events are connected with the following places: Soissons; Mersen; Whitby; Reims; Verdun; Canterbury; and Strassburg?
4. What is the historical importance of Augustine, Henry the Fowler, Pepin the Short, Charles Martel, Egbert, and Ethelbert?
5. Give dates for the following events: battle of Tours; crowning of Charlemagne as emperor; crowning of Otto the Great as emperor; deposition of Romulus Augustulus; Augustine's mission to England; and the Treaty of Verdun.
6. Explain the following expressions: "do-nothing kings"; *missi dominici*; Holy Roman Empire; and "Donation of Pepin."
7. Why have some historians chosen to begin medieval history with the year 313? With 378? With 395?
8. Why was the extinction of the Ostrogothic kingdom a misfortune for Italy?
9. Why did Italy remain for so many centuries after the Lombard invasion merely "a geographical expression"?
10. Why does Clovis deserve to be called the founder of the French nation?
11. What difference did it make whether Clovis became an Arian or a Catholic?
12. What events in the lives of Clovis and Pepin the Short contributed to the alliance between the Franks and the popes?
13. What provinces of the Roman Empire in the West were not included within the limits of Charlemagne's empire?
14. What countries of modern Europe are included within the limits of Charlemagne's empire?
15. Show that Charlemagne's empire was not in any true sense a continuation of the Roman Empire.
16. What is the origin of the word "emperor"? As a title distinguish it from that of "king."
17. Why has Lothair's kingdom north of the Alps been called the "strip of trouble"?
18. Why might the inhabitants of England be more properly described as Anglo-Celts rather than as Anglo-Saxons?
19. How did the four English counties, Sussex, Essex, Norfolk, and Suffolk, receive their names?
20. What was the importance of the Synod of Whitby?
21. Set forth the conditions which hindered, and those which favored, the fusion of Germans and Romans.

CHAPTER II

EASTERN EUROPE DURING THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES, 395-1095

12. The Roman Empire in the East

THE Roman Empire in the West moved rapidly to its "fall" in 476, at the hands of the Germanic invaders. The Roman Empire in the East, though threatened by enemies from without and weakened by civil conflicts from within, endured for more than a thousand years. Until the middle of the eleventh century it was the strongest state in Europe, except during the reign of Charlemagne, when the Frankish kingdom eclipsed it. Until the middle of the fifteenth century it preserved the name, the civilization, and some part of the dominions, of ancient Rome.

The long life of the Roman Empire in the East is one of the marvels of history. Its great and constant vitality appears the more remarkable, when one considers that it had no easily defensible frontiers, contained many different peoples with little in common, and on all sides faced hostile states. The empire survived so long, because of its vast wealth and resources, its despotic, centralized government, the strength of its army, and the almost impregnable position occupied by Constantinople, the capital city.

The changing fortunes of the empire during the Middle Ages are reflected in some of the names by which it is often known.

The term "Greek Empire" expresses the fact that the state became more and more Greek in character, owing to the loss, first of the western provinces in the fifth century, and then of Syria and Egypt in the seventh century. Another term — "Byzantine Empire" — appropriately describes the condition of the state in still later times, when its possessions were reduced to Constantinople (ancient Byzantium) and the territory in the neighborhood of

that city. But through all this period the rulers at Constantinople regarded themselves as the true successors of Augustus, Diocletian, and Constantine. They never admitted the right of Charlemagne and Otto the Great to establish a rival Roman Empire in western Europe.¹ They claimed to be the only legitimate heirs of Old Rome.



JUSTINIAN AND HIS SUITE

A mosaic dating from 547 in the church of San Vitale, Ravenna. It shows the emperor (in the center) with a bishop, his suite, and imperial guards. The picture probably gives us a fair idea of Justinian's appearance, though it represents him as somewhat younger than he was at the time.

13. The Reign of Justinian, 527-565

The history of the Roman Empire in the East, for more than one hundred years after the death of Theodosius the Great, is uneventful. His successors, though unable to prevent the Germans from seizing Italy and the other western provinces, managed to keep their own dominions intact. The eastern provinces escaped the fate of those in the West, because they were more populous and offered greater obstacles to the barbarian invaders, who followed the line of least resistance. The gradual

Successors
of Theodo-
sius, 395-
527

¹ See pages 15-16 and 21.

recovery of the empire in strength and warlike energy prepared the way for a really eminent ruler — Justinian.

It was the ambition of Justinian to conquer the German kingdoms which had been formed out of the Mediterranean **Conquests of Justinian** provinces. In this task he relied chiefly on the military genius of Belisarius, one of the world's foremost commanders. Belisarius was able in one short campaign to destroy the Vandal kingdom in North Africa. The Vandals by this time had lost their early vigor; they made but a feeble resistance; and their Roman subjects welcomed Belisarius as a deliverer. Justinian awarded a triumph to his victorious general, an honor which for five centuries emperors alone had enjoyed. The conquest of North Africa, together with the islands of Sardinia and Corsica, was followed by the overthrow of the Ostrogothic kingdom in Sicily and Italy.¹ Justinian also recovered from the Visigoths the southeastern part of Spain. He could now say with truth that the Mediterranean was once more a Roman sea.²

The conquests of Justinian proved to be less enduring than his work as a lawgiver. Until his reign the sources of Roman **Codification of Roman law** law, including the legislation of the popular assemblies, the decrees of the senate, the edicts of the prætors and emperors, and the decisions of learned lawyers, had never been completely collected and arranged in scientific form. Justinian appointed a commission of legal scholars to perform this task. The result of their labors, in which the emperor himself assisted, was the publication of the *Corpus Juris Civilis*, the "Body of Civil Law." Under this form the Roman principles of jurisprudence have become the foundation of the legal systems of modern Italy, Spain, France, Germany, and other European countries. These principles even influenced the Common law of England, which has been adopted by the United States.³ The *Corpus Juris Civilis*,

¹ See page 6.

² See the map, page 5.

³ Roman law still prevails in the province of Quebec and the state of Louisiana, territories formerly under French control, in all the Spanish-American countries, in the Philippines, and in the Dutch East Indies.

because of its widespread influence, is justly regarded as one of Rome's most valuable gifts to the world.

Justinian's claim to the title of "Great" rests also on his civilizing work. He wished to restore the prosperity, as well as the provinces, of the empire. During his reign roads, bridges, and aqueducts were repaired, and commerce and agriculture were encouraged. It was at this time that two Christian missionaries brought from China the eggs of the silkworm, and introduced the manufacture of silk in Europe. As a builder Justinian gained special fame. The edifices which he caused to be raised throughout his dominions included massive fortifications on the exposed frontiers, splendid palaces, and many monasteries and churches. The most noteworthy monument to his piety is the church of Sancta Sophia¹ at Constantinople, long used as a Mohammedan mosque. By his conquests, his laws, and his buildings, Justinian revived for a time the waning glory of imperial Rome.

Civilizing
work of
Justinian

14. The Empire and Its Asiatic Foes

The Roman Empire in the East did not long remain at the pinnacle of greatness to which Justinian had raised it. His conquests, indeed, weakened rather than strengthened the empire, since now there were much more extensive frontiers to defend. Within half a century after his death it was attacked both in Europe and in Asia. The Lombards² soon seized Italy, and in the East the Persians renewed their contest against the Roman power.

After
Justinian

The Persians at first were able to overrun all the Asiatic provinces of the empire. A deliverer arose, however, in the person of the Roman emperor, Heraclius (610-641). His brilliant campaigns partook of the nature of a "holy war," for the Persians had violated the Holy Sepulcher at Jerusalem and had stolen away the True Cross, the most sacred relic of Christendom. Heraclius recovered all his provinces, but only at the cost of a bloody struggle which drained them of men and money and helped to make them fall easy

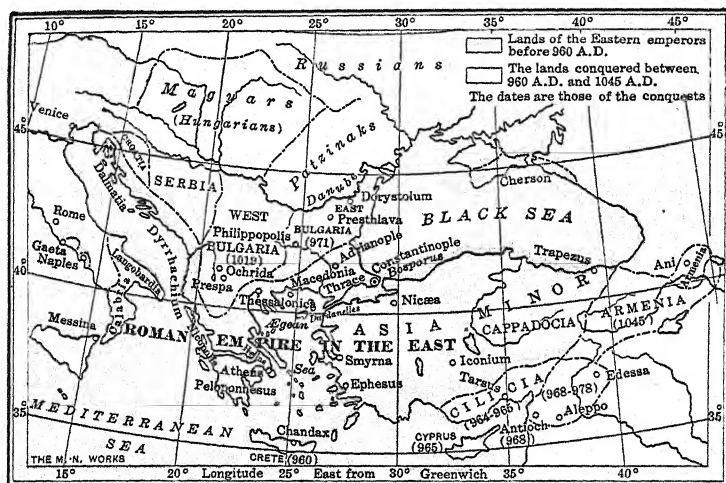
Persians

¹ In Greek, *Hagia Sophia*, "Holy Wisdom."

² See pages 6-7.

victims to foes still more terrible than the Persians. These were the Arabs.

Heraclius had not closed his reign before he saw all his victories undone by the advance of the Arabs. The first wave of invasion tore away Syria and Egypt from the empire, penetrated Asia Minor, and reached the shores of the Bosphorus. Repulsed before the walls of Constantinople, the Arabs carried their arms to the West and seized



THE ROMAN EMPIRE IN THE EAST
DURING THE TENTH AND ELEVENTH CENTURIES

North Africa, Spain, part of southern Italy, and the Mediterranean islands. Asia Minor and the Balkan peninsula still held out, however, and during the tenth century a line of able rulers at Constantinople succeeded in winning back some of their lost provinces.

During the eleventh century the empire had to face new enemies. These were the Seljuk Turks,¹ fierce nomads from the steppes beyond the Caspian. After their conversion to Mohammedanism, they swept with irresistible force through the East and conquered nearly all

¹ So named from one of their leaders.

Asia Minor. The ruin of this country, in earlier ages one of the most populous and flourishing regions of the world, dates from its occupation by the Seljuks. To resist their further advance the Roman emperor sought in 1095 the help of the Christians of Europe. His appeals for aid resulted in the First Crusade, with which a new chapter of medieval history began.¹

Thus, for more than five centuries after Justinian, the Roman Empire in the East was engaged in a long struggle with the foes — Persians, Arabs, and Seljuk Turks — which successively attacked its dominions. By its stubborn resistance to the advance of the invaders Work of the
empire in
Asia the old empire protected the young states of Europe from attack, until they grew strong enough to meet and repulse the hordes of Asia. This work was not less important than that which had been performed by Greece and Rome in the contests with the Persians and the Carthaginians.

15. The Empire and Its Foes in Europe

The troubled years after Justinian's death also witnessed the beginning of the Slavic² settlements in southeastern Europe. The Slavs belonged to the Indo-European race, Slavs but had not progressed in civilization as far as the Germans. Their cradle land seems to have been in western Russia, whence they slowly spread to the Baltic, the Elbe, and the Danube. We have already mentioned the campaigns which Charlemagne and Henry the Fowler waged against them.³ The emperors at Constantinople were less successful in resisting that branch of the Slavs which tried to occupy the Balkan peninsula. After crossing the Danube, the Slavs pressed on farther and farther, until they reached the southern extremity of ancient Greece. They avoided the cities, but formed peasant communities in the open country, where they readily mingled with the inhabitants. Their descendants have remained in the Balkan peninsula to this day. The inhabitants of modern

¹ See chapter viii.

² The word *slova* means "speech"; the Slavs are those who speak the same language.

³ See pages 13 and 19.

38 Eastern Europe During the Early Middle Ages

Serbia are Slavs, and even in the Greeks there is a considerable strain of Slavic blood.

The Bulgarians, a people akin to the Huns and Avars, made their appearance south of the lower Danube in the seventh century. For more than three hundred years these barbarians, brutal, fierce, and cruel, were a menace to the empire. At one time they threatened Constantinople and even killed a Roman emperor, whose skull was converted into a drinking cup to grace their feasts. The Bulgarians settled in the region which now bears their name and gradually adopted the speech and customs of the Slavs. Modern Bulgaria is essentially a Slavic state.

The empire was attacked in southeastern Europe by still other barbarians, among whom were the Russians. This Slavic people, led by chieftains from Sweden, descended the Dnieper and Dniester rivers and, crossing the Black Sea, appeared before the walls of Constantinople. Already, in the tenth century, that city formed the goal of Russian ambitions. The invaders are said to have made four attempts to plunder its treasures. Though unsuccessful, they compelled the emperors from time to time to pay them tribute.

Christianity reached the invaders of the Balkan peninsula from Constantinople. The Serbians, Bulgarians, and Russians were converted in the ninth and tenth centuries. With Christianity they received the use of letters and some knowledge of Roman law and methods of government. Constantinople was to them, henceforth, such a center of religion and culture as Rome was to the Germans.

16. Byzantine Civilization

The Roman Empire in the East, though often menaced by barbarian foes, long continued to be the leading European power.

Its highest degree of prosperity was reached between the middle of the ninth and the middle of the eleventh century. The provinces in Asia Minor and the Balkan peninsula produced a large annual revenue, much of which went for defense. It was necessary to

maintain a strong, well-disciplined army, great fleets and engines of war, and the extensive fortifications of Constantinople and the frontier cities. Confronted by so many dangers, the empire could hope to survive only by making itself a military state.

The merchant ships of Constantinople, during the earlier part of the Middle Ages, carried on most of the commerce of the Mediterranean and the Black Sea. The products of Byzantine industry were exchanged at that city for the spices, drugs, and precious stones of the East.

Commerce
and
industry

Byzantine wares also found their way into Italy and France and, by way of the Russian rivers, reached the heart of eastern Europe. Russia, in turn, furnished Constantinople with honey, wax, fur, wool, grain, and slaves. A traveler of the twelfth century well described the city as a metropolis "common to all the world, without distinction of country or religion."

Many of the Roman emperors from Justinian onward were great builders. Byzantine architecture, seen especially in the churches, became a leading form of art. Its most striking feature is the dome, which replaces the flat, wooden roof used in the basilican churches

Character of
Byzantine
art

of Italy. The exterior of a Byzantine church is plain and unimposing, but the interior is adorned on a magnificent scale. The eyes of the worshipers are dazzled by the walls faced with marble slabs of variegated colors, by the columns of polished marble, jasper, and porphyry, and by the brilliant mosaic pictures of gilded glass. The entire impression is one of richness and splendor. Byzantine artists, though mediocre painters and sculptors, excelled in all kinds of decorative work. Their carvings in wood, ivory, and metal, together with their embroideries, enamels, and miniatures, enjoyed a high reputation throughout medieval Europe.

Byzantine art, from the sixth century to the present time, has exerted a wide influence. Sicily, southern Italy, Rome, Ravenna, and Venice contain many examples of Byzantine churches. Italian painting in the Middle Ages seems to have been derived directly from the mosaic pictures of the artists of Constantinople. Russia

Influence of
Byzantine
art

received not only its religion but also its art from Constantinople. The great Russian churches of Moscow and Petrograd follow Byzantine models. Even the Arabs, in spite of their hostility to Christianity, borrowed Byzantine artists and profited by their services. The Mohammedan mosques of Damascus, Cairo, and Cordova, both in methods of construction and in details of ornamentation, reproduce Byzantine styles.

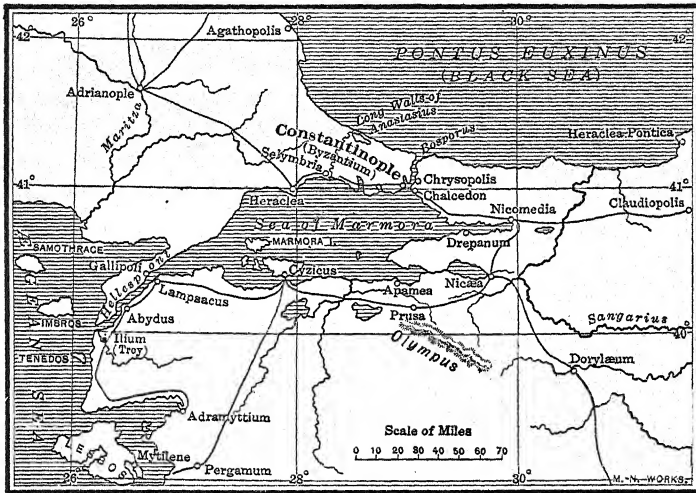
The libraries and museums of Constantinople preserved classical learning. In the flourishing schools of that city the wisest men of the day taught philosophy, law, medicine, and science to thousands of pupils. It is true that Byzantine scholars were erudite rather than original. Impressed by the great treasures of knowledge about them, they found it difficult to strike out into new, unbeaten paths. Most students were content to make huge collections of extracts and notes from the books which antiquity had bequeathed to them. Even this task was useful, however, for their encyclopedias preserved much information which otherwise would have been lost. During the Middle Ages the East cherished the productions of classical learning, until the time came when the West was ready to receive them and to profit by them.

17. Constantinople

The heart of Byzantine civilization was Constantinople. The city lies on a peninsula between the Sea of Marmora and the spacious harbor called the Golden Horn. Washed on three sides by the water and, like Rome, enthroned upon seven hills, Constantinople occupies a magnificent site, well-fitted for an imperial capital. It stands in Europe, looks on Asia, and commands the entrance to both the Mediterranean and the Black Sea. As an old writer once pointed out, Constantinople "is a city which Nature herself has designed to be the mistress of the world."

The position of Constantinople made it difficult to attack

but easy to defend. To surround the city an enemy would have to be strong upon both land and sea. A hostile army, advancing through Asia Minor, found its further advance arrested by the long, winding channel which the Bosphorus, the Sea of Marmora, and the Dardanelles combine to form. A hostile fleet, coming by way of the Mediterranean or the Black Sea, faced grave

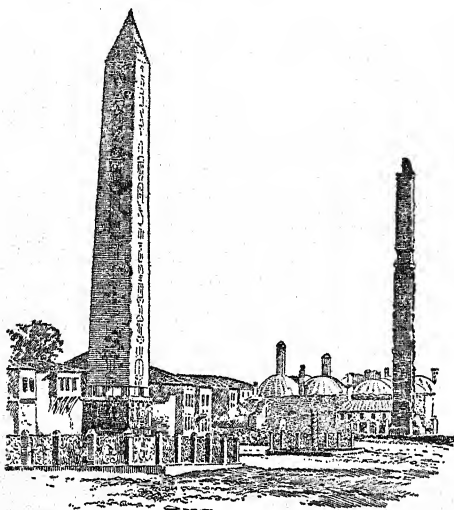


VICINITY OF CONSTANTINOPLE

difficulties in attempting to penetrate the narrow strait into which this waterway contracts at each extremity. On the landward side the line of defense was so short — about four miles in width — that it could be strongly fortified and held by a small force against large numbers. During the Middle Ages the rear of the city was protected by two huge walls, the remains of which are still visible. Constantinople, in fact, was all but impregnable. Though each new century brought a fresh horde of enemies, it resisted siege after siege and long continued to be the capital of what was left of the Roman Empire.¹

¹ Of the eight sieges to which Constantinople was subjected in medieval times, only two succeeded. In 1204 it was captured by the Venetians and in 1453, by the Ottoman Turks.

Constantine had laid out his new capital on an imposing scale and adorned it with the choicest treasures of art from Greece, Italy, and the Orient. Fourteen churches, fourteen palaces, eight public baths, and several triumphal arches are assigned to the founder of the city. His most stately building was the Hippodrome, an immense structure devoted to chariot races and all sorts of

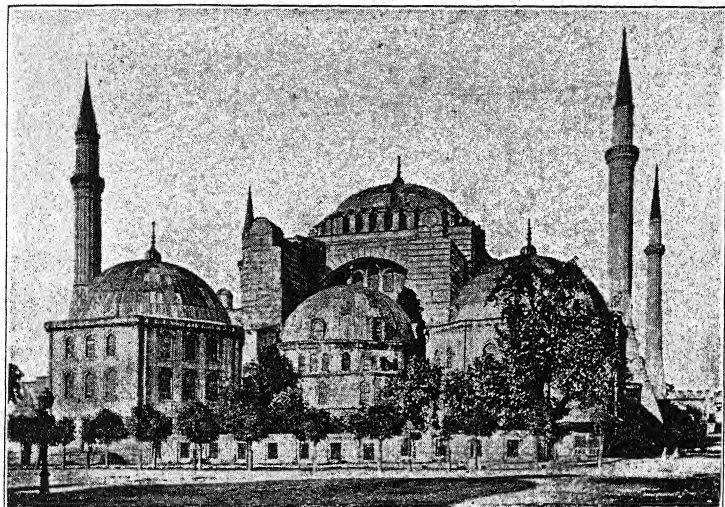


THE THREE EXISTING MONUMENTS OF THE HIPPODROME, CONSTANTINOPLE

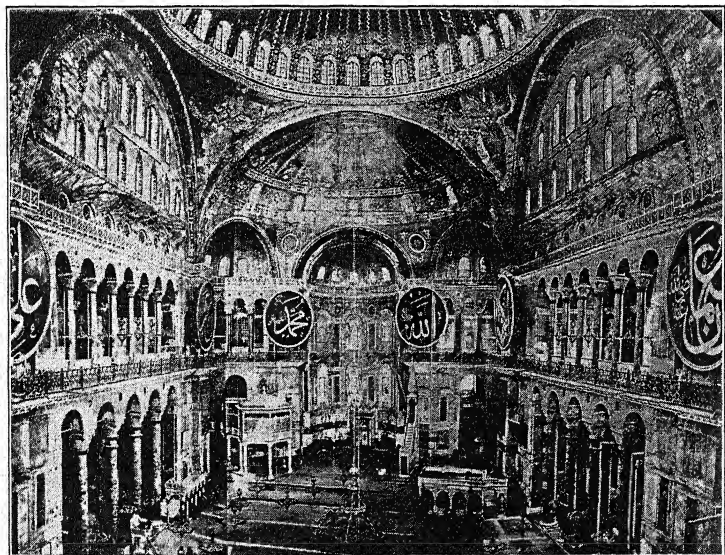
These three monuments preserve for us the exact line of the low wall, or *spina*, which divided the race course and around which the charioteers drove their furious steeds. The obelisk was transported from Egypt by Constantine. Between it and the crumbling tower beyond is a pillar of three brazen serpents, originally set up at Delphi by the Greeks, after the battle of Plataea. On this trophy were engraved the names of the various states that sent soldiers to fight the Persians.

to have erected more than twenty-five churches in Constantinople and its suburbs. Of these, the most beautiful is the world-famed cathedral dedicated by Justinian to "Holy Wisdom." On its completion the emperor declared that he had surpassed Solomon's Temple. Though nearly fourteen

popular gatherings. There new emperors, after their consecration in Sancta Sophia, were greeted by their subjects; there civic festivals were held; and there the last Roman triumphs were celebrated. Theodosius the Great built the principal gate of Constantinople, the "Golden Gate," as it was called, by which the emperors made their solemn entry into the city. But it was Justinian who, after Constantine, did most to adorn the new capital by the Bosphorus. He is said



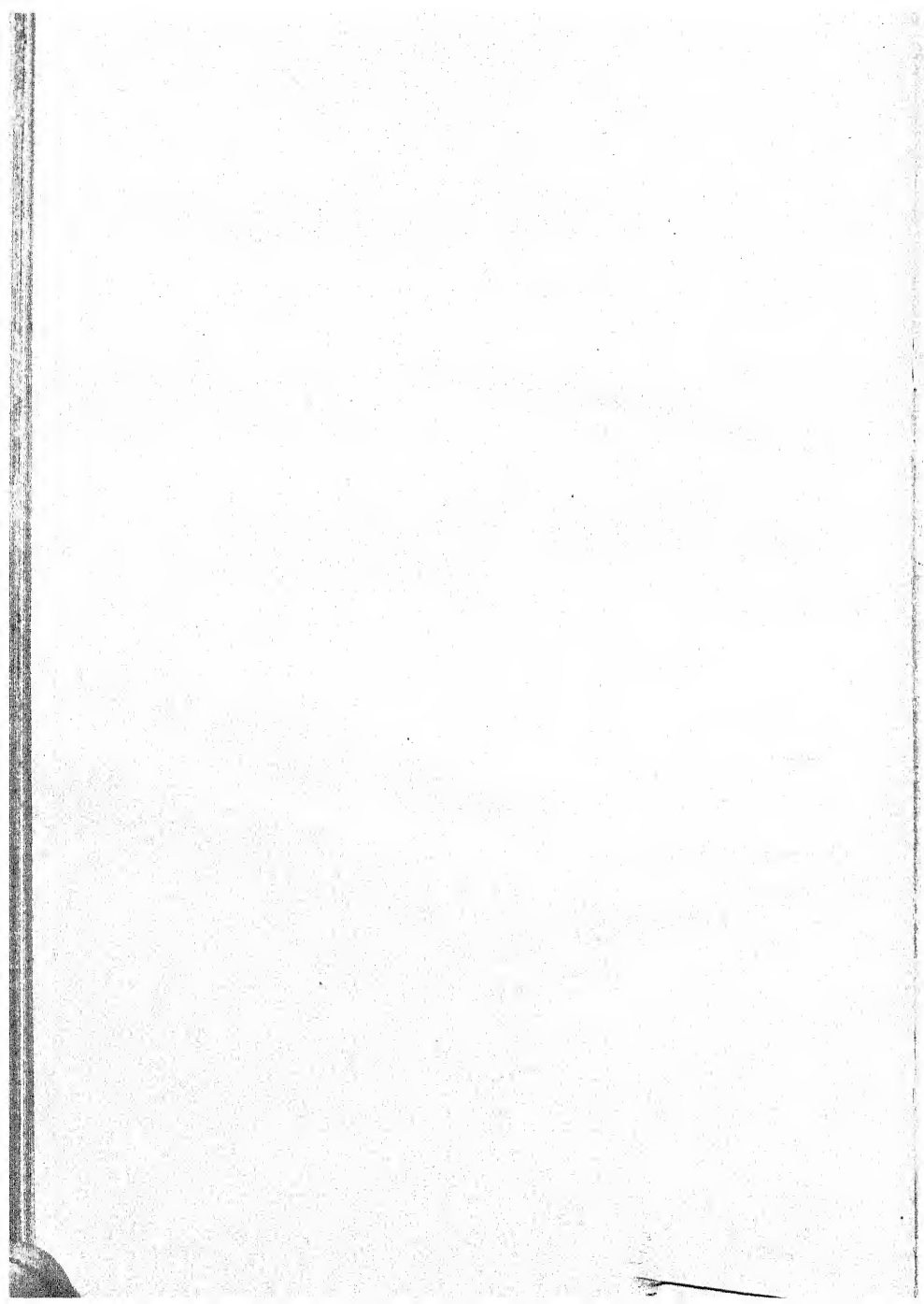
Exterior



Interior

SANCTA SOPHIA, CONSTANTINOPLE

Built by Justinian and dedicated on Christmas Day, 538 A.D. The main building is roofed over by a great central dome, 105 feet in diameter and 134 feet in height. After the Ottoman Turks turned the church into a mosque, a minaret was erected at each of the four exterior angles. The outside of Sancta Sophia is somewhat disappointing, but the interior, with its walls and columns of polished marble, granite, and porphyry, is magnificent. The crystal balustrades, pulpits, and large metal disks are Turkish.



hundred years old and now defaced by vandal hands, it remains perhaps the supreme achievement of Christian architecture.

Excepting Athens and Rome, no other European city can lay claim to so long and so important a history as Constantinople. Her day came after theirs was done. Throughout the Middle Ages Constantinople remained the most important place in Europe. When London, Paris, and Vienna were small and mean towns, Constantinople was a large and flourishing metropolis. The re-

Historic
significance
of Con-
stantinople



noun of the city penetrated even into barbarian lands. The Scandinavians called it Micklegarth, the "Great City"; the Russians knew of it as Tsarigrad, the "City of the Cæsars." But its own people best described it as the "City guarded by God." Here, for more than eleven centuries, was the capital of the Roman Empire and the center of eastern Christendom.

Studies

1. Compare the respective areas in 800 of the Roman Empire in the East and Charlemagne's empire. 2. On the map, page 41, locate Adrianople, Gallipoli, Nicæa, the Bosphorus, Sea of Marmora, and Dardanelles. 3. Explain the terms "Greek Empire," "Byzantine Empire," and "Roman Empire in the East." 4. In your opinion which of the two rival imperial lines after 800 had the better title to represent ancient Rome? 5. Why has Justinian been called the "lawgiver of civilization"? 6. Why was it necessary to codify Roman law? Is the English Common law codified? 7. What were the principal sources of the *Corpus Juris Civilis*? 8. "The Byzantines were the teachers of the Slavs, as the Romans were of the Germans." Comment on this statement. 9. In what parts of Europe is the influence of Byzantine art most clearly traceable? 10. The Byzantine Empire was once called "a gigantic mass of mold, a thousand years old." Does this seem a fair description? 11. "The history of medieval civilization is, in large measure, the history of the Roman Empire in the East." Comment on this statement. 12. Show that Constantinople formed "a natural citadel." 13. Describe the principal architectural features of Sancta Sophia (plate facing page 42). 14. On the map, page 43, trace the successive walls of Constantinople.

CHAPTER III

CHRISTIANITY IN THE EAST AND IN THE WEST TO 1054¹

18. Development of Christianity

CHRISTIANITY, at the time of its victory over paganism, had become a great and powerful organization, with fixed laws, with a graded system of officers, and with councils attended by clergy from all parts of the Roman world. To this organization the word Catholic, that is, "universal," came to be applied. Membership in the Catholic Church, secured only by baptism, was essential to salvation. As St. Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, had said, "He can no longer have God for his Father who has not the Church for his Mother."

The first three centuries of Christianity witnessed the development of the episcopal system in the Church. Each provincial city had its bishop, assisted by priests and deacons. An archbishop (sometimes called a metropolitan) presided over the bishops of each province, and a patriarch had jurisdiction, in turn, over metropolitans. This graded arrangement of ecclesiastical officers, from the lowest to the highest, helped to make the Church centralized and strong. It appears to have been modeled, almost unconsciously, on the government of the Roman Empire.²

The development of the patriarchate calls for special notice.

¹ Webster, *Readings in Medieval and Modern History*, chapter iii, "The Benedictine Rule"; chapter iv, "The Reestablishment of Christianity in Britain"; chapter v, "St. Boniface, Apostle to the Germans."

² The correspondence may be indicated as follows:

The Roman Empire
City — Municipal officials.
Province — Governor.
Diocese — Vicar.
Prefecture — Prefect.

The Christian Church
Bishop.
Archbishop, or Metropolitan.
Patriarch.
(No corresponding division.)

At the time of the Council of Nicæa there were three patriarchs, namely, the bishops of Rome, Antioch, and Alexandria. These cities ranked among the most important in the Roman Empire. It was only natural, therefore, that the churches established in them should be singled out for preëminence. Some years after the removal of the capital to Constantinople, the bishop of that imperial city was recognized as a patriarch at a general council of the Church. In the fifth century the bishop of Jerusalem received the same dignity. Henceforth there were five patriarchs — four in the East but only one in the West.¹

The Church formed a very democratic organization. Patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, priests, and deacons were drawn from all ranks of life. No special training at first was considered necessary to fit them for their duties, though the more celebrated ministers were often highly educated. To eke out their salaries the clergy sometimes carried on business as farmers and shopkeepers. Where, however, a church had sufficient funds to support its bishop, his engagement in secular affairs was discouraged and finally prohibited. In the fourth century, as earlier, priests and bishops were generally married men. The sentiment in favor of celibacy for the clergy became very pronounced during the early Middle Ages, especially in the West, and led at length to the general abandonment of priestly marriage in those parts of Europe where papal influence prevailed. Distinctive garments for clergymen did not begin to come into use until the fifth century, when some of them began to don clothing of a more sober hue than was fashionable at the time. Clerical vestments were developed from two pieces of ancient Roman dress — the tunic and the toga. Thus the clergy were gradually separated from the people, or laity, by differences in costume, by their celibate lives, and by their abstention from worldly occupations.

While the Church was perfecting her organization, she was also elaborating her doctrines. Theologians engaged in many

¹ For the boundaries of the patriarchates in 622 see the map between pages 62-63.

controversies upon such subjects as the connection of Christ with God and the nature of the Trinity. In order to obtain an authoritative expression of Christian opinion, councils of the higher clergy were held, at which the opposing views were debated and a decision was reached. The Council of Nicæa, which condemned Arianism,¹ formed the first, and one of the most important, of these general gatherings of the Church. After the Church had once expressed itself on any matter of Christian belief, it was regarded as unlawful to maintain a contrary opinion. Those who did so were frequently persecuted for heresy.

As soon as Christianity had triumphed in the Roman Empire, thus becoming the religion of the rich and powerful as well as the religion of the poor and

lowly, more attention was devoted to the conduct of worship. Magnificent church buildings were often erected. Their architects seem to have followed as models the basilicas, or public halls, which formed so familiar a sight in Roman cities. Church interiors were adorned with paintings, mosaic pictures, images of saints and martyrs, and the figure of



RELIGIOUS MUSIC

From a window of the cathedral of Bourges, a city in central France. Shows a pipe organ and chimes.

the cross. Lighted candles on the altars and the burning of fragrant incense lent an additional impressiveness to worship.

¹ Some theologians, headed by Arius, a priest of Alexandria, maintained that Christ the Son, having been created by God the Father, was necessarily inferior to him. Athanasius, another Alexandrian priest, opposed this view and held that Christ was not a created being, but was in all ways equal to God. The Council accepted the arguments of Athanasius, condemned Arius as a heretic, and framed the Nicene Creed. Though thrust out of the Church, Arianism continued to flourish among the Teutonic tribes, of which the majority were converted to Christianity by Arian missionaries.

Beautiful prayers and hymns were composed. Some of the early Christian hymns, such as the *Gloria in Excelsis* and the *Te Deum Laudamus*, are still sung in our churches. Organs did not come into use until the seventh century, and then only in the West, but church bells, summoning the worshiper to divine service, early became attached to Christian edifices.

The Christians from the start appear to have observed "the first day of the week"¹ in memory of Christ's resurrection.

Sunday They attended public worship on the Lord's Day, but otherwise did not rigidly abstain from worldly business and amusements. During the fourth century Sunday, as the Lord's Day was now generally called, came more and more to be kept as a day of obligatory rest. Constantine's Sunday law formed the first of a long series of imperial edicts imposing the observance of that day as a legal duty. In this manner Sunday, like the Jewish Sabbath on the seventh day of the week, was dedicated wholly to the exercises of religion.

The great yearly festivals of the Church gradually took shape during the early Christian centuries. The most important anniversary to be observed was Easter. A period of fasting (Lent), which finally lasted forty days, preceded the festival. Whitsunday, or Pentecost, was celebrated on the fiftieth day after Easter.² Two other festivals of later adoption were Christmas, the celebration of which was finally assigned to the 25th of December, and Epiphany (January 6), commemorating the baptism of Christ. Many other feasts and fasts, together with numerous saints' days, were afterwards added to the calendar of the "Christian Year."

19. Eastern Christianity

By the time of Constantine, Christianity had spread widely throughout the eastern half of the Roman Empire. Asia Minor

Expansion of Christianity in the East was then largely Christian. Thrace, Macedonia, Epirus, and Greece were all ecclesiastical provinces with their own metropolitans. Many Christians were found in Syria and Egypt. Churches also ex-

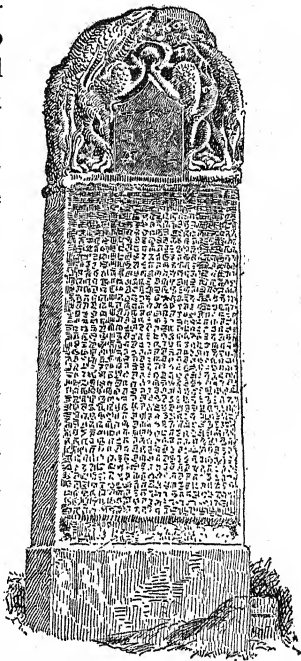
¹ *John*, xx, 1, 19; compare *1 Corinthians*, xvi, 2.

² See *Acts*, ii, 1-4.

isted in Mesopotamia and Arabia, and even beyond the boundaries of the empire in Armenia and Persia. Between the time of Constantine and that of Justinian, Christianity continued to expand in the East, until the gospel had been carried to such distant regions as Abyssinia and India.

Most of the Christian communities in the Orient owed allegiance to the patriarchs of Constantinople, Jerusalem, Antioch, and Alexandria. The Roman emperor, however, was the supreme religious authority in the East. He felt it as much his duty to maintain the doctrines and organization of Christianity as to preserve the imperial dominions against foreign foes. Since he presided over the Church, there could be no real independence for its officers. Bishops, metropolitans, and patriarchs were in every respect subordinate to his will. This union of Church and State formed one of the most characteristic features of Christianity in the East.

Eastern Christians, far more than those in the West, devoted themselves to theological speculations. Constantinople and the great Hellenistic cities of Antioch and Alexandria contained many learned scholars who had prolonged and heated arguments over subtle questions of belief. After the Arian controversy had been settled in the fourth century, other disputes concerning the



THE NESTORIAN MONUMENT

Evidence of Nestorian missions in China is afforded by the famous monument at Chang'an, province of Shensi. The stone, which was set up in 781, commemorates by an inscription in Chinese characters and the figure of a cross the introduction of Christianity into northwestern China. A replica of the Nestorian monument was taken to the United States in 1908 and was deposited in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

true nature of Christ broke out. These gave rise to many heresies.

The heresy known as Nestorianism, from Nestorius, a patriarch of Constantinople, spread widely in the East. Nestorian missionaries even penetrated to India, China, and Mongolia. The churches which they established were numerous and influential during the Middle Ages, but since then most of them have been destroyed by the Mohammedans. Members of this sect are still to be found, however, in eastern lands.

After the formation of the Nestorian and other heretical sects, the orthodox faith was preserved in the East only by the Greeks of Asia Minor and Europe. The Greek Church, which calls itself the "Holy Orthodox Church," for a time remained in unity with the Roman Church in the West. Their final separation occurred in the eleventh century.¹

20. Western Christianity: Rise of the Papacy

Christianity in the West presented two sharp contrasts to eastern Christianity. In the first place, the great heresies which divided the East scarcely affected the West. In the second place, no union of Church and State existed among western Christians. Instead of acknowledging the religious supremacy of the emperor at Constantinople, they yielded obedience to the bishop of Rome, the head of the Roman Church. He is known to us as the pope, and his office is called the Papacy.

A church in Rome must have been established at an early date, for it was to Roman Christians that St. Paul addressed one of the *Epistles* now preserved in the New Testament. St. Paul visited Rome, as we know from the *Acts of the Apostles*, and there he is said to have suffered martyrdom. Christian tradition, very ancient and very generally received, declares that St. Peter also labored in Rome, where he met a martyr's death, perhaps during the

¹ See pages 64-65.

reign of the emperor Nero. To the early Christians, therefore, the Roman Church was especially sacred, for it had been founded by the two greatest apostles and had been nourished by their blood.

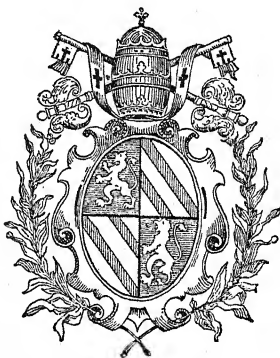
Another circumstance helped to give the Roman Church a superior position in the West. It was a vigorous missionary

church. Rome, the largest and most flourishing city in the empire and the seat of the imperial government, naturally became the center from which Christianity spread over the western provinces. Many of the first Christian communities planted in Spain, Gaul, and Africa owed their start to the missionary zeal of the popes.

The independence of the Roman Church also furthered its development. The bishop of Rome was the sole patriarch in the West, while in the East there were two, and later four patriarchs, each exercising authority in religious matters. Furthermore, the removal of the capital from Rome to Constantinople helped to free the Roman bishop from the close oversight of the imperial government. He was able, henceforth, to promote the interests of the church under his control without much interference on the part of the eastern emperor.

Finally, it must be noted how much the development of the Roman Church was aided by its attitude on disputed questions of belief. While eastern Christendom was torn by theological controversies, the Church of Rome stood firmly by the Nicene Creed. After the Arian, Nestorian, and other heresies were finally condemned,

Rome a
"mother-
church"



PAPAL ARMS

According to the well-known passage in *Matthew* (xvi, 19), Christ gave to St. Peter the "keys of the kingdom of heaven," with the power "to bind and to loose." These keys are always represented in the papal arms, together with the tiara or head-dress, worn by the popes on certain occasions.

The Roman
Church
orthodox

orthodox Christians felt indebted to the Roman Church for its unwavering championship of "the faith once delivered to the saints." They were all the more ready, therefore, to defer to that church in matters of doctrine and to accept without question its spiritual authority.

The claim of the Roman bishops to supremacy over the Christian world had a double basis. Certain passages in the New Testament, where St. Peter is represented as the rock on which the Church is built, the pastor of the sheep and lambs of the Lord, and the doorkeeper of the kingdom of heaven, appear to indicate that he was regarded by Christ as the chief of the Apostles. Furthermore, a well-established tradition made St. Peter the founder of the Roman Church and its first bishop. It was then argued that he passed to his successors, the popes, all his rights and dignity. As St. Peter was the first among the Apostles, so the popes were to be the first among bishops. Such was the doctrine of the Petrine supremacy, expressed as far back as the second century, strongly asserted by many popes during the Middle Ages, and maintained to-day by the Roman Church.

21. Growth of the Papacy

Up to the middle of the fifth century about forty-five bishops had occupied St. Peter's chair at Rome. The most eminent of these was Leo the Great. When he became bishop, the Germans were overrunning the western provinces of the empire. The invaders professed the Arian faith, as we have seen, and often prosecuted the orthodox Christians among whom they settled. At such a time, when the imperial power was growing weaker, faithful Catholics in the West naturally turned for support to the bishop of Rome. Leo became their champion against the barbarians. Tradition declares that he succeeded in diverting Attila from an attack on Rome, and when the Vandals sacked the city Leo also intervened to prevent its destruction.

After Leo, no important name occurs in the list of popes

Pontificate
of Leo I,
440-461

until we come to Gregory the Great. Gregory, as the son of a rich and distinguished Roman senator, enjoyed a good education in all the learning of the time. He entered public life and at an early age became prefect of Rome. But now, almost at the outset of his career, Gregory laid aside earthly ambition. He gave up his honorable position and spent the fortune, inherited from his father, in the foundation of monasteries and the relief of the poor. He himself became a monk, turned his palace at Rome into a monastery, and almost ruined his health by too great devotion to fasts and midnight vigils. Gregory's conspicuous talents, however, soon called him from retirement and led to his election as pope.

Pontificate of
Gregory I,
590-604

The work of Gregory lay principally in two directions. As a statesman he did much to make the popes virtual sovereigns at Rome and in Italy. At this time the Italian peninsula, overrun by the Lombards and neglected by the eastern emperor, was in a deplorable condition. The bishop of Rome seemed to be the only man who could protect the people and maintain order. Gregory had conspicuous success in this task. He appointed governors of cities, issued orders to generals, drilled the Romans for military defense, and sent ambassadors to treat with the king of the Lombards. It was largely owing to Gregory's efforts that these barbarians were prevented from conquering central Italy.

Temporal
power of
Gregory

Gregory was no less eminent as a churchman. His writings and his personal influence greatly furthered the advancement of the Roman Church in the West. We find him sternly repressing heresies wherever they arose, aiding the conversion of Arian Visigoths in Spain and Arian Lombards in Italy, and sending out monks as missionaries to distant Britain.¹ He well deserved by these labors the title "Servant of the servants of God,"² which he assumed, and which the popes after him have retained. The admiration felt for his character and abilities raised him, in later ages, to the rank of a saint.

Gregory's
spiritual
authority

¹ See page 26.

² *Servus servorum Dei.*

When Gregory the Great closed his remarkable career, the Papacy had reached a commanding place in western Christendom. To their spiritual authority the popes had now begun to add some measure of temporal power as rulers at Rome and in Italy. During the eighth century, as we have already learned,¹ the alliance of the popes and the Franks helped further to establish the Papacy as an ecclesiastical monarchy, ruling over both the souls and bodies of men.

22. Monasticism

The Papacy during the Middle Ages found its strongest supporters among the monks. By the time of Gregory the Great monasticism² was well established in Christianity. Its origin must be sought in the need, often felt by spiritually minded men, of withdrawing from the world—from its temptations and its transitory pleasures—to a life of solitude, prayer, and religious contemplation. Joined to this feeling has been the conviction that the soul may be purified by subduing the desires and passions of the body. Men, influenced by the monastic spirit, sought a closer approach to God.

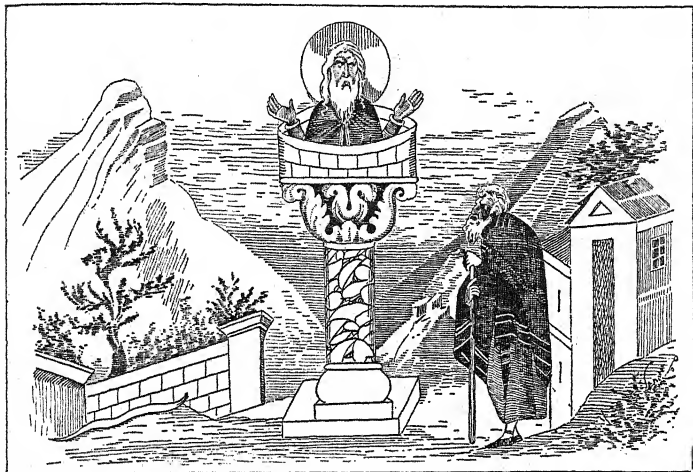
The monastic spirit in Christianity owed much to the example of its founder, who was himself unmarried, poor, and without a place "where to lay his head." Some of Christ's teachings, taken literally, also helped to exalt the worth of the monastic life. At a very early period there were Christian men and women who abstained from marriage and gave themselves up to devotional exercises and works of charity. This they did in their homes, without abandoning their families and human society.

Another monastic movement began about the middle of the third century, when many Christians in Egypt withdrew into the desert to live as hermits. St. Anthony, who has been called the first Christian hermit, passed twenty years in a deserted fort on the east bank of the Nile.

¹ See page 11.

² From a Greek word which means "living alone."

During all this time he never saw a human face. Some of the hermits, believing that pain and suffering had a spiritual value, went to extremes of self-mortification. They dwelt in wells, tombs, and on the summits of pillars, deprived themselves of necessary food and sleep, wore no clothing, and neglected to bathe or to care for the body in any way. Other hermits, who did not practice such austerities, spent all day or all night in



ST. DANIEL THE STYLITE ON HIS COLUMN

From a Byzantine miniature in the Vatican.

prayer. The examples of these recluses found many imitators in Syria and other eastern lands.¹

A life shut off from all contact with one's fellows is difficult and beyond the strength of ordinary men. The mere human need for social intercourse gradually brought the hermits together, at first in small groups and then in larger communities, or monasteries. The next step was to give the scattered monasteries a common organization and government. Those in the East gradually adopted the regulations which St. Basil, a leading churchman of the fourth

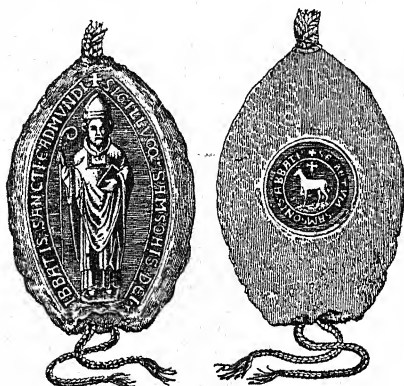
Rule of
St. Basil

¹ See Tennyson's poem, *St. Simeon Stylites*.

century, drew up for the guidance of the monks under his direction. St. Basil's Rule, as it is called, still remains the basis of monasticism in the Greek Church.

The monastic system, which early gained an entrance into western Christendom, looked to St. Benedict as its organizer.

St. Benedict While yet a young man, St. Benedict had sought to escape from the vice about him by retiring to a cave in the Sabine hills near Rome. Here he lived for three years as a hermit, shutting himself off from all human inter-



AN ABBOT'S SEAL

The seal of Abbot Samson, head of the monastery of St. Edmundsbury, England, 1182-1212.

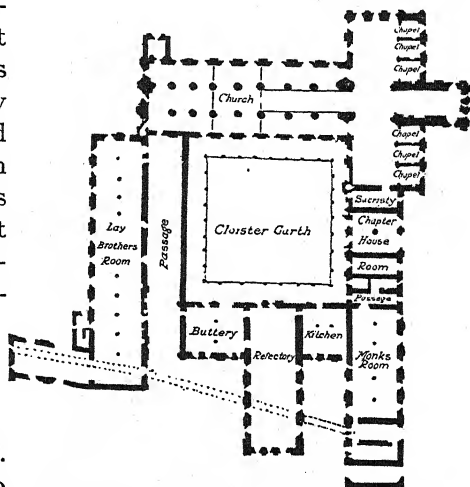
course, wearing a hair shirt, and rolling in beds of thistles to subdue "the flesh." St. Benedict's experience of the hermit's life convinced him that there was a surer and better road to religious peace of mind. His fame as a holy man had attracted to him many disciples, and these he now began to group in monastic communities under his own supervision. St.

Benedict's most important monastery was at Monte Cassino, midway between Rome and Naples. It became the capital of monasticism in the West.

To control the monks of Monte Cassino St. Benedict framed a Rule, or constitution, which was modeled in some respects upon the earlier Rule of St. Basil. The monks formed a sort of corporation, presided over by an abbot,¹ who held office for life. Every candidate for admission took the vow of obedience to the abbot. Any man, rich or poor, noble or peasant, might enter the mon-

¹ From a Syrian word, *abba*, meaning "father." Hence a monastery was often called an abbey.

astery, after a year's probation; having once joined, however, he must remain a monk for the rest of his days. The monks were to live under strict discipline. They could not own any property; they could not go beyond the monastery walls without the abbot's consent; they could not even receive letters from home; and they were sent to bed early. A violation of the regulations brought punishment in the shape of private admonition, exclusion from common prayer, and, in extreme cases, expulsion.



PLAN OF KIRSTALL ABBEY, YORKSHIRE

The Rule of St. Benedict came to have the same wide influence in the West which that of St. Basil exerted in the East. Gregory the Great established it in many places in Italy, Sicily, and England. During Charlemagne's reign it was made the only form of monasticism throughout his dominions. By the tenth century the Rule prevailed everywhere in western Europe.¹

Spread of the Benedictine Rule

23. Life and Work of the Monks

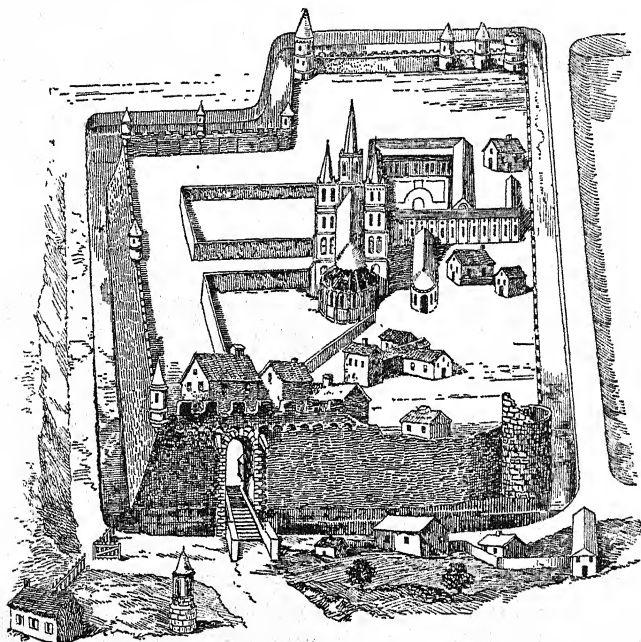
St. Benedict sought to draw a sharp line between the monastic life and that of the outside world. Hence he required that, as far as possible, each monastery should form an independent, self-supporting community. In course of time, as a monastery increased in wealth and number

A monastic community

¹ Other monastic orders arose during the later Middle Ages (see pages 145-146), but the Benedictines still exist, chiefly in Austria and Italy. Their order was introduced into the United States during the nineteenth century.

of inmates, it might come to form a large establishment, covering many acres and presenting within its massive walls the appearance of a fortified town.

The principal buildings of a Benedictine monastery of the



ABBAY OF SAINT-GERMAIN DES PRÉS, PARIS

This celebrated monastery was founded in the sixth century. Of the original buildings only the abbey church remains. The illustration shows the monastery as it was in 1361, with walls, towers, drawbridge, and moat. Adjoining the church were the cloister, the refectory, and the dormitory.

larger sort were grouped around an inner court, called a cloister.

The monas-
tery build-
ings

These included a church, a refectory, or dining room, with the kitchen and buttery near it, a dormitory, where the monks slept, and a chapter house, where they transacted business. There was also a library, a school, a hospital, and a guest house for the reception of strangers, besides barns, bakeries, laundries, workshops, and storerooms for provisions. Beyond these buildings lay

vegetable gardens, orchards, grain fields, and often a mill, if the monastery was built on a stream. A high wall and ditch gave the monks the necessary seclusion and in time of danger protected them from attack.

St. Benedict defined a monastery as "a school for the service of the Lord." The monks under his Rule occupied themselves with a regular round of worship, reading, and **Monastic** manual labor. Each day was divided into seven **occupations** sacred offices, beginning and ending with services in the monastery church. The first service came usually about two o'clock in the morning; the last, just as evening set in, before the monks retired to rest. In addition to their attendance at church, the monks spent several hours in reading from the Bible, private prayer, and meditation. For most of the day, however, they worked hard with their hands, doing the necessary washing and cooking for the monastery, raising the necessary supplies of vegetables and grain, and performing all the other tasks required to maintain a large establishment. This emphasis on labor, as a religious duty, was a characteristic feature of western monasticism. "To labor is to pray," became a favorite motto of the Benedictines.¹

It is clear that life in a Benedictine monastery appealed to many different kinds of people in the Middle Ages. Those of a spiritual turn of mind found in the career of a monk the opportunity of giving themselves wholly to God. Studios and thoughtful persons naturally turned to the monastery as a secure retreat. The friendless and the disgraced often took refuge within its walls. Many a troubled soul, to whom the trials of this world seemed unendurable, sought to escape from them by seeking the peaceful shelter of the cloister.

The civilizing influence of the Benedictine monks during the early Middle Ages can scarcely be over-emphasized. A monastery was often at once a model farm, an inn, a **Attractive-** hospital, a school, and a library. By the careful **ness of the** cultivation of their lands the monks set an example of good **monastic life** **The monks** **as civilizers**

¹ *Laborare est orare.*

farming wherever they settled. They entertained pilgrims and travelers, at a period when western Europe was almost destitute of inns. They performed many works of charity, feeding the hungry, healing the sick who were brought to their doors, and



A MONK COPYIST

From a manuscript in the British Museum, London.

distributing their medicines freely to those who needed them. In their schools they trained both boys who wished to become priests and those who intended to lead active lives in the world. The monks, too, were the only scholars of the age. By copying the manuscripts of classical authors, they preserved valuable books that would otherwise have been lost. By keeping records of the most striking events of their time, they acted as chroniclers of medieval history. To all these services must be added the work of the monks as missionaries among the heathen.

24. Spread of Christianity over Europe

Almost all Europe had been won to Christianity by the end of the eleventh century. In the direction of this great mis-

**The Roman
Church and
the bar-
barians**

sionary campaign the Roman Church took the leading part. The officers of her armies were zealous popes, bishops, and abbots; her private soldiers were equally zealous monks, priests, and laymen. Pagan Rome had never succeeded in making a complete and permanent conquest of the barbarians. Christian Rome, however, was able to bring them under her spiritual sway.

Christianity first reached the Teutonic invaders in its Arian ¹ form. Visigoths, Ostrogoths, Vandals, Burgundians, and Lombards were all Arians. The Roman Church regarded them as heretics and labored with success to reconvert them. This work was at last completed when the Lombards, in the seventh century, accepted the Catholic faith.

Reconversion
of the Teu-
tonic peoples

The Franks and the Anglo-Saxons, whose kingdoms were to develop into the chief states of medieval Europe, adopted from the outset the Catholic form of Christianity. The conversion of the Franks provided the Roman Church with its strongest and most faithful adherents among the Germans.² The conversion of Anglo-Saxon Britain by Augustine and his monks, followed later by the spread of Roman Catholicism in Ireland and Scotland, firmly united the British Isles to the Papacy.³ Thus Rome during the Middle Ages came to be the one center of church life for the peoples of western Europe.

Franks and
Anglo-Saxons
converted to
Roman
Catholicism

An Anglo-Saxon monk, St. Boniface, did more than any other missionary to bring Christianity to the remote tribes of Germany. Like Augustine in England, St. Boniface was sent by the pope, who created him a missionary bishop and ordered him to "carry the word of God to unbelievers." St. Boniface also enjoyed the support of the Frankish rulers, Charles Martel and Pepin the Short. Thanks to their assistance this intrepid monk was able to penetrate into the heart of Germany. Here he labored for nearly forty years, preaching, baptizing, and founding numerous churches, monasteries, and schools. His boldness in attacking heathenism is illustrated by the story of how he cut down with his own hands a certain oak tree, much revered by the natives of Hesse as sacred to the god Woden, and out of its wood built a chapel dedicated to St. Peter. St. Boniface crowned a lifetime of missionary labor with a martyr's death, probably in 754. His work was continued by Charlemagne, who forced the Saxons to accept Christianity at the

St. Boniface
and the con-
version of
the Germans

¹ See page 47, note 1.

² See page 9.

³ See pages 25-29.

point of the sword.¹ All Germany at length became a Christian land, devoted to the Papacy.

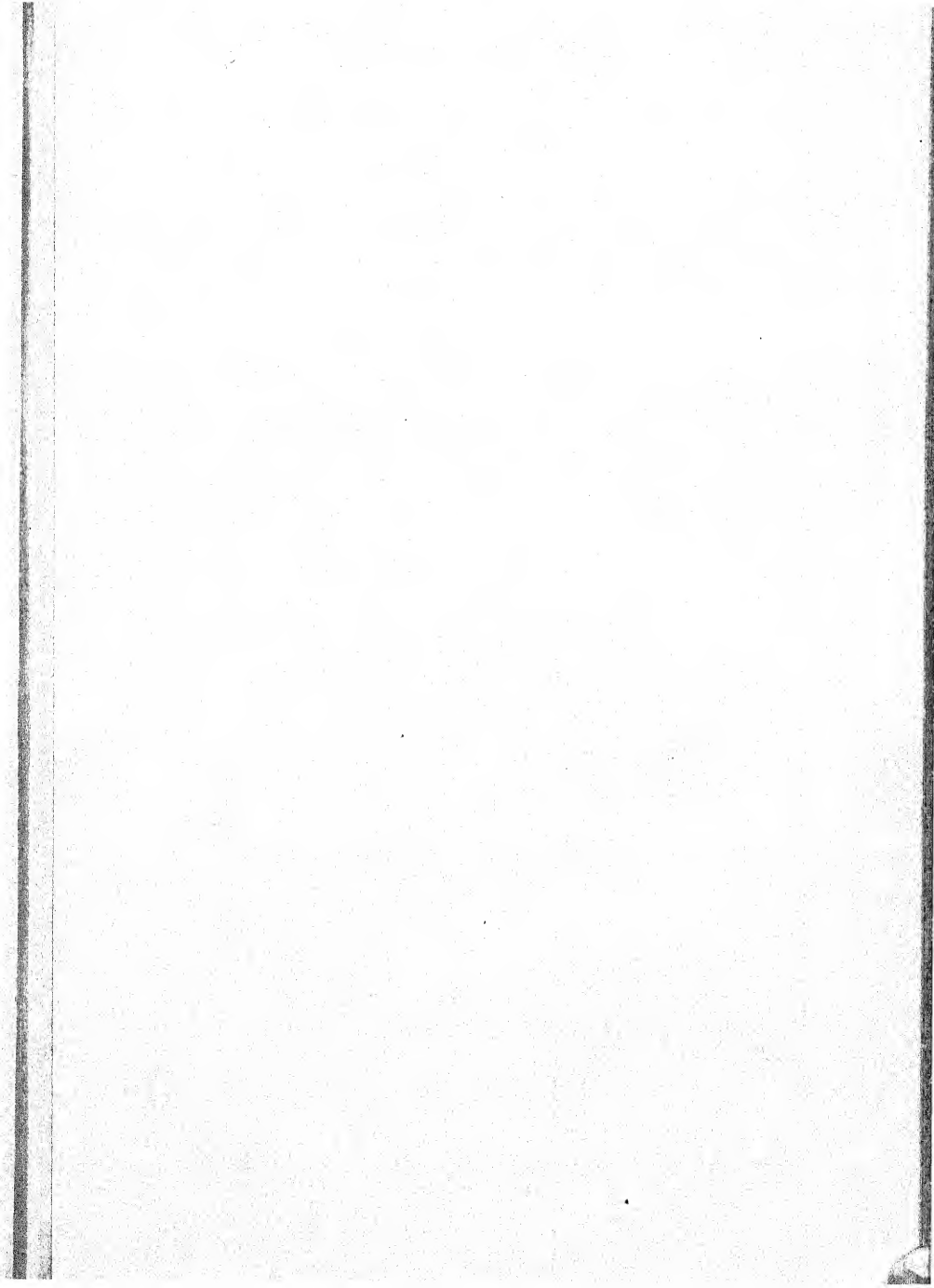
Roman Catholicism not only spread to Celtic and Teutonic peoples, but it also gained a foothold among the Slavs. Both **Conversion of the Slavs** Henry the Fowler and Otto the Great attempted to Christianize the Slavic tribes between the Elbe and the Vistula, by locating bishoprics in their territory. The work of conversion encountered many setbacks and did not reach completion until the middle of the twelfth century. The most eminent missionaries to the Slavs were Cyril and Methodius. These brother-monks were sent from Constantinople in 863 to convert the Moravians, who formed a kingdom on the eastern boundary of Germany. Seeing their great success as missionaries, the pope invited them to Rome and secured their consent to an arrangement which brought the Moravian Christians under the control of the Papacy.² From Moravia Christianity penetrated into Bohemia and Poland. These countries still remain strongholds of the Roman Church. The Serbians and Russians, as we have learned,³ received Christianity by way of Constantinople and so became adherents of the Greek Church.

Roman Catholicism gradually spread to most of the remaining peoples of Europe. The conversion of the Norwegians and Swedes was well advanced by the middle of the **Final extension of Roman Catholicism** eleventh century. The Magyars, or Hungarians, accepted Christianity at about the same date. The king of Hungary was such a devout Catholic that the pope sent to him a golden crown and saluted him as "His Apostolic Majesty." The last parts of heathen Europe to hear the message of the gospel were the districts south and east of the Baltic, occupied by the Prussians, Lithuanians, and Finns. Their conversion took place between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries.

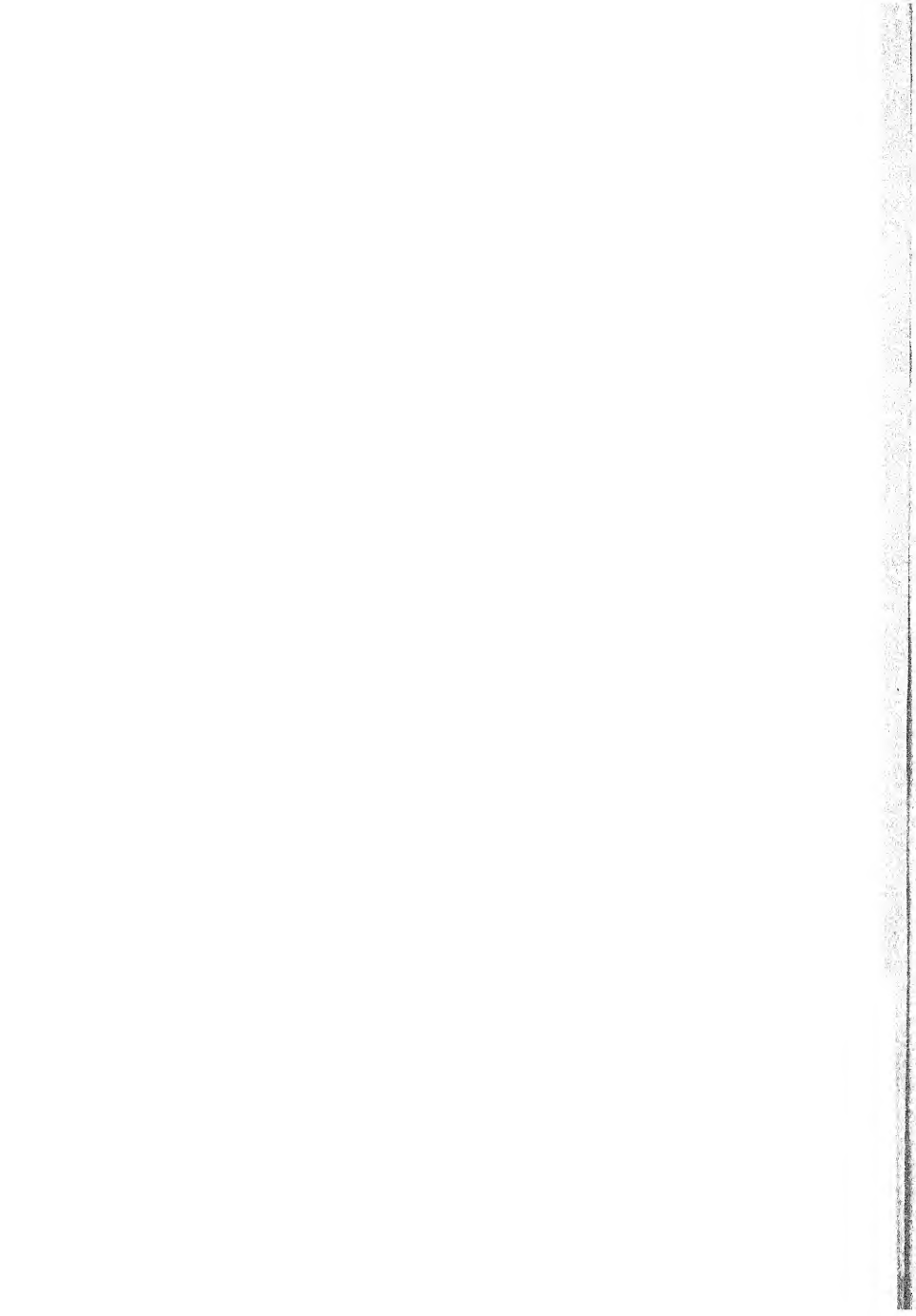
¹ See pages 12-13.

² Cyril and Methodius were canonized by Pope Leo XIII in 1881. A millennial celebration of the two apostles was held in 1863 by the inhabitants of Moravia and Bohemia.

³ See page 38. The Bulgarians also received Christianity from Constantinople.







25. Separation of Eastern and Western Christianity

Before the Christian conquest of Europe was finished, Christianity had divided into two great communions — the Greek Church and the Roman Church. Their separation was a long, slow process, arising from the deep-seated differences between East and West.

**Divergence
of East and
West**

Though Rome had carried her victorious arms throughout the Mediterranean basin, all the region east of the Adriatic was imperfectly Romanized. It remained Greek in language and culture and tended, as time went on, to grow more and more unlike the West, which was truly Roman. The founding of Constantinople and the transference of the capital from the banks of the Tiber to the shores of the Bosphorus still further widened the breach between the two halves of the Roman world. After the Germans established their kingdoms in Italy, Spain, Gaul, and Britain, western Europe was practically independent of the rulers at Constantinople. The coronation of Charlemagne in 800 marked the final severance of East and West.

The division of the Roman Empire led naturally to a grouping of Christian churches about Rome and Constantinople, the two chief centers of government. The popes, it has been seen, had always enjoyed spiritual leadership in the West. In temporal matters they acknowledged the authority of the eastern emperors,

**The Papacy
and the
eastern
emperors**

until the failure of the latter to protect Rome and Italy from the barbarians showed clearly that the popes must rely on their own efforts to defend Christian civilization. We have already learned how well such men as Leo the Great and Gregory the Great performed this task. Then in the eighth century came the alliance with the Frankish king, Pepin the Short, which gave the Papacy a powerful and generous protector beyond the Alps. Finally, by crowning Charlemagne, the pope definitely broke with the emperor at Constantinople and transferred his allegiance to the newly created western emperor.

The patriarch of Constantinople, as bishop of the capital

city, naturally occupied a prominent position in eastern Christendom. Before long he assumed the high-sounding title of "Universal Archbishop." His authority was immensely strengthened when the Mohammedans, having conquered Syria and Egypt, practically extinguished the three patriarchates of Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria.¹ The Church in the East now had a single patriarch, just as that in the West had the one bishop of Rome. Rivalry between them was inevitable.

Rivalry between pope and patriarch One source of strife between pope and patriarch was the controversy, arising in the eighth century, over the use of images in the churches. These images seem to have been, not statues, but pictures (icons) of the apostles, saints, and martyrs. Many eastern Christians sought to strip the churches of icons, on the ground that by the ignorant they were venerated almost as idols. The Iconoclasts ("image-breakers") gained no support in the West. The Papacy took the view that images were a help to true devotion and might, therefore, be allowed. When a Roman emperor issued a decree for the destruction of all images, the pope refused to obey the order in the churches under his direction, and went so far as to exclude the Iconoclasts from Christian fellowship. Although the iconoclastic movement failed in the East, after a violent controversy, it helped still further to sharpen the antagonism between eastern and western Christianity. Other causes of dispute arose in later times, chiefly concerning fine points of doctrine on which neither side would yield.

The final rupture, 1054 The final rupture of Christendom was delayed until the middle of the eleventh century. In 1054 the pope sent his legates to Constantinople to demand obedience to the Papacy. This being refused, they laid upon the high altar of Sancta Sophia the pope's bull of excommunication. Against the patriarch and his followers they pronounced a solemn curse, or anathema, devoting them

¹ See page 76.

"to the eternal society of the Devil and his angels." Then, we are told, they strode out of Sancta Sophia, shaking the dust from their feet and crying, "Let God see and judge." The two branches of Christendom, thus torn apart, were never afterward reunited.¹

26. The Greek Church

Both the Greek and Roman churches recognize three orders for the ministry, namely, bishops, priests, and deacons. Baptism, by both churches, is administered to infants, but by the Greek Church under the form of total immersion. Confirmation in the Greek Church follows immediately after baptism; in the Roman Church it is postponed to the age of reason. In the communion service the Greek Church gives leavened bread, dipped in wine. The Roman Church withholds wine from the laity and uses only a dry, unleavened wafer. The festivals of the Greek Church do not coincide in time of celebration with those of the Roman Church, since the "Julian Calendar" followed in the East is now thirteen days behind the "Gregorian Calendar."

The Greek
and Roman
churches
compared

The Greek Church has not lacked missionary zeal. Through her agency the barbarians who entered southeastern Europe during the early Middle Ages were converted to Christianity. At the present time nearly all the peoples of the Balkan peninsula, including Greeks, Montenegrins, Serbians, Bulgarians, and Rumanians, belong to the Greek Church.² Its greatest victory was won toward the close of the tenth century, when the Russians were induced to accept the Greek form of Christianity. Outlying branches of the Greek Church are found also in the Turkish Empire.

Spread of
the Greek
Church

The patriarch of Constantinople is the spiritual head of the

¹ Unsuccessful attempts to bring the two churches together took place in the Middle Ages. The latest movement in this direction was made by Pope Leo XIII in 1894, but his efforts were not crowned with success.

² Many Roman Catholics are found in Croatia-Slavonia, Bosnia, Dalmatia, and Albania.

Greek Church. He enjoys, however, no such wide authority over eastern Christians as that exercised by the pope over all Roman Catholics. There are as many as sixteen branches of the Greek Church, each self-governing and under its own officers.

Present organization of the Greek Church

Despite the local independence of its branches, the Greek Church remains unified in doctrine. It claims to be the only "Orthodox" church and clings with almost Oriental conservatism to the traditions of earlier ages. Nevertheless, as the principal church of Russia, the largest and most swiftly growing of European countries, the Greek Church has before it a future of great importance.

27. The Roman Church

The Roman Empire in the West had gone down before the assaults of the Teutonic barbarians, but in its place had arisen a new creation—the Roman Church. The leading city of the old empire became the capital of the Papacy. The pope took, and has since retained, the title of Supreme Pontiff (*Pontifex Maximus*), once given to the head of the Roman state religion. Latin has continued to be the official language of Roman Catholicism. The Roman genius for law and government found a new expression in the creation of the papal power. The true successors of the ancient Roman statesmen were the popes of the Middle Ages. The idea of Rome, of her universality and of her eternity, lived on in the Roman Church.

The Roman Church survives the empire

The Roman Church, as the successor of the Roman Empire in the West, formed the chief center of civilization during the earlier part of the Middle Ages. She stood between the conquering Germans and the Romanized provincials and helped to join them both in lasting union. To the heathen she sent out her missionaries, preaching a religion of love and charity and introducing a higher morality than the barbarians had ever known before. She multiplied hospitals, orphanages, and asylums. Her bishops were the only protectors of the weak and the oppressed. She

Work of the Roman Church

fostered education, art, and learning within the walls of churches and monasteries. Her priests and monks were the only teachers in an ignorant age. In an age of bloodshed and violence, when might made right, she proclaimed the superiority of the spirit to mere brute force. To sum up: The Roman Church was an indispensable agent in the making of medieval Europe.

Christianity in its Greek and Roman forms was not the only great religion of the Middle Ages. In the seventh century, before the separation of the two churches had been completed and before all Europe had become Christian, another religion arose. It grew with marvelous rapidity, stripped the Church of much territory in western Asia, northern Africa, and Spain, and promised for a time to become the dominant faith of the world. This was Islam, or Mohammedanism, the religion of the Arabs.

The menace
to Christen-
dom

Studies

1. In what different senses is the word "church" often used?
2. "The eastern patriarch was the shadow of the emperor, cast on the spiritual world." Explain this statement.
3. Why did heresies develop in the East rather than in the West?
4. Look up in the New Testament the following texts relating to the primacy of St. Peter: *Matthew*, xvi, 18-19; *Luke*, xxii, 31-32; and *John*, xxi, 15-17.
5. What is "the power of the keys" which the popes claim to possess?
6. What reasons for the growth of the Papacy have been set forth in this chapter?
7. In what non-Christian religions is monasticism an established institution?
8. Look up in the New Testament the following texts quoted as favorable to monasticism: *Matthew*, xix, 21; *Mark*, x, 29-30; and *Luke*, xiv, 26.
9. What is the origin of the words "monk," "hermit," "anchorite," and "abbot"?
10. Summarize the principal benefits which the monastic system conferred on Europe.
11. Give reasons for the rapid conversion of the Germans to Christianity.
12. In what sense is it true that "half Europe owes its Christianity to women"?
13. Who was the "Apostle to the Germans"?
14. Who were the "Apostles to the Slavs"?
15. Comment on the significance to European civilization of the missionary activity of the Christian Church in the Middle Ages.
16. Why has the separation of the Greek and Roman churches been described as "the most momentous fact in the history of Christendom during the Middle Ages"?
17. Why could not such an institution as the Papacy develop in the East?

CHAPTER IV

THE ORIENT AGAINST THE OCCIDENT: RISE AND SPREAD OF ISLAM, 622-1058¹

28. Arabia and the Arabs

ARABIA, a vast peninsula between the Persian Gulf, the Indian Ocean, and the Red Sea, forms the link between Asia and Africa. It is connected with Asia by the Arabian peninsula arid plains extending northward to the Euphrates; with Africa, by the equally arid isthmus of Suez. Though the country is more than one-third the size of the United States (excluding Alaska), it has never supported a large population. The interior, except for occasional oases, is a desert, inhabited only by wandering tribes. Along the southern and western coasts, between the mountains and the sea, the soil is generally fertile, the climate temperate, and the rainfall sufficient. Here the chief cities and towns are located.

The Bedouin Arabs, by which name the nomadic inhabitants of the desert are known, claim Ishmael, the son of Abraham and half-brother of Isaac, as their ancestor. The life which they lead in the Arabian wilderness closely resembles that of the Hebrew patriarchs, as described in the Old Testament. The Bedouins are shepherds and herdsmen, continually moving with their sheep and camels from one pasturage and water-hole to another. Their virtues — hospitality to the stranger, generosity, faithfulness to the ties of kinship — are those of a nomadic, barbarian people. Such also are their vices — love of fighting and plunder, revengefulness, and impatience of restraint. Nothing like a settled government is known to them. The only tribal authority is that of the chief, or "sheik," who, because of his birth,

¹ Webster, *Readings in Medieval and Modern History*, chapter vi, "The Teachings of Mohammed."

courage, or wealth, has been chosen to the leadership. This description of the Bedouins to-day applies equally well to them in the age of Mohammed, during the sixth century.

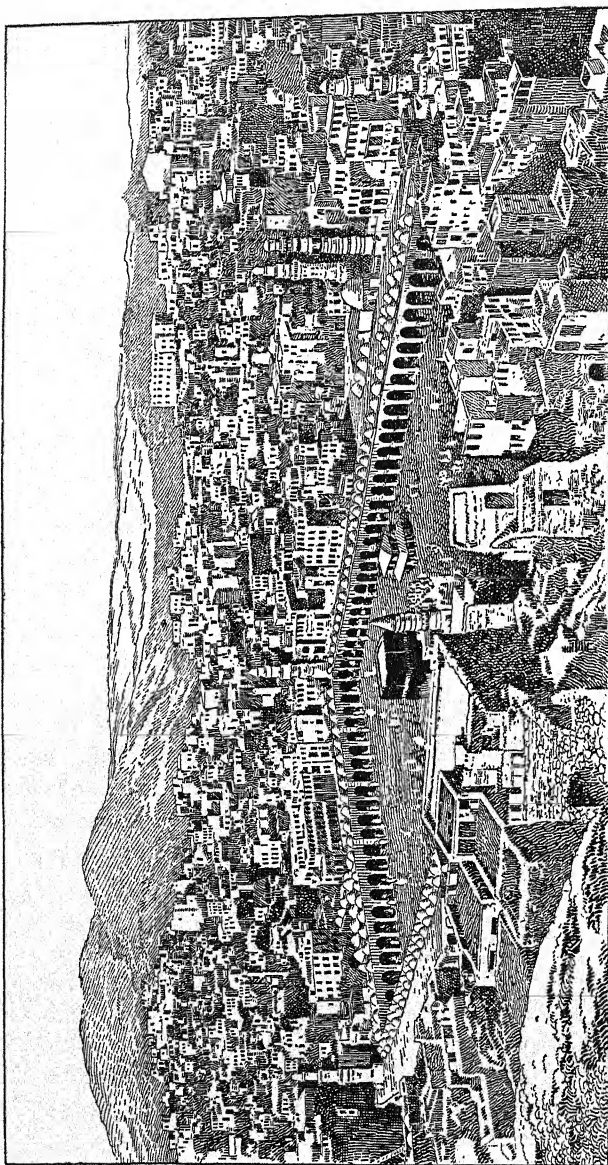
The Arabs who settled along the southern and western coasts of the peninsula had reached in the sixth century a considerable degree of civilization. They practiced agriculture and carried on a flourishing trade across the Red Sea and even to distant India. Between these sedentary Arabs and the Bedouins raged constant feuds, leading to much petty warfare. Nevertheless the hundreds of tribes throughout the peninsula preserved a feeling of national unity, which was greatly strengthened by Mohammed's appearance on the scene.

The city of Mecca, located about fifty miles from the Red Sea, formed a commercial metropolis and the center of Arabian heathenism. Every year the Arab tribes ceased fighting for four months, and went up to Mecca to buy and sell and visit the famous sanctuary called the Kaaba. Here were three hundred and sixty idols and a small, black stone (probably a meteorite), which legend declared had been brought from heaven. The stone was originally white, but the sins of the people who touched it had blackened it. Although most of the Arabs were idolaters, yet some of them recognized the "Unknown God" of the Semites, Allah, the Creator of all things. Arabia at this time contained many Jews, Zoroastrians, and Christians, who helped to spread abroad the conception of one God and thus to prepare the way for a prophet of a new religion.

29. Mohammed: Prophet and Statesman, 622-632

Mohammed,¹ born at Mecca about 570, belonged to the tribe of the Koreish, who had long been guardians of the Kaaba. Left an orphan at an early age, the future prophet was obliged to earn his own living. He served first as a shepherd on the hillsides of Mecca. This occupation, though lowly, gave him the love of solitude and helped to

¹ The earlier spelling was Mahomet.



MECCA

The chief sanctuary of Mecca is the building called the Kaaba, which lies in the center of a large courtyard surrounded by a colonnade. The Kaaba is here seen covered with a heavy black cloth renewed each year. Pilgrims enter the courtyard, walk around the Kaaba seven times — seven is a holy number in Islam — and kiss the sacred black stone fixed in the walls of the structure. The stone is now broken into pieces, which are kept together by a silver setting. The Kaaba has been rebuilt several times since the days of Mohammed, but it still preserves the old form of a heathen temple.

nourish in his soul that appreciation of nature which later found expression in so many of his utterances. While still a youth, he became a camel-driver and twice crossed the deserts with caravans to Syria. Doubtless he made many acquaintances on these journeys and picked up much useful information. Mohammed, however, did not receive a regular education; it is doubtful whether he could read or write. His marriage, when about twenty-five years of age, to a rich widow, named Kadija, brought him wealth and consideration. For some time, henceforth, he led the life of a prosperous merchant of Mecca.

Mohammed seems always to have been a deeply religious man. As he grew older, his thoughts more and more centered on spiritual themes. He could not reconcile the Mohammed's idolatry of the Arabs with that belief in the unity ^{visions} of God which he himself had reached. In his distress he would withdraw into the wilderness, where he spent much time in fasting and solitary vigils, practices perhaps suggested to him by the example of Christian hermits. During these lonely hours in the desert strange scenes passed before his eyes and strange voices sounded in his ears. Mohammed at first thought that evil spirits possessed him, but Kadija encouraged him to believe that his visions were a revelation from another world. One day, so he declared, the archangel Gabriel appeared to him and bade him preach a new religion to the Arabs. It was very simple, but in its simplicity lay its strength: "There is no god but God, and Mohammed is the prophet of God."

Mohammed made his first converts in his wife, his children, and the friends who knew him best. Then, becoming bolder, he began to preach publicly in Mecca. In spite ^{The Hegira,} of his eloquence, obvious sincerity, and attractive ⁶²² personality, he met a discouraging reception. A few slaves and poor freemen became his followers, but most of the citizens of Mecca regarded him as a madman. Mohammed's disciples, called Moslems,¹ were bitterly persecuted by the Koreish, who

¹ From the Arabic *muslim*, "one who surrenders himself" (to God's will). During the Middle Ages the Moslems to their Christian enemies were commonly known as Saracens, a term which is still in use.

resented the prophet's attacks on idolatry and feared the loss of their privileges at the Kaaba. Finally Mohammed and his converts took refuge in Medina, where some of the inhabitants had already accepted his teachings. This was the famous Hegira (Flight of the prophet).¹

At Medina Mohammed occupied a position of high honor and influence. The people welcomed him gladly and made him their chief magistrate. As his adherents increased in number, Mohammed began to combine fighting with preaching. His military expeditions against the Arab tribes proved to be very successful. Many of the conquered Bedouins enlisted under his banner and at length captured Mecca for the prophet. He treated its inhabitants leniently, but threw down all the idols in the Kaaba. After the submission of Mecca most of the Arabs abandoned idolatry and accepted the new religion.

Mohammed did not long enjoy his position as uncrowned king of Arabia. He died in 632, at Medina, where he was buried and where his tomb is still visited by pious Moslems. His followers could scarcely believe that their great prophet had gone away from them forever. They were ready to worship him as a god, until old Abu Bekr, Mohammed's father-in-law, rebuked them with the memorable words: "Whoso worshipeth Mohammed, let him know that Mohammed is dead; but whoso worshipeth God, let him know that God liveth and dieth not."

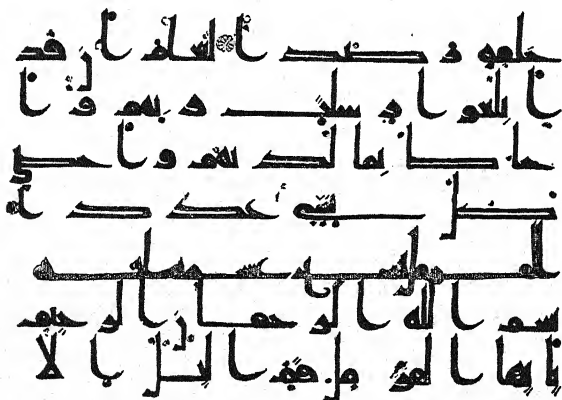
The character of Mohammed has been variously estimated. Moslem writers make him a saint; Christian writers, until recent times, have called him an "imposter." We know that he was a man of simple habits, who, even in the days of his prosperity, lived on dates, barley bread, and water, mended his woolen garments, and attended to his own wants. He was mild and gentle, a lover of children, devoted to his friends, and forgiving toward his foes. He seems

¹ The year 622, in which the Hegira occurred, marks the beginning of the Mohammedan era.

to have won the admiration of all with whom he came in contact. We know, too, that Mohammed was so deeply impressed with the consciousness of his religious mission that he was ready to give up wealth and an honorable position and face for years the ridicule and hatred of the people of Mecca. His faults — deceitfulness, superstitiousness, sensuality — were those of the Arabs of his time. Their existence in Mohammed's character should not prevent our recognition of his real greatness as a prophet and as a statesman.

30. Islam and the Koran

The religion which Mohammed preached is called Islam, an Arabic word meaning "surrender," or "resignation." This religion has its sacred book, the Koran ("thing ^{Formation of} read" or "thing recited"). It contains the ^{the Koran} speeches, prayers, and other utterances of Mohammed at



A PASSAGE FROM THE KORAN

From a manuscript in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

various times during his career. Some parts of the Koran were dictated by the prophet to his disciples and by them were written out on skins, leaves of palm trees, bones, and bits of parchment. Many other parts remained at first only in the memory of Mohammed's followers. Soon after his

death all the scattered passages were collected into one book. Since the middle of the seventh century the Koran, every word of which the Moslems consider holy, has remained unchanged.

The doctrines found in the Koran show many adaptations from the Jewish and Christian religions. Like them Islam emphasizes the unity of God. The Moslem cry — “*Allah Akbar!*” “God is Great!” — forms its cardinal principle. Like them, also, Islam recognizes the existence of prophets, including Abraham, Moses, and Jesus, but insists that Mohammed was the last and greatest of the prophets. The existence of angels and demons is recognized. The chief of the demons, Iblis, bears some resemblance to the Jewish Satan and the Christian Devil. The account of the creation and fall of man is taken, with variations, from the Old Testament. The descriptions of the resurrection of the dead and the last judgment, and the division of the future world into paradise and hell, the former for believers in Islam, the latter for those who have refused to accept it, were also largely borrowed from other religions.

The Koran imposes on the faithful Moslem five great obligations. First, he must recite, at least once in his life, aloud, **Observances of Islam** correctly, and with full understanding, the short creed: “There is no god but God, and Mohammed is the prophet of God.” Second, he must pray five times a day: at dawn, just after noon, before sunset, just after sunset, and at the end of the day. In every Mohammedan city the hour of prayer is announced from the tall minaret of the mosque by a crier (*muezzin*). Before engaging in prayer the worshiper washes face, hands, and feet; during the prayer he turns toward Mecca and bows his head to the ground. Third, he must observe a strict fast, from morning to night, during every day of *Ramadan*, the ninth month of the Mohammedan year.¹ In this month God presented the Koran to Gabriel for revelation to the prophet. Fourth, he must give alms to the poor. Fifth, he must, “if he is able,” undertake at least one pilgrimage to

¹ Feasting during the nights of this month is allowable.

Mecca. The annual visit of tens of thousands of pilgrims to the holy city helps to preserve the feeling of brotherhood among Moslems all over the world. These five obligations are the "pillars" of Islam.

As a religious system Islam is exceedingly simple. It does not provide any elaborate ceremonies of worship and permits no altars, pictures, or images in the mosque. **Organization of Islam** Islam even lacks a priesthood. Every Moslem acts as his own priest. There is, however, an official, who on Friday, the Mohammedan Sabbath, offers up public prayers in the mosque and delivers a sermon to the assembled worshippers. All work is suspended during this service, but at its close secular activities are resumed.

The Koran furnishes a moral code for the adherents of Islam. It contains several noteworthy prohibitions. The Moslem is not to make images, to engage in games of chance, to eat pork, or to drink wine. **Moral teachings of the Koran** This last prohibition has saved the Mohammedan world from the degradation and misery which alcohol has introduced into Christian lands. To Mohammed strong drink was "the mother of all evil," and drunkenness, a sin. The Koran also inculcates many active virtues, including reverence toward parents, protection of widows and orphans, charity toward the poor, kindness to slaves, and gentle treatment of the lower animals. On the whole, it must be admitted that the laws of the Koran did much to restrain the vices of the Arabs and to provide them with higher standards of right and wrong. Islam marked a great advance over Arabian heathenism.

31. Expansion of Islam in Asia and Egypt

Islam was a religion of conquest. It proclaimed the righteousness of a "holy war," or *jihad*, against unbelievers. It promised rich booty for those who fought and won, and paradise for those who fell. **Islam as a religion of conquest** The Arab soldier, dying on the battle-field, expected to be carried away by bright-eyed maidens to a garden of delight, where, reclining on soft cushions and rugs, he was to enjoy

forever an existence of sensual ease. "Whosoever falls in battle," so runs a passage in the Koran, "his sins are forgiven, and at the day of judgment his limbs shall be supplied by the wings of angels and cherubim."

The creation of the Arabian power must not be understood, however, as solely a religious movement. Pride and greed, as well as fanaticism, drove the Arabs forward on their conquering career. Long before Mohammed's time Arabia had been in a state of unrest.

Its warlike tribes, feeling a sense of their superiority to other peoples, were eager to overrun the rich districts of western Asia, much as the Germans had overrun western Europe. Islam strengthened the racial pride of the Arabs, united them into one nation, and gave them an effective organization for world-wide rule.

The most extensive conquests of the Arabs were made within ten years after Mohammed's death. During this period the

Arab conquests in the East, 632-642 Moslem warriors, though poorly armed, ill-disciplined, and in every battle greatly outnumbered, attacked with success the two strongest military powers then in the world—Rome and Persia.

From the Roman Empire in the East they seized the province of Syria, with the famous cities of Damascus, Antioch, and Jerusalem.¹ They took Mesopotamia from the Persians and then, invading Iran, overthrew the Persian power. Egypt was also subjugated by these irresistible soldiers of the Crescent.

According to the strict teaching of the Koran, those who refused to accept Islam were either to be killed or to be reduced

Treatment of the conquered peoples to slavery. As a matter of fact, the Arabs treated their new subjects with marked liberality. No massacres and no persecutions occurred. The conquered peoples were allowed to retain their

own religions, on condition of paying ample tribute. In course of time, however, many of the Christians in Syria and Egypt and most of the Zoroastrians in Persia adopted Islam, in order

¹ See page 36.

that they might acquire the rights and privileges of Moslem citizens.

The sweeping conquests of the decade 632-642 were followed in later years by a further extension of the boundaries of the Arabian Empire. In the remote East the Arabs sent their victorious armies beyond the Oxus and Indus rivers to central Asia and India. They captured the island of Cyprus, annexed parts of Armenia and Asia Minor, and at length threatened to take Constantinople. Had that city fallen, all eastern Europe would have been laid open to invasion.



NAVAL BATTLE SHOWING USE OF "GREEK FIRE"

From a Byzantine manuscript of the fourteenth century at Madrid. "Greek fire" in marine warfare was most commonly propelled through long tubes of copper, which were placed on the prow of a ship and managed by a gunner. Combustibles might also be kept in tubes flung by hand and exploded on board the enemy's vessel.

The first attempts on Constantinople were made by sea and were repulsed, but early in the eighth century the city had to face a combined attack by a Moslem navy and army. The eastern emperor, Leo the Isaurian, conducted a heroic defense, using with much effectiveness the celebrated mixture known as "Greek fire." This combustible, probably composed of sulphur, naphtha, and quicklime, was poured or hurled on the enemy's ships in order to burn them. "Greek fire," the rigors of an uncommonly severe winter, and timely aid received by the

Siege of
Constanti-
nople, 716-
717

emperor from the Bulgarians, at length compelled the Arabs to beat a retreat. Their failure to take Constantinople gave the Roman Empire in the East another long lease of life.

32. Expansion of Islam in North Africa and Spain

Though repulsed before the impregnable walls of Constantinople, the Arabs continued to win new dominions in other parts of the Christian world. After their occupation of Egypt, they began to overrun North Africa, which Justinian, little more than a century earlier, had reconquered from the Vandals. The Romanized provincials, groaning under the burdensome taxes imposed on them by the eastern emperors, made only a slight resistance to the Moslem armies. A few of the great cities held out for a time, but after the capture and destruction of Carthage in 698, Arab rule was soon established over the whole extent of the Mediterranean coast from Egypt to the Atlantic.

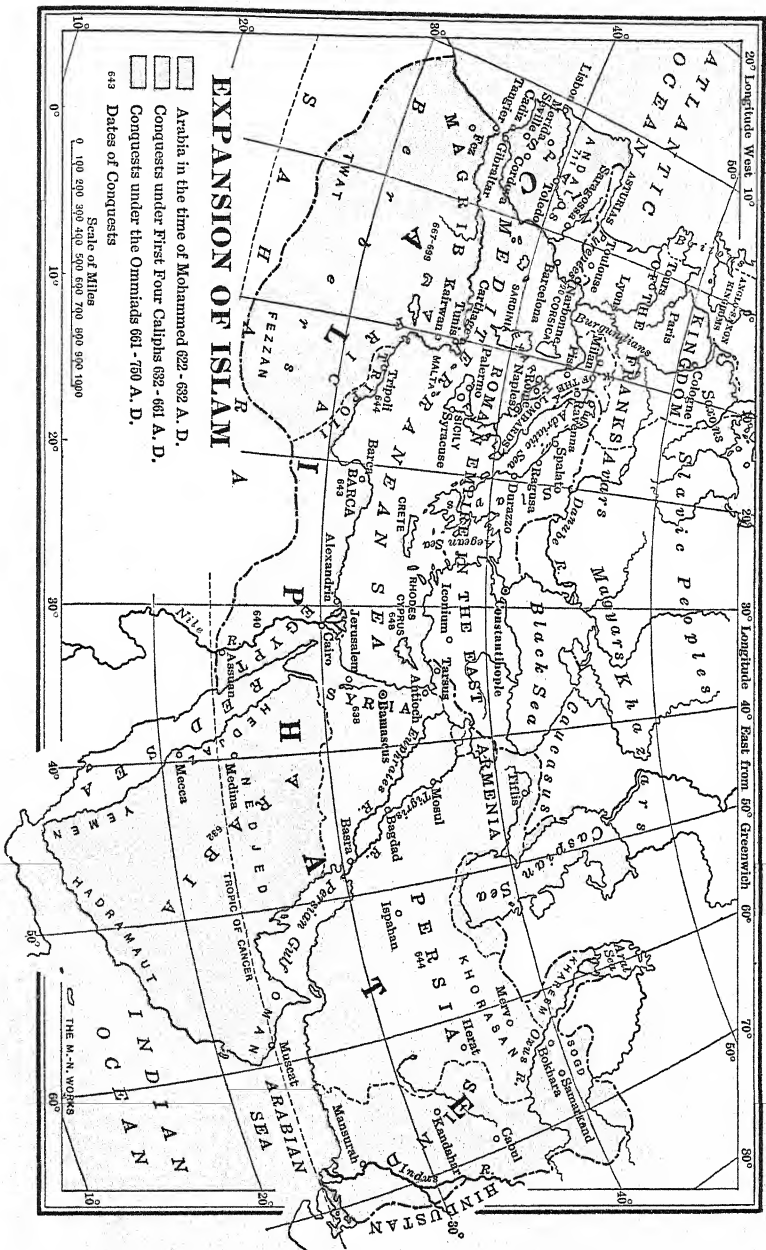
Islam made in North Africa one of its most permanent conquests. Some of the Christian inhabitants were exterminated by the Arabs, while many more appear to have withdrawn to Spain and Sicily, leaving the field clear for the introduction of Arabian civilization. The Arabs who settled in North Africa gave their religion and government to the Berbers, as the natives of the country were called, and to some extent intermingled with them. Arabs and Berbers still comprise the population of North Africa, though their once independent states have now been absorbed by European powers.¹

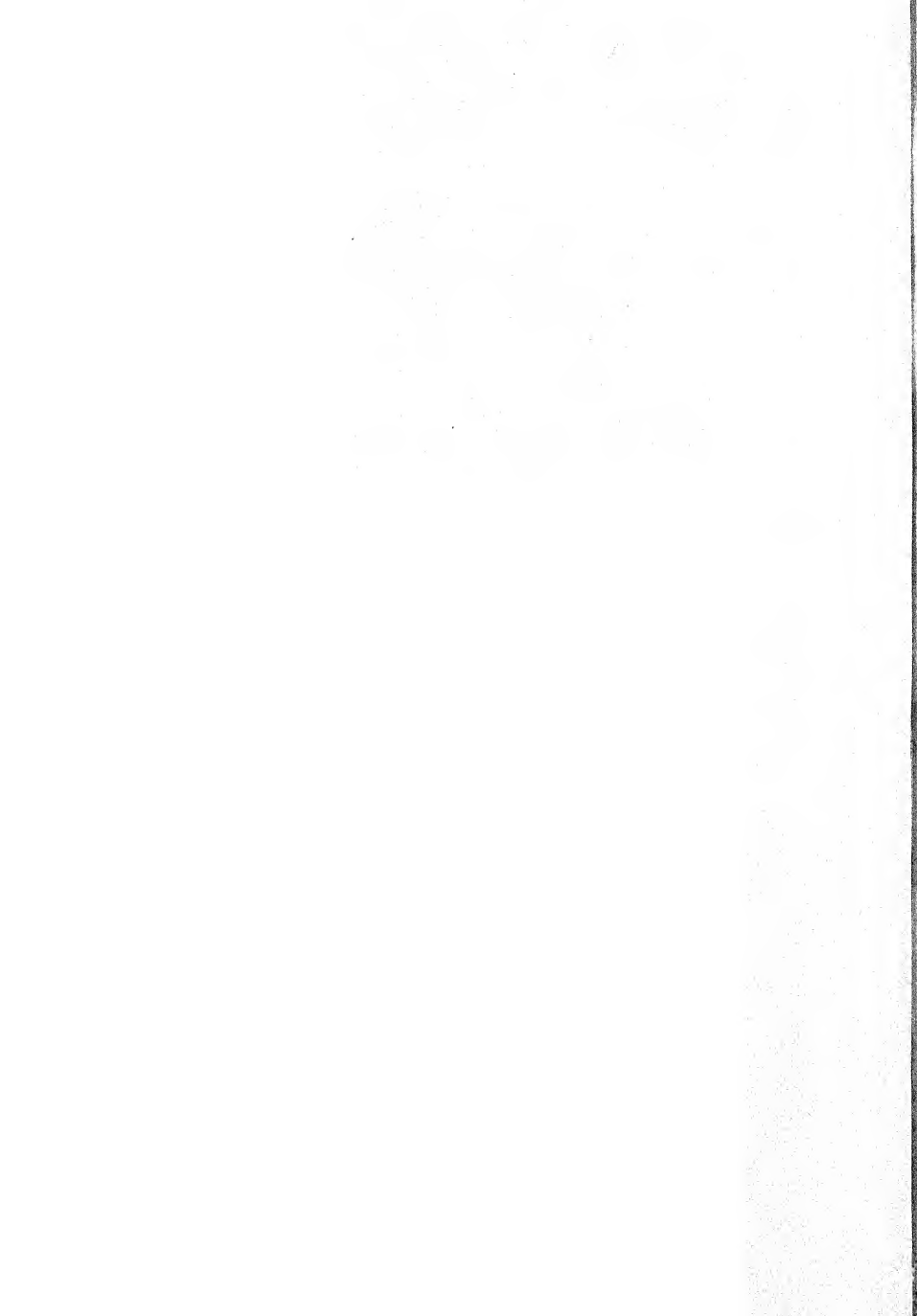
With North Africa in their hands the Moslems did not long delay the invasion of Spain. In 711 an army of Arabs and Berbers, under their leader Tarik, crossed the strait which still bears his name² and for the first time confronted the Germans. The Visigothic kingdom, already much enfeebled, proved to be an easy prey. A single battle made the invaders masters

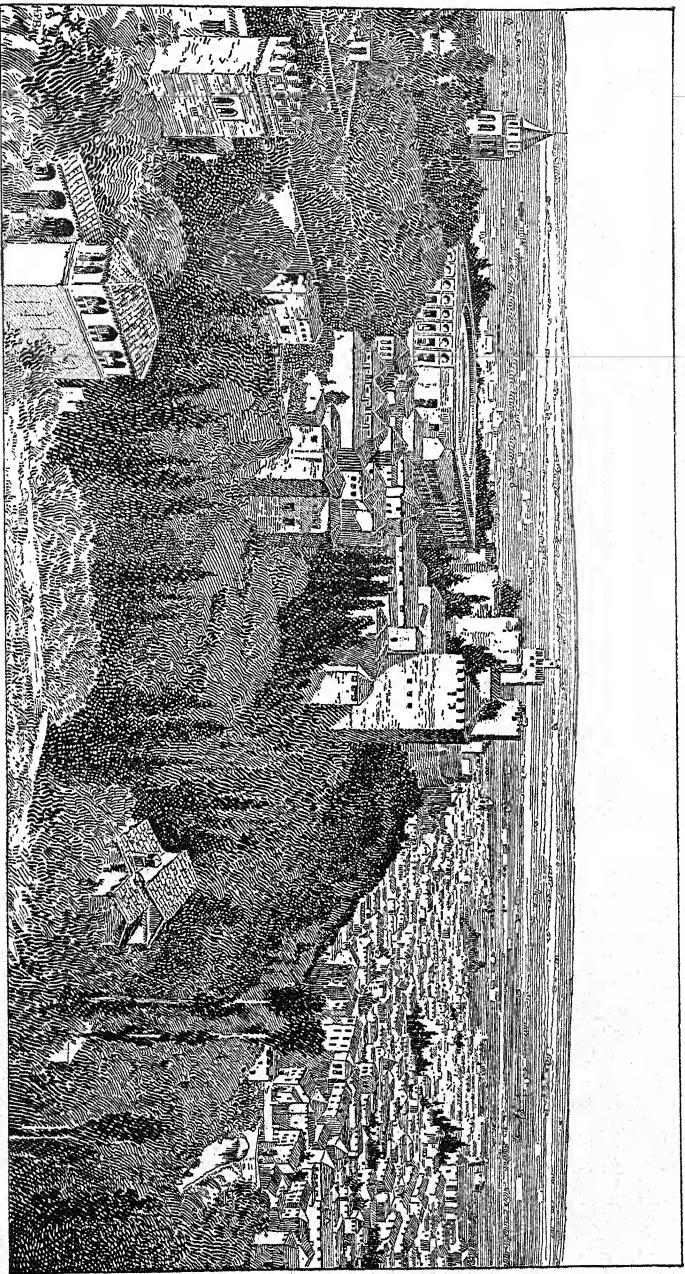
Subjugation
of Spain
begun,
711

¹ Morocco, Algeria, and Tunis belong to France; Tripoli, to Italy.

² Gibraltar = *Gibal al Tarik*, "the mountain of Tarik."







THE ALHAMBRA

A fortress and palace of the Moorish rulers of Granada. Built chiefly in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The outer walls are severely plain, but the interior, with its marble pillars and arches, walls panelled with painted tiles, fretted ceilings, and courts open to sun and wind, is a miracle of beauty.

of half of Spain. Within a few years their hosts swept northward to the Pyrenees. Only small districts in the northern part of the Spanish peninsula remained unconquered.

The Moslems were not stopped by the Pyrenees. Crossing these mountains, they captured many of the old Roman cities in the south of Gaul and then advanced to the north, attracted, apparently, by the booty to be found in Christian monasteries and churches. In the vicinity of Tours they encountered the great army which Charles Martel, the chief minister of the Frankish king,¹ had collected to oppose their advance.

The battle of Tours seems to have continued for several days. Of its details we know nothing, though a Spanish chronicler tells us that the heavy infantry of the Franks stood "immovable as a wall, inflexible as a block of ice" against the desperate assaults of the Moslem horsemen. When the Franks, after the last day's fighting, wished to renew the struggle, they found that the enemy had fled, leaving a camp filled with the spoils of war. This engagement, though famous in history, was scarcely decisive. For some time afterward the Moslems maintained themselves in southern Gaul. It was the Frankish ruler, Pepin the Short, who annexed their possessions there and drove them back across the Pyrenees to Spain.²

**The Moslem
advance in
Gaul**

**Battle of
Tours,
732**

33. The Caliphate and its Disruption, 632-1058

The title of caliph, meaning "successor" or "representative," had first been assumed by Mohammed's father-in-law, Abu Bekr, who was chosen to succeed the prophet as the civil and religious head of the Moslem world. After him followed Omar, who had been one of Mohammed's most faithful adherents, and then Othman and Ali, both sons-in-law of Mohammed. These four rulers are sometimes known as the "Orthodox" caliphs, because their right to the succession was universally acknowledged by Moslems.

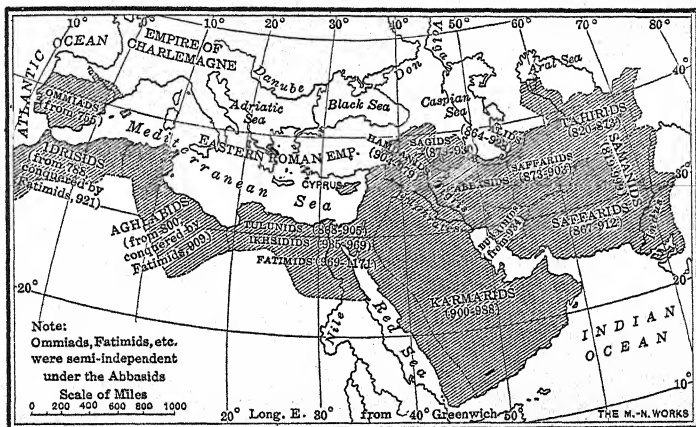
**The four
"Orthodox"
caliphs,
632-661**

¹ See page 10.

² For Charlemagne's Spanish conquests, see page 13.

After Ali's death the governor of Syria, Moawiya by name, succeeded in making himself caliph of the Moslem world. This usurper converted the caliphate into a hereditary, instead of an elective, office, and established the dynasty of the Ommiads.¹ Their capital was no longer Medina in Arabia, but the Syrian city of Damascus. The descendants of Mohammed's family refused, however, to recognize the Ommiads as legitimate caliphs. In 750 a sudden revolt, headed by the party of the

**Omniad
caliphs at
Damascus,
661-750**



DISMEMBERMENT OF THE CALIPHATE

Abbasids,² established a new dynasty. The Abbasids treacherously murdered nearly all the members of the Ommiad family, but one survivor escaped to Spain, where he founded at Cordova an independent Ommiad dynasty. Early in the tenth century this became the caliphate of Cordova. About the same time North Africa and Egypt united in another caliphate with its capital at Cairo.

The Abbasids continued to reign over the Moslems in Asia for more than three hundred years. The most celebrated of Abbasid rulers was Harun-al-Rashid (Aaron the Just), a con-

¹ So called from a leading family of Mecca, to which Moawiya belonged.

² So called from Abbas, an uncle of Mohammed.

temporary of Charlemagne, to whom the Arab ruler sent several presents, including an elephant and a water-clock which struck the hours. The tales of Harun-al-Rashid's magnificence, his gold and silver, his silks and gems, his rugs and tapestries, reflect the luxurious life of the Abbasid rulers. Gradually, however, their power declined, and the Asiatic provinces became practically independent. This process of dismemberment went on until 1058, when the Seljuk Turks took over the caliph's political authority. He remained, however, the religious head of Islam until the middle of the thirteenth century.¹

The Abbasids removed their capital from Damascus to Bagdad on the banks of the middle Euphrates. The new city, under the fostering care of the caliphs, grew with great rapidity. Its population in the ninth century is said to have reached two millions. For a time it was the metropolis of the Moslem world. How its splendor impressed the imagination may be seen from the stories of the *Thousand and One Nights*. After the extinction of the Abbasid caliphate, its importance as the religious and political center of Islam declined. But memories of the former grandeur of Bagdad still cling to it, and even to-day it is referred to in Turkish official documents as the "glorious city."

34. Arabian Civilization

The great Moslem cities of Bagdad, Damascus, Cairo, and Cordova were not only seats of government for the different divisions of the Arabian Empire; they were also the centers of Arabian civilization. The conquests of the Arabs had brought them into contact with highly developed peoples whose culture they absorbed and to some extent improved. They owed most to Persia and, after Persia, to Greece, through the empire at Constantinople. In their hands there was somewhat the same fusion of East

The Abbasid
caliphs,
750-1058

The Arabs
as absorbers
of civilization

¹ Descendants of the Abbasids subsequently took up their abode in Egypt. Through them the claim to the caliphate passed in 1538 to the Ottoman Turks. The caliphate was formally abolished in 1924.

and West which Alexander the Great had sought to accomplish. Greek science and philosophy mingled with the arts of Persia and other Oriental lands. Arabian civilization, for about four centuries under the Ommiad and Abbasid caliphs, far surpassed anything to be found in western Europe.

Many improvements in agriculture were due to the Arabs. They had a good system of irrigation, practiced rotation of crops, employed fertilizers, and understood how to graft and produce new varieties of plants and fruits. From the Arabs we have received cotton, flax, hemp, buckwheat, rice, sugar cane, and coffee, various vegetables, including asparagus, artichokes, and beans, and such fruits as melons, oranges, lemons, apricots, and plums.

Agriculture

The Arabs excelled in manufactures. Damascus was long famous for its brocades, tapestries, and blades of tempered steel. The Moslem cities in Spain had also their special productions: Cordova, leather; Toledo, armor; and Granada, rich silks. Arab craftsmen taught the Venetians to make crystal and plate glass. The work of Arab potters and weavers was at once the admiration and despair of its imitators in western Europe. The Arabs knew the secrets of dyeing and made a kind of paper. Their textile fabrics and articles of metal were distinguished for beauty of design and perfection of workmanship. European peoples during the early Middle Ages received the greater part of their manufactured articles of luxury through the Arabs.¹

Manufacturing

The products of Arab farms and workshops were carried far and wide throughout medieval lands. The Arabs were keen merchants, and Mohammed had expressly encouraged commerce by declaring it agreeable to God.

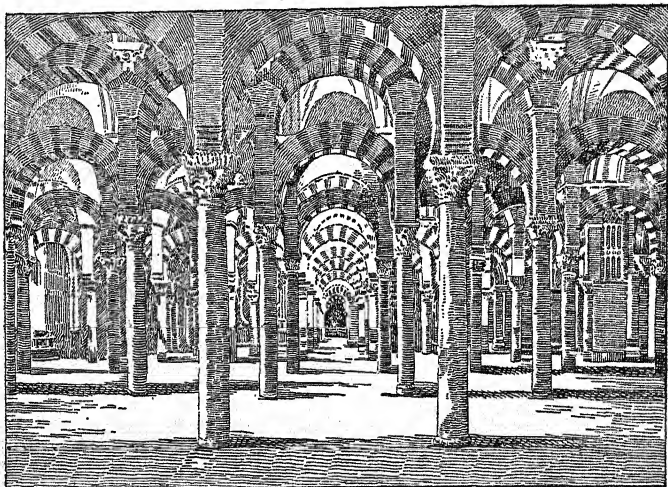
Commerce

The Arabs traded with India, China, the East Indies (Java and Sumatra), the interior of Africa, Russia, and even with the Baltic lands. Bagdad, which commanded both land and water routes, was the chief center of this commerce, but other

¹ The European names of some common articles reveal the Arabic sources from which they were first derived. Thus, *damask* comes from Damascus, *muslin* from Mosul, *gauze* from Gaza, *cordovan* (a kind of leather) from Cordova, and *morocco* leather from North Africa.

cities of western Asia, North Africa, and Spain shared in its advantages. The bazaar, or merchant's quarter, was found in every Moslem city.

The trade of the Arabs, their wide conquests, and their religious pilgrimages to Mecca vastly increased their knowledge of the world. They were the best geographers of the Middle Ages. An Abbasid caliph, the son of Harun-al-Rashid, had the Greek *Geography* of Ptolemy trans-



INTERIOR OF THE GREAT MOSQUE OF CORDOVA

The Great Mosque of Cordova, begun in the eighth century, was gradually enlarged during the following centuries to its present dimensions, 570 by 425 feet. The building, one of the largest in the world, has now been turned into a cathedral. The most striking feature of the interior is the forest of porphyry, jasper, and marble pillars supporting open Moorish arches. Originally there were 1200 of these pillars, but many have been destroyed.

lated into Arabic and enriched the work with illuminated maps. Arab scholars compiled encyclopedias describing foreign countries and peoples, constructed celestial spheres, and measured closely the arc of the meridian in order to calculate the size of the earth. There is some reason to believe that the mariner's compass was first introduced into Europe by the Arabs. The geographical knowledge of Christian peoples during the Middle Ages owed much, indeed, to their Moslem forerunners.

Schools and universities flourished in Moslem lands. The largest institution of learning was at Cairo, where the lectures of the professors were attended by thousands of students. Famous universities also existed in Bagdad and Cordova. Moslem scholars especially delighted in the study of philosophy. Arabic translations of Aristotle's writings made the ideas of that great thinker familiar to the students of western Europe, where the knowledge of Greek had nearly died out. The Arabs also formed extensive libraries of many thousands of manuscripts, all carefully arranged and catalogued. Their libraries and universities, especially in Spain, were visited by many Christians, who thus became acquainted with Moslem learning and helped to introduce it into western Europe.

The Arabs have been considered to be the founders of modern experimental science. They were relatively skillful chemists, for they discovered a number of new compounds (such as alcohol, aqua regia, nitric acid, and corrosive sublimate) and understood the preparation of mercury and of various oxides of metals. In medicine the Arabs based their investigations on those of the Greeks, but made many additional contributions to the art of healing. They studied physiology and hygiene, dissected the human body, performed difficult surgical operations, used anæsthetics, and wrote treatises on such diseases as measles and smallpox. Arab medicine and surgery were studied by the Christian peoples of Europe throughout the later period of the Middle Ages.

The Arabs had a strong taste for mathematics. Here again they carried further the old Greek investigations. In arithmetic they used the so-called "Arabic" figures, which were borrowed from India. Afterwards introduced from Spain into Christian Europe, where they gradually supplanted the awkward Roman numerals. In geometry the Arabs added little to Euclid, but they did excellent work in algebra. An Arabic treatise on algebra long formed the text-book of the subject in the universities of Christian Europe. Spherical trigonometry

and conic sections were Arabic studies. This mathematical knowledge enabled the Arabs to make considerable progress in astronomy. Observatories at Bagdad and Damascus were erected as early as the ninth century. Some of the astronomical instruments which they constructed, including the sextant and the gnomon, are still in use.¹

There are two Moslem productions in prose and verse which have attained wide popularity in European lands. The first **Romance** work is the *Thousand and One Nights*, a collection **and poetry** of tales written in Arabic and describing life and manners at the court of the Abbasids. The book, as we now have it, seems to have been composed as late as the fifteenth century, but it borrows much from earlier Arabic sources. Many of the tales are of Indian or Persian origin, but all have a thoroughly Moslem coloring. The second work is the *Rubā'iyāt* of the astronomer-poet of Persia, Omar Khayyam, who wrote about the beginning of the twelfth century. He composed a little volume of quatrains, about five hundred in all, distinguished for wit, satirical power, and a vein of melancholy, sometimes pensive, sometimes passionate. These characteristics of Omar's poetry have made it widely known in the western world.²

Painting and sculpture owe little to the Arabs, but their architecture, based in part on Byzantine and Persian models, reached a high level of excellence. They seem to **Architecture** have introduced the pointed arch into Europe. Swelling domes, vaulted roofs, arched porches, tall and graceful minarets, and the exquisite decorative patterns known as "arabesques" are some of the prominent characteristics of Arab architecture. Glazed tiles, mosaics, and jeweled glass were extensively used for ornamentation. The best known of Arab buildings include the so-called "Mosque of Omar" at

¹ Many words in European languages beginning with the prefix *al* (the definite article in Arabic) show how indebted was Europe to the Arabs for scientific knowledge. In English these words include *alchemy* (whence *chemistry*), *alcohol*, *alembic*, *algebra*, *alkali*, *almanac*, *Aldebaran* (the star), etc.

² The translation of the *Rubā'iyāt* by Edward Fitzgerald is almost an English classic.

Jerusalem,¹ the Great Mosque of Cordova, and that architectural gem, the Alhambra at Granada.

35. The Influence of Islam

The dismemberment of the Arabian Empire did not check the growth of Islam. The Turks and other converts during the Middle Ages carried it to the uttermost regions

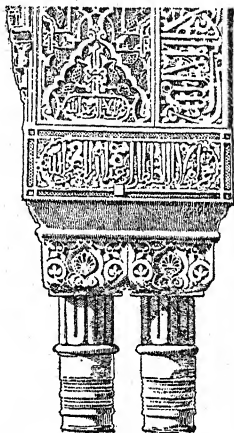
Growth of
Islam

of Asia and throughout southeastern Europe. Some parts of the territory thus gained by it have since been lost. Spain and all of the Balkan peninsula are once more Christian lands. In other parts of the world, and notably in Africa and India, the religion of Mohammed is spreading faster than any rival faith. Its simple creed—the unity of God, man's immortal soul, and material rewards and penalties in a future life—adapt it to the understanding of half-civilized peoples. As a religion it is immeasurably superior to the rude nature worship and idolatry which it has supplanted.

From the moral standpoint one of the least satisfactory features of Islam is its attitude toward women. The ancient

Treatment
of women

Arabs, like many other peoples, seem to have set no limit to the number of wives a man might possess. Women were regarded by them as mere chattels, and female infants were frequently put to death. Mohammed recognized polygamy, but limited the number of legitimate wives to four. At the same time Mohammed sought to improve the condition of women by forbidding female infanticide, by



CAPITALS AND ARABESQUES
FROM THE ALHAMBRA

One of Mohammed's laws forbidding the use of idols was subsequently expanded by religious teachers into a prohibition of all imitations of human or animal forms in art. Sculptors who observed this prohibition relied for ornamentation on intricate geometrical designs called "arabesques." These were carved in stone or molded in plaster.

¹ See the illustration, page 166.

restricting the facilities for divorce, and by insisting on kind treatment of wives by their husbands. "The best of you," he said, "is he who behaves best to his wives." According to eastern custom Moslem women are secluded in a separate part of the house, called the *harem*. They never appear in public, except when closely veiled from the eyes of strangers. Their education is also much neglected.

Slavery, like polygamy, was a custom which Mohammed found fully established among the Arabs. He disliked slavery and tried in several ways to lessen its evils. He declared that the emancipation of Moslem slaves was an act of special merit, and ordered that in a war between Moslems the prisoners were not to be enslaved. Mohammed also insisted on kind treatment of slaves by their masters. "Feed your slaves," he directed, "with food of that which you eat and clothe them with such clothing as you wear, and command them not to do that which they are unable to do." The condition of Moslem slaves does not appear to be intolerable, though the slave traffic which still exists in some parts of Africa is a disgrace to Islam.

It was a very great misfortune for the eastern world when the Arabian Empire passed under the control, first of the Seljuk Turks, and then of the Ottoman Turks. These rude Asiatic peoples held a degenerate form of Islam, as compared with that practiced by the Arabs. The stagnant, non-progressive condition of the East at the present time is largely due to the influence of its Turkish conquerors.

Studies

1. On an outline map indicate the Arabian Empire at its widest extent. Locate the more important cities, including Mecca, Medina, Jerusalem, Damascus, Bagdad, Cairo, Alexandria, Granada, Cordova, and Seville. 2. Define the following: Kaaba; Islam; Koran; caliph; *harem*; and *jihad*. 3. How did the geographical situation of Arabia preserve it from being conquered by Persians, Macedonians, or Romans? 4. Why had the Arabs, until the time of Mohammed, played so inconspicuous a part in the history of the world? 5. Mohammed "began as a mule driver and ended as both a pope and a king." Explain this statement. 6. How does Mohammed's career in Mecca illustrate the saying that "a prophet is not without honor save in his own country"? 7. What resemblances may be traced

between Islam on the one side and Judaism and Christianity on the other side? 8. Did religion have anything to do with the migrations of the Germans? How was it with the Arabs? 9. "Paradise lies under the shadow of swords." What is the significance of this Moslem saying? 10. Contrast the methods of propagating Christianity in Europe with those of spreading Islam in Asia. 11. Why is the defeat of the Moslems before Constantinople regarded as more significant than their defeat at the battle of Tours? 12. Show that the Arabian Empire, because of its geographical position, was less easily defended than the Roman Empire. 13. Locate on the map facing page 78 the following commercial cities in the Arabian Empire: Samarkand; Cabul; Bokhara; Mosul; Kairwan; Fez; Seville; and Toledo. 14. Can you suggest any reason why the Arabs did little in painting and sculpture? 15. What are some of the best-known stories in the *Thousand and One Nights*? 16. Discuss the justice of this statement: "If our ideas and our arts go back to antiquity, all the inventions which make life easy and agreeable come to us from the Arabs." 17. "From the eighth to the twelfth century the world knew but two civilizations, that of Byzantium and that of the Arabs." Comment on this statement. 18. Show that Islam was an heir to the Græco-Oriental civilization. 19. Can you suggest any reasons for the rapid spread of Islam to-day among the negroes of Africa? 20. How does Islam, by sanctioning polygamy and slavery, hinder the rise of women and of the working classes?

CHAPTER V

THE NORTHMEN AND THE NORMANS TO 1066 ¹

36. Scandinavia and the Northmen

THE Northmen, with whose raids and settlements we are concerned in the present chapter, belonged to the Teutonic family of European peoples. They were kinsmen of the Germans, the Anglo-Saxons, and the Dutch. Their migrations may be regarded, therefore, as the last wave of that great Teutonic movement which in earlier times had inundated western Europe and overwhelmed the Roman Empire.

The Northmen lived, as their descendants still live, in Denmark, Sweden, and Norway. The name Scandinavia is sometimes applied to all three countries, but more commonly it is restricted to the peninsula comprising Sweden and Norway.

Sweden, with the exception of the northern highlands, is mostly a level region, watered by copious streams, dotted with many lakes, and sinking down gradually to the Baltic Sea and the Gulf of Bothnia. The fact that Sweden faces these inland waters determined the course of her development as a nation. She never has had any aspirations



SWEDISH ROCK CARVING
Shows a man plowing.

to become a great oceanic power. Her whole historic life has centered about the Baltic.

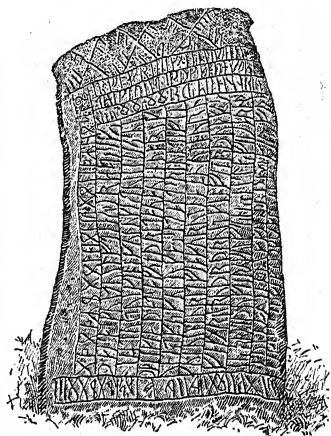
Norway, in contrast to Sweden, faces the Atlantic. The country is little more than a strip of rugged seacoast reach-

¹ Webster, *Readings in Medieval and Modern History*, chapter vii, "The Saga of a Viking"; chapter viii, "Alfred the Great"; chapter ix, "William the Conqueror and the Normans in England."

ing northward to well within the Arctic Circle. Were it not for the influence of the "Gulf Stream drift," much of Norway would be a frozen waste during many months of the year. Vast forests of fir, pine, and birch still cover the larger part of the country, and the land which can be used for farming and grazing does not exceed eleven per cent of the territory. But Norway, like Greece, has an extent of shoreline out of all proportion to its superficial area. So numerous are the fiords, or inlets of the sea, that the total length of the coast approximates twelve thousand miles. Slight wonder that the Vikings,¹ as they called themselves, should feel the lure of the ocean and should put forth in their frail barks upon the "pathway of the swans" in search of booty and adventure.

The Swedes and Norwegians, together with their kinsmen, the Danes, probably settled in Scandinavia long before the beginning of the Christian era. They gradually became acquainted with the

Prehistoric
times in
Scandinavia



A RUNIC STONE

A stone, twelve feet high and six feet wide, in the churchyard of Rök, Östergötland, Sweden. The runic inscription, which contains more than 760 letters, is the longest known.

use of bronze and afterwards with that of iron. Excavations in grave mounds have revealed implements of the finest polished stone, beautiful bronze swords, and coats of iron ring mail, besides gold and silver ornaments which may have been imported from southern Europe. The ancient Scandinavians have left to us curious records of the past in their picture writing chiseled on the flat surface of rocks. The objects represented include boats with as many as thirty men in them,

¹ The word perhaps comes from the old Norse *vik*, a bay, and means "one who dwells by a bay or fiord." Another meaning assigned to Viking is "warrior."

horses drawing two-wheeled carts, spans of oxen, farmers engaged in ploughing, and warriors on horseback. By the close of the prehistoric period the northern peoples were also familiar with a form of the Greek alphabet (the runes) and with the art of writing.

37. The Viking Age

The Viking Age, with which historic times begin in northern Europe, extends from about 800 to the introduction of Christianity in the tenth and eleventh centuries. This was the period when the Northmen, or Vikings, realizing that the sea offered the quickest road to wealth and conquest, began to make long voyages to foreign lands. In part they went as traders and exchanged the furs, wool, and fish of Scandinavia for the clothing, ornaments, and other articles of luxury found in neighboring countries. But it was no far cry from merchant to freebooter, and, in fact, expeditions for the sake of plunder seem to have been even more popular with the Northmen than peaceful commerce.

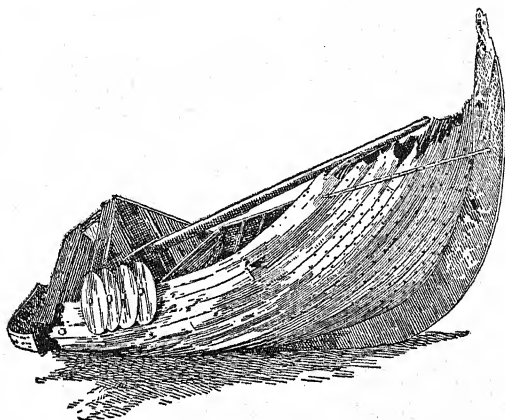
Whether the Northmen engaged in trade or in warfare, good ships and good seamanship were indispensable to them. They became the boldest sailors of the early Middle Ages. No longer hugging the coast, as timid mariners had always done before them, the Northmen pushed out into the uncharted main and steered their course only by observation of the sun and stars. In this way they were led to make those remarkable explorations in the Atlantic Ocean and the polar seas which added so greatly to geographical knowledge.

It was not uncommon for a Viking chieftain, after his days of sea-roving had ended, to be buried in his ship, over which a grave chamber, covered with earth, would be erected. The discovery of several of these burial ships enables us to form a good idea of Viking vessels. The largest of them might reach a length of seventy feet and hold as many as one hundred and twenty men. A fleet of the Northmen, carrying several thousand warriors, mail-clad and armed

with spears, swords, and battle-axes, was indeed formidable. During this period the Northmen were the masters of the sea, as far as western Europe was concerned.

A very important source of information for the Viking Age consists of the writings called sagas.¹ These narratives are in prose, but they were based, in many instances, on the songs which minstrels sang to appreciative audiences assembled at the banqueting board of a Viking

The sagas



A VIKING SHIP

The Gokstad vessel is of oak, twenty-eight feet long and sixteen feet broad in the center. It has seats for sixteen pairs of rowers, a mast for a single sail, and a rudder on the right or starboard side. The gunwale was decorated with a series of shields, painted alternately black and gold. This ship, which probably dates from about 900, was found on the shore of Christiania Fiord. A still larger ship, of about the same date, was taken in 1904 from the grave of a Norwegian queen at Oseberg. With the queen had been buried a four-wheeled wagon, three sleighs, three beds, two chests, a chair, a large loom, and various kitchen utensils, in fact, everything needed for her comfort in the other world.

chieftain. It was not until the twelfth and thirteenth centuries that the sagas were committed to writing. This was done chiefly in Iceland, and so it happens that we must look to that distant island for the beginnings of Scandinavian literature.

The sagas belong to different classes. The oldest of them relate the deeds of Viking heroes and their families. Others

¹ The word is derived from old Norse *segja*, "to say"; compare German *sagen*.

deal with the lives of Norwegian kings. Some of the most important sagas describe the explorations and settlements of the Northmen and hence possess considerable value as historical records.

The sagas throw much light on the character of the Northmen. Love of adventure and contempt for the quiet joys of home come out in the description of Viking chiefs, who "never sought refuge under a roof nor emptied their drinking-horns by a hearth." An intense love of fighting breathes in the accounts of Viking warriors, "who are glad when they have hopes of a battle; they will leap up in hot haste and ply the oars, snapping the oar-thongs and cracking the tholes." The undaunted spirit of Viking sailors, braving the storms of the northern ocean, expresses itself in their sea songs: "The force of the tempest assists the arms of our oarsmen; the hurricane is our servant, it drives us whithersoever we wish to go." The sagas also reveal other characteristics of the Northmen: a cruelty and faithlessness which made them a terror to their foes; an almost barbaric love of gay clothing and ornament; a strong sense of public order, giving rise to an elaborate legal system; and even a feeling for the romantic beauty of their northern home, with its snow-clad mountains, dark forests of pine, sparkling waterfalls, and deep, blue fiords.

Another literary production of the Viking Age consists of the poems forming the *Elder Edda*. Like the prose sagas they were collected and arranged in Iceland during the later Middle Ages. The *Elder Edda* is a storehouse of old Norse mythology. It forms our chief source of knowledge concerning Scandinavian heathenism before the introduction of Christianity.

38. Scandinavian Heafthenism

The religion of the Northmen bore a close resemblance to that of the other Teutonic peoples. The leading deity was Odin (German *Woden*), whose exploits are celebrated in many of the songs of the *Elder Edda*. Odin was represented as a tall,

gray-bearded chieftain, carrying a shield and a spear which never missed its mark. Though a god of battle, Odin was also a lover of wisdom. He discovered the runes, which gave him secret knowledge of all things. **Odin**

Legend told how Odin killed a mighty giant, whose body was cut into pieces to form the world: the earth was his flesh, the water his blood, the rocks his bones, and the heavens his skull. Having created the world and peopled it with human beings, Odin retired to the sacred city of Asgard, where he reigned in company with his children.

Enthroned beside Odin sat his eldest son, Thor (German *Thunor*), god of thunder and lightning. His weapon, **Thor** the thunderbolt, was imagined as a hammer, and was especially used by him to protect gods and men against the giants. The hammer, when thrown, returned to his hand of its own accord. Thor also possessed a belt of strength, which, when girded about him, doubled his power.

Many stories were told of Thor's adventures, when visiting Jötunheim, the abode of the **Myths of Thor** giants. In a drinking-match he tried to drain a horn of liquor, not knowing that one end of the horn reached the sea, which was appreciably lowered by the god's huge draughts. He sought to lift from the ground a large, gray cat, but struggle as he might, could raise only one of the animal's feet. What Thor took for a cat, however, was really the Midgard serpent,



NORSE METAL WORK
Museum, Copenhagen

A door from a church in Iceland; date, tenth or eleventh century. The iron knob is inlaid with silver. The slaying of a dragon is represented above, and below is shown the Midgard serpent.

which, with its tail in its mouth, encircled the earth. In the last trial of strength Thor wrestled with an old woman, and after a violent contest was thrown down upon one knee. But the hag was in truth relentless old age, who sooner or later lays low all men.

Most beautiful and best beloved of the Scandinavian divinities was Odin's son, Balder. He was represented as a gentle deity of innocence and righteousness. As long as he lived, evil could gain no real control in the world and the power of the gods would remain unshaken. To preserve Balder from all danger his mother Frigga required everything on earth to swear never to harm her son. Only a single plant, the mistletoe, did not take the oath. Then the traitor Loki gathered the mistletoe and came to an assembly where the gods were hurling all kinds of missiles at Balder, to show that nothing could hurt him. Loki asked the blind Höder to throw the plant at Balder. Höder did so, and Balder fell dead. The gods tried to recover him from Hel, the gloomy underworld, but Hel demanded as his ransom a tear from every living creature. Gods, men, and even things inanimate wept for Balder, except one cruel giantess — Loki in disguise — who would not give a single tear. She said, "Neither living nor dead was Balder of any use to me. Let Hel keep what it has."

Disasters followed Balder's death. An immense fire burned up the world and the human race. The giants invaded Asgard and slaughtered its inhabitants. Odin fell a victim to the mighty wolf Fenris. Thor, having killed the Midgard serpent, was suffocated with the venom which the dying monster cast over him. The end of all things arrived. This was the catastrophe which had been predicted of old — the "Twilight of the Gods."

Besides the conception of Hel, the Northmen also framed the idea of Valhalla,¹ the abode to which Odin received the souls of those who had died, not ingloriously in their beds, but on the field of battle. A troop of divine maidens, the Valkyries,² rode through the air on Odin's

¹ "Hall of the slain."

² "Choosers of the slain."

service to determine the issue of battles and to select brave warriors for Valhalla. There on the broad plains they fought with one another by day, but at evening the slayer and the slain returned to Odin's hall to feast mightily on boar's flesh and drink deep draughts of mead.

Christianity first gained a foothold in Denmark through the work of Roman Catholic missionaries sent out by Charlemagne's son, Louis the Pious. Two centuries elapsed before the Danes were completely converted. From Denmark the new faith spread to Sweden. Norway owed its conversion largely to the crusading work of King Olaf (1016-1029), better known as Olaf the Saint. The Norwegians carried Christianity to their settlements in Iceland. With the general adoption of the Christian religion in Scandinavian lands, the Viking Age drew to an end.

Christianiza-
tion of the
Northmen

39. The Northmen in the West

The Viking movement, which began when the Northmen were still heathen, was due principally to land-hunger. Like the Arabs, the Northmen went forth from a sterile peninsula to find better homes abroad. The political condition of Scandinavia in the ninth century also helps to explain the Viking movement. Denmark and Norway had now become strong kingdoms, whose rulers forced all who would not submit to their sway to leave the country. Thus it resulted that the numbers of the emigrants were swelled by exiles, outlaws, and other adventurers, who turned to the sea in hope of gain.

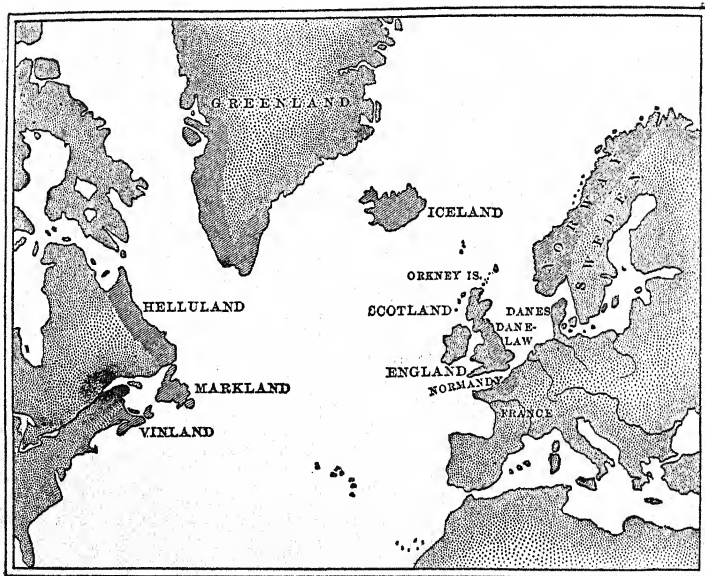
Expansion of
Scandinavia

The Northmen started out as pirates and fell on the coasts of England, France, and Germany. They also found it easy to ascend the rivers in their shallow boats and reach places lying far inland. The Northmen directed their attacks especially against the churches and monasteries, which were full of treasure and less easily defended than fortified towns. Their raids inspired such great terror that a special prayer was inserted in the church services: "From the fury of the Northmen, good Lord, deliver us."

Raids of the
Northmen

The incursions of the Northmen took place at first only in summer, but before long they began to winter in the lands which they visited. Year by year their fleets became larger, and their attacks changed from mere forays of pirates to well-organized expeditions of conquest and colonization. Early in the ninth century we find them making permanent settlements in Ireland, and for a time bringing a considerable part of that

The Northmen in Ireland, Scotland, and the islands



DISCOVERIES OF THE NORTHMEN IN THE WEST

country under their control. The first cities on Irish soil, including Dublin and Limerick, were founded by the Northmen. Almost simultaneously with the attacks on Ireland came those on the western coast of Scotland. In the course of their westward expeditions the Northmen had already discovered the Faroe Islands, the Orkneys, the Shetlands, and the Hebrides. These barren and inhospitable islands received large numbers of Norse immigrants and long remained under Scandinavian control.

The Northmen soon discovered Iceland, where Irish monks had previously settled. Colonization began in 874.¹ One of the most valuable of the sagas — the “Book of the Land-taking” — describes the emigration to the island and enumerates the Viking chiefs who took part in the movement. Iceland soon became almost a second Norway in language, literature, and customs. It remains to-day an outpost of Scandinavian civilization.

The first settlement of Greenland was the work of an Ice-lander, Eric the Red, who reached the island toward the end of the tenth century. He called the country Greenland, not because it was green, but because, as he said, “there is nothing like a good name to attract settlers.” Intercourse between Greenland and Iceland was often dangerous, and at times was entirely interrupted by ice. Leif Ericsson, the son of Eric the Red, established a new route of commerce and travel by sailing from Greenland to Norway by way of the Hebrides. This was the first voyage made directly across the Atlantic. Norway and Greenland continued to enjoy a flourishing trade for several centuries. After the connection with Norway had been severed, the Greenlanders joined the Eskimos and mingled with that primitive people.

Two of the sagas give accounts of a voyage which Leif Ericsson about 1000 made to regions lying southward from Greenland. In the sagas they are called Helluland (stone-land), Markland (wood-land), and Vinland. Just what part of the coast of North America these countries occupied is an unsolved problem. Leif Ericsson and the Greenlanders who followed him seem to have reached at least the shores of Labrador, Newfoundland, and Nova Scotia. They may have gone even farther southward, for the sagas describe regions where the climate was mild enough for wild vines and wild wheat to grow. The Northmen, however, did not follow up their explorations by lasting settlements.

¹ The Icelanders in 1874 celebrated the thousandth anniversary of the Scandinavian settlement of their island.

All memory of the far western lands faded before long from the minds of men. The curtain fell on the New World, not again to rise until the time of Columbus and Cabot.

40. The Northmen in the East

The Norwegians took the leading part in the Viking movement westward across the Atlantic. They also sailed far northward, rounding the North Cape and reaching the mouth of the Dwina River in the White Sea. Arctic explorations of the Northmen Viking sailors, therefore, have the credit for undertaking the first voyages of exploration into the Arctic.

The Swedes, on account of their geographical position, were naturally the most active in expeditions to eastern lands.

The Northmen in Finland At a very early date they crossed the Gulf of Bothnia and paid frequent visits to Finland. Its rude inhabitants, the Finns, were related in language, and doubtless in blood also, to the Huns, Magyars, and other Asiatic peoples. Sweden ruled Finland throughout the Middle Ages. Russia obtained control of the country early in the nineteenth century, but Swedish influence has made it largely Scandinavian in civilization.

The activities of the Swedes also led them to establish settlements on the southern shore of the Baltic and far inland along the waterways leading into Russia. An old Russian chronicler declares that in 862 the Slavs sent an embassy to the Swedes, whom they called "Rus," saying, "Our country is large and rich, but there is no order in it; come and govern us." The Swedes were not slow to accept the invitation. Their leader, Ruric, established a dynasty which reigned in Russia over seven hundred years.¹

The first Russian state centered in the city of Novgorod, near Lake Ilmen, where Ruric built a strong fortress. Novgorod during the Middle Ages was an important station on the trade route between the Baltic and the Black Sea.² Some of Ruric's followers, passing southward

¹ Russia in 1862 celebrated the millenary of her foundation by Ruric.

² See the map between pages 234 and 235.

along the Dnieper River, took possession of the small town of Kiev. It subsequently became the capital of the Scandinavian possessions in Russia.

The Northmen in Russia maintained close intercourse with their mother country for about two centuries. During this period they did much to open up northeastern Europe to the forces of civilization and progress. Colonies were founded, cities were built, commerce was fostered, and a stable government was established. Russia under the sway of the Northmen became for the first time a truly European state.

Scandinavian
influence in
Russia

During the reign of Vladimir, a descendant of Ruric, the Christian religion gained its first foothold in Russia. We are told that Vladimir, having made up his mind to embrace a new faith, sent commissioners to Rome and Constantinople, and also to the adherents of Islam and Judaism. His envoys reported in favor of the Greek Church, for their barbarian imagination had been so impressed by the majesty of the ceremonies performed in Sancta Sophia that "they did not know whether they were on earth or in heaven." Vladimir accepted their report, ordered the idols of Kiev to be thrown into the Dnieper, and had himself and his people baptized according to the rites of the Greek Church. At the same time he married a sister of the reigning emperor at Constantinople.

Christianity
in Russia,
988

Vladimir's decision to adopt the Greek form of Christianity is justly regarded as one of the formative influences in Russian history. It meant that the eastern Slavs were to come under the religious influence of Constantinople, instead of under that of Rome. Furthermore, it meant that Byzantine civilization would henceforth gain an entrance into Russia.

Importance
of the con-
version of
Russia

41. Normandy and the Normans

No part of western Europe suffered more severely from the Northmen than France. They first appeared on the French coast toward the end of Charlemagne's reign. After that

ruler's death the wars of his grandsons left the empire defenseless, and the Northmen in consequence redoubled their attacks.

The Northmen in France They sailed far up the Seine, the Loire, and the Garonne to plunder and murder. Paris, then a small but important city, lay in the path of the invaders and more than once suffered at their hands. The destruction by the Northmen of many monasteries was a loss to civilization, for the monastic establishments at this time were the chief centers of learning and culture.¹

The heavy hand of the Northmen also descended on Germany. The rivers Scheldt, Meuse, Rhine, and Elbe enabled them to proceed at will into the heart of the country. **The Northmen in Germany** Liège, Cologne, Strassburg, Hamburg, and other great Frankish cities fell before them. Viking raiders even plundered Aix-la-Chapelle and stabled their horses in the church which Charlemagne had built there.² The ancient homeland of the Franks was laid completely waste.

The history of the Northmen in France began in 911, when the Carolingian king granted to a Viking chieftain, Rollo, **Rollo and the grant of Normandy, 911** dominion over the region about the lower Seine. Rollo on his part agreed to accept Christianity and to acknowledge the French ruler as his lord.

It is said, however, that he would not kneel and kiss the king's foot as a mark of homage, and that the follower who performed the unwelcome duty did it so awkwardly as to overturn the king, to the great amusement of the assembled Northmen. The story illustrates the Viking sense of independence.

The district ceded to Rollo developed into what in later times was known as the duchy of Normandy. Its Scandinavian **Duchy of Normandy** settlers, henceforth called Normans,³ soon became French in language and culture. It was amazing to see how quickly the descendants of wild sea-rovers put off their heathen ways and made their new home a Christian land, noted for its churches, monasteries, and schools. Normandy

¹ See page 59.

² See the illustration, page 15.

³ "Norman" is a softened form of "Northman."

remained practically independent till the beginning of the thirteenth century, when a French king added it to his possessions.

The Normans helped to found the medieval French monarchy. During the tenth century the old Carolingian line of rulers, which had already died out in Germany and Italy, came also to an end in France. A new dynasty was then founded by a nobleman named Hugh Capet, who secured the aid of the powerful Norman dukes in his efforts to gain the throne. The accession of Hugh Capet took place in 987. His descendants reigned over France for almost exactly eight hundred years.¹

The Nor-
mans and
Hugh Capet,
987

42. Conquest of England by the Danes; Alfred the Great

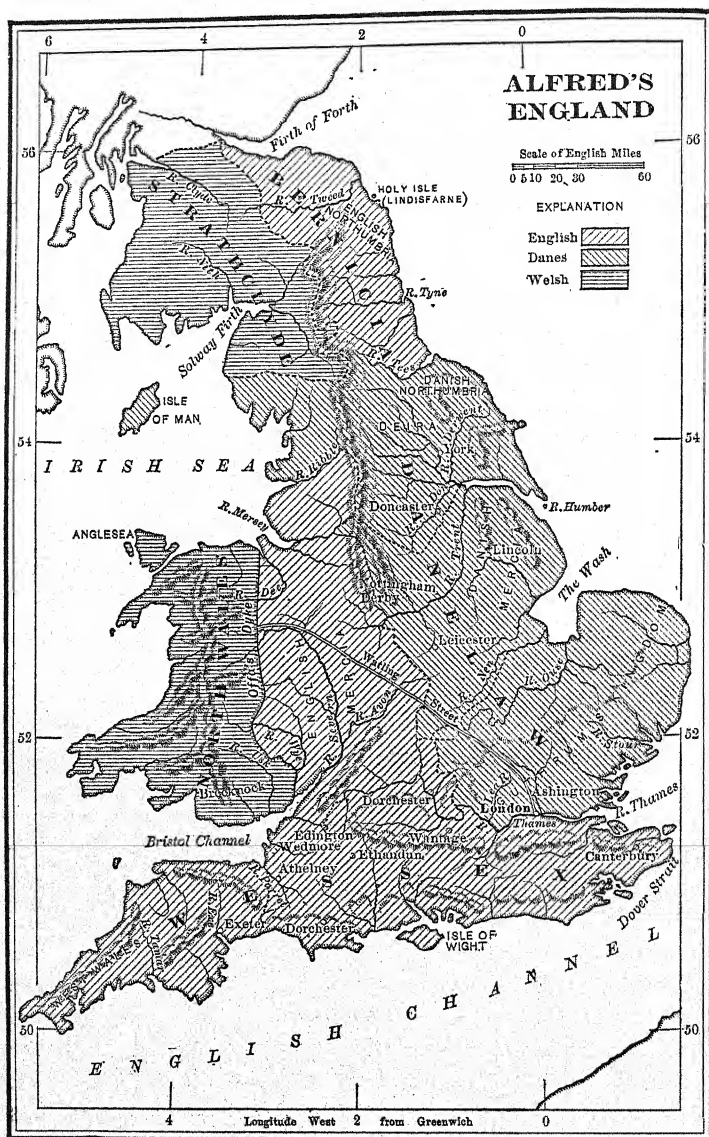
Even before Egbert of Wessex succeeded in uniting all the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, bands of Vikings, chiefly from Denmark, had made occasional forays on the English coast. Egbert kept the Danes at bay, but after his death the real invasion of England began. The Danes came over in large numbers, made permanent settlements, and soon controlled all England north of the Thames.

England
overrun by
the Danes

Wessex before long experienced the full force of the Danish attack. The country at this time was ruled by Alfred, the grandson of Egbert. Alfred ascended the throne in 871, when he was only about twenty-three years old. In spite of his youth, he showed himself the right sort of leader for the hard-pressed West Saxons. After much fighting Alfred gained a signal victory over the enemy, who were now glad to make peace and accept the religion of their conquerors. The English and Danes finally agreed to a treaty dividing the country between them. The eastern part of England, where the invaders were firmly established, came to be called the Danelaw, because here the Danish, and not the Anglo-Saxon, law prevailed. In the Danelaw the Danes have left memorials

Alfred and
the Danes

¹ The abolition of the French monarchy dates from 1792, when Louis XVI was deposed from the throne.



of themselves in local names,¹ and in the bold, adventurous character of the inhabitants.

It was a well-nigh ruined country which Alfred had now to rule over and build up again.

His work of restoration invites comparison with that of Charlemagne. Alfred's first care was to organize a fighting force always ready at his call to repel invasion. He also created an efficient fleet, which patrolled the coast and engaged the Vikings on their own element. He had the laws of the Anglo-Saxons collected and reduced to writing, taking pains at the same time to see that justice was done between man and man. He did much to rebuild the ruined churches and monasteries. Alfred labored with especial diligence to revive education among the English folk. His court at Winchester became a literary center where learned men wrote and taught. The king himself mastered Latin, in order that he might translate Latin books into the English tongue. So great were Alfred's services in this direction that he has been called the "father of English prose."

¹ The east of England contains more than six hundred names of towns ending in *by* (Danish "town"); compare *by-law*, originally a law for a special town.

Civilizing
activities of
Alfred



ALFRED THE GREAT

A lofty, bronze statue by H. Thorncraft set up at Winchester, Alfred's ancient capital. It was dedicated in 1901 on the thousandth anniversary of his death. The inscription reads:

" Alfred found learning dead,
And he restored it;
Education neglected,
And he revived it;
The laws powerless,
And he gave them force;
The Church debased,
And he raised it;
The land ravaged by a fearful enemy,
From which he delivered it."

About seventy-five years after the close of Alfred's reign the Danes renewed their invasions. It then became necessary to



ALFRED'S JEWEL

Ashmolean Museum, Oxford

A jewel of blue enamel inclosed in a setting of gold, with the words around it "Alfred had me wrought." Found at Athelney in the seventeenth century.

From Alfred
to the Nor-
man Con-
quest, 901-
1066

buy them off with an annual tribute called the Danegeld. Early in the eleventh century Canute, the son of a Danish king, succeeded in establishing himself on the English throne (1016-1035). His dynasty did not last long, however, and at length the old West-Saxon line was restored in the person of Edward the Confessor (or "the Saint"). Edward had spent most of his early life in Normandy, and on coming to England brought with him a large following of Normans, whom he placed in high positions. During his reign (1042-1066) Norman nobles and churchmen gained a foothold in England, thus preparing the way for the conquest of the country.

43. Norman Conquest of England; William the Conqueror

Edward the Confessor having left no direct heirs, the choice of his successor fell lawfully upon the Witenagemot,¹ as the national assembly of noblemen and higher clergy was called. This body chose as king, Harold, earl of Wessex, the leading man in England. Harold's right to the succession was disputed by William, duke of Normandy, who declared that the crown had been promised to him by his cousin, the Confessor. William also asserted that Harold had once sworn a solemn oath, over a chest of sacred relics, to support his claim to the throne on Edward's death. When word came of Harold's election, William wrathfully denounced him

¹ "Meeting of wise men." The word *gemot* or *moot* was used for any kind of formal meeting.

as a usurper and began to prepare a fleet and an army for the invasion of England.

Normandy under Duke William had become a powerful, well-organized state. Norman knights, attracted by promises of wide lands and rich booty if they should conquer, formed the core of William's forces. Adventurers from every part of France, and even from Spain and Italy, also entered his service. The pope blessed the enterprise and sent to William a ring containing a hair from St.

Invasion of
England



A SCENE FROM THE BAYEUX TAPESTRY

Museum of Bayeux, Normandy

The Bayeux Tapestry, which almost certainly belongs to the time of the Norman Conquest, is a strip of coarse linen cloth, about 230 feet long by 20 inches wide, embroidered in worsted thread of eight different colors. There are seventy-two scenes picturing various events in the history of the Norman Conquest. The illustration given above represents an attack of Norman cavalry on the English shield wall at the battle of Hastings.

Peter's head and a consecrated banner. When all was ready in the late fall of 1066, a large fleet, bearing five or six thousand archers, foot soldiers, and horsemen, crossed the Channel and landed in England.

William at first met no resistance. Harold was far away in the north fighting against the Norwegians, who had seized the opportunity to make another descent on the English coast. Harold defeated them decisively and then hurried southward to face his new foe. The two armies met near Hastings on the road to London. All day they fought. The stout English infantry, behind their wall of shields, threw back one charge after another of the Norman knights.

Battle of
Hastings,
1066



Again and again the duke rallied his men and led them where the foe was thickest. A cry arose that he was slain. "I live," shouted William, tearing off his helmet that all might see his face, "and by God's help will conquer yet." At last, with the approach of evening, Harold was killed by an arrow; his household guard died about him; and the rest of the English took to flight. William pitched his camp on the battle-field, and "sat down to eat and drink among the dead."

The battle of Hastings settled the fate of England. Following up his victory with relentless energy, William pressed on to London. That city, now practically the **William becomes king** capital of the country, opened its gates to him. The Witenagemot, meeting in London, offered the throne to William. On Christmas Day, 1066, in Westminster Abbey the duke of Normandy was crowned king of England.

What manner of man was William the Conqueror? Tall of stature, endowed with tremendous strength, and brave even to desperation, he seemed an embodiment of the **William's personality** old Viking spirit. "No knight under heaven," men said truly, "was William's peer." A savage temper and a harsh, forbidding countenance made him a terror even to his closest followers. "So stern and wrathful was he," wrote an English chronicler, "that none durst do anything against his will." Though William never shrank from force or fraud, from bloodshed or oppression, to carry out his ends, he yet showed himself throughout his reign a patron of learning, a sincere supporter of the Church, and a statesman of remarkable insight. He has left a lasting impress on English history.

44. Results of the Norman Conquest

The coming of the Normans to England formed the third and last installment of the Teutonic invasion. Norman merchants and artisans followed Norman soldiers and settled particularly in the southern and eastern parts of the island. They seem to have emigrated in considerable numbers and doubtless added an **Norman element in the English people** important element to the English population. The Normans

thus completed the work of the Anglo-Saxons and Danes in making England largely a Teutonic country.

It must be remembered, however, that the Normans in Normandy had received a considerable infusion of French blood and had learned to speak a form of the French language (Norman-French). In England Norman-French naturally was used by the upper and ruling classes — by the court, the nobility, and the clergy. The English held fast to their own homely language, but could not fail to pick up many French expressions, as they mingled with their conquerors in churches, markets, and other places of public resort. It took about three hundred years for French words and phrases to soak thoroughly into their speech. The result was a very large addition to the vocabulary of English.¹

Until the Norman Conquest England, because of its insular position, had remained out of touch with Continental Europe. William the Conqueror and his immediate successors were, however, not only rulers of England, but also dukes of Normandy and subjects of the French kings. Hence the union of England with Normandy brought it at once into the full current of European affairs. The country became for a time almost a part of France and profited by the more advanced civilization which had arisen on French soil.

The Norman Conquest much increased the pope's authority over England. The English Church, as has been shown,² was the child of Rome, but during the Anglo-Saxon period it had become more independent of the Papacy than the churches on the Continent. William the Conqueror, whose invasion of England took place with the pope's approval, repaid his obligation by bringing the country into closer dependence on the Roman pontiff.

Although the Normans came to England as conquerors, yet after all they were near kinsmen of the English and did not

¹ See page 248.

² See page 29.

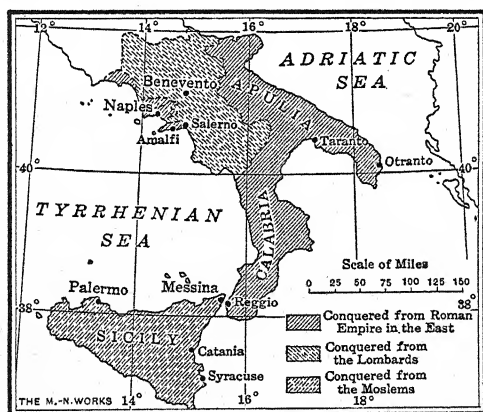
long keep separate from them. In Normandy a century and a half had been enough to turn the Northmen into Frenchmen. So in England, at the end of a like period, the Normans became Englishmen. Some of the qualities that have helped to make the modern English a great people — their love of the sea and fondness for adventure, their vigor, self-reliance, and dauntless spirit — are doubtless derived in good part from the Normans.

Fusion of
English and
Normans

45. Norman Conquest of Southern Italy and Sicily

The conquest of England, judged by its results, proved to be the most important undertaking of the Normans. But during this same eleventh century they found another field in which to display their energy and daring. They turned southward to the Mediterranean and created a Norman state in Italy and Sicily.

Norman
expansion
southward



NORMAN POSSESSIONS IN ITALY AND SICILY

The unsettled condition of Italy gave the Normans an opportunity for interference in the affairs of the country. The founding of Norman power there was largely the work of a noble named Robert Guiscard ("the Crafty"), a man almost as celebrated as William the Conqueror. He had set out from his home in Normandy

Conquests
of Robert
Guiscard

with only a single follower, but his valor and shrewdness soon brought him to the front. Robert united the scattered bands of Normans in Italy, who were fighting for pay or plunder, and wrested from the Roman Empire in the East its last territories in the peninsula.

Robert's brother, Roger, crossed the strait of Messina and began the subjugation of Sicily, then a Moslem possession.

Roger Guiscard's conquests Its recovery from the hands of "infidels" was considered by the Normans a work both pleasing to God and profitable to themselves. By the close of the eleventh century they had finally established their rule in the island.

The conquests of the Normans in southern Italy and Sicily were united into a single state, which came to be known as the kingdom of the Two Sicilies. The Normans governed it for only about one hundred and fifty years, but under other rulers it lasted until the middle of the nineteenth century, when the present kingdom of Italy came into existence.

Kingdom of the Two Sicilies The kingdom of the Two Sicilies was well-governed, rich, and strong. Art and learning flourished in the cities of Naples, Salerno, and Palermo. Southern Italy and Sicily under the Normans became a meeting place of Byzantine and Arabic civilization. The Norman kingdom thus formed an important channel through which the culture of the East flowed to the North and to the West.

Norman culture in the South

46. The Normans in European History

The conquests of the Normans in England, Italy, and Sicily were effected after they had become a Christian and a French-speaking people. In these lands they were the armed missionaries of a civilization not their own. The Normans, indeed, invented little and borrowed much. But, like the Arabs, they were more than simple imitators. In language, literature, art, religion, and law what they took from others they improved and then spread abroad throughout their settlements.

Norman faculty of adaptation

It seems at first sight remarkable that a people who occupied so much of western Europe should have passed away. Normans as Normans no longer exist. They lost themselves in the kingdoms which they founded and among the peoples whom they subdued. Their rapid assimilation was chiefly the consequence of their small numbers: outside of Normandy they were too few long to maintain their identity.

If the Normans themselves soon disappeared, their influence was more lasting. Their mission, it has been well said, was to be leaders and energizers of society — “the little leaven that leaveneth the whole lump.” The peoples of medieval Europe owed much to the courage and martial spirit, the genius for government, and the reverence for law, of the Normans. In one of the most significant movements of the Middle Ages — the crusades — they took a prominent part. Hence we shall meet them again.

Studies

1. What events are associated with the following dates: 988; 862; 1066; 911; and 987?
2. What was the origin of the geographical names Russia, Greenland, Finland, and Normandy?
3. Mention some of the striking physical contrasts between the Arabian and Scandinavian peninsulas.
4. Why has the Baltic Sea been called a “secondary Mediterranean”?
5. How does it happen that the Gulf of Bothnia is often frozen over in winter, while the Norse fiords remain open?
6. Why is an acquaintance with Scandinavian mythology, literature, and history especially desirable for English-speaking peoples?
7. What is meant by the “berserker’s rage”?
8. What names of our weekdays are derived from the names of Scandinavian deities?
9. Compare the Arab and Scandinavian conceptions of the future state of departed warriors.
10. What is meant by “sea-power”?
11. What people possessed it during the ninth and tenth centuries?
12. Compare the invasions of the Northmen with those of the Germans as to (a) causes, (b) area covered, and (c) results.
13. What was the significance of the fact that the Northmen were not Christians at the time when they began their expeditions?
14. Show how the voyages of the Northmen vastly increased geographical knowledge.
15. Show that the Russian people have received from Constantinople their writing, religion, and art.
16. Mention three conquests of England by foreign peoples before 1066. Give for each conquest the results and the approximate date.
17. On the map, page 104, trace the boundary line between Alfred’s possessions and those of the Danes.
18. Compare Alfred and Charlemagne as civilizing kings.
19. Compare Alfred’s cession of the Danelaw with the cession of Normandy to Rollo.
20. Why is Hastings included among “decisive” battles?
21. “We English are not ourselves but somebody else.” Comment on this statement.
22. What is meant by the “Norman graft upon the sturdy Saxon tree”?

CHAPTER VI

FEUDALISM

47. Rise of Feudalism

THE ninth century in western Europe was a period of violence, disorder, and even anarchy. Charlemagne for a time had arrested the disintegration of society which resulted from the invasions of the Germans, and had united their warring tribes under something like a centralized government. But his work, it has been well said, was only a desperate rally in the midst of confusion. After his death the Carolingian Empire, attacked by the Northmen and other invaders and weakened by civil conflicts, broke up into separate kingdoms.

Charlemagne's successors in France, Germany, and Italy enjoyed little real authority. They reigned, but did not rule.

A dark age During this dark age it was really impossible for a king to govern with a strong hand. The absence of good roads or of other easy means of communication made it difficult for him to move troops quickly from one district to another, in order to quell revolts. Even had good roads existed, the lack of ready money would have prevented him from maintaining a strong army devoted to his interests. Moreover, the king's subjects, as yet not welded into a nation, felt toward him no sentiments of loyalty and affection. They cared far less for their king, of whom they knew little, than for their own local lords who dwelt near them.

The decline of the royal authority, from the ninth century onward, meant that the chief functions of government came to

Decline of the royal authority be more and more performed by the nobles, who were the great landowners of the kingdom. Under Charlemagne these men had been the king's officials, appointed by him and holding office at his pleasure.

Under his successors they tended to become almost independent princes. In proportion as this change was accomplished during the Middle Ages, European society entered upon the stage of feudalism.¹

Feudalism in medieval Europe was not a unique development. Parallels to it may be found in other parts of the world. Whenever the state becomes incapable of protecting life and property, powerful men in each locality will themselves undertake this duty; they will assume the burden of their own defense and of those weaker men who seek their aid. Such was the situation in ancient Egypt for several hundred years, in medieval Persia, and in modern Japan until about two generations ago.

Parallels to
European
feudalism

European feudalism arose and flourished in the countries which had formed the Carolingian Empire; that is, in France, Germany, and northern Italy. It also spread to Bohemia, Hungary, Poland, and the Christian states of Spain. Toward the close of the eleventh century the Normans transplanted it into England, southern Italy, and Sicily. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the crusaders introduced it into the kingdoms which they founded in the East. Still later, in the fourteenth century, the Scandinavian countries became acquainted with feudalism. The institution, though varying endlessly in details, presented certain common features throughout this wide area.

Extent of
European
feudalism

48. Feudalism as a Form of Local Government

The basis of feudal society was usually the landed estate. Here lived the feudal noble, surrounded by dependents over whom he exercised the rights of a petty sovereign. He could tax them; he could require them to give him military assistance; he could try them in his courts. A great noble, the possessor of many estates, even enjoyed the

Feudal
sovereignty

¹ The word has nothing to do with "feuds," though these were common enough in feudal times. It comes from the medieval Latin *feudum*, from which are derived the French *fief* and the English *fee*.

privilege of declaring war, making treaties, and coining money. How, it will be asked, did these rights and privileges arise?

Owing to the decay of commerce and industry, land had become practically the only form of wealth in the early Middle

Feudal tenure of land Ages. The king, who was regarded as the absolute owner of the soil, would pay his officials for their services by giving them the use of a certain

amount of land. In the same way, one who had received large estates would parcel them out among his followers, as a reward for their support. Sometimes an unscrupulous noble might seize the lands of his neighbors and compel them to become his tenants. Sometimes, too, those who owned land in their own right might surrender the title to it in favor of a noble, who then became their protector.

An estate in land which a person held of a superior lord, on condition of performing some "honorable" service, was called a fief. At first the tenant received the fief

The fief only for a specified term of years or for his lifetime; but in the end it became inheritable. On the death of the tenant his eldest son succeeded him in possession. This right of the first-born son to the whole of the father's estate was known as primogeniture.¹ If a man had no legal heir, the fief went back to its lord.

The tie which bound the tenant who accepted a fief to the lord who granted it was called vassalage. Every holder of

Vassalage land was in theory, though not always in fact, the vassal of some lord. At the apex of the feudal pyramid stood the king, the supreme landlord, who was supposed to hold his land from God; below the king stood the greater lords (dukes, marquises, counts, and barons), with large estates; and below them stood the lesser lords, or knights, whose possessions were considered to be too small for further subdivision.

The vassal, first of all, owed various services to the lord. In

¹ The practice of primogeniture has now been abolished by the laws of the various European countries and is not recognized in the United States. It still prevails, however, in England.

time of war he did garrison duty at the lord's castle and joined him in military expeditions. In time of peace the vassal attended the lord on ceremonial occasions, gave him the benefit of his advice, when required, and helped him as a judge in trying cases.

Personal
services of
the vassal

The vassal, under certain circumstances, was also required to make money payments. When a new heir succeeded to the fief, the lord received from him a sum usually equivalent to one year's revenue of the estate. This payment was called a "relief." Again, if a man sold his fief, the lord demanded another large sum from the purchaser, before giving his consent to the transaction. Vassals were also expected to raise money for the lord's ransom, in case he was made prisoner of war, to meet the expenses connected with the knighting of his eldest son, and to provide a dowry for his eldest daughter. Such exceptional payments went by the name of "aids."

The vassal's
money
payments

The vassal, in return for his services and payments, looked to the lord for the protection of life and property. The lord agreed to secure him in the enjoyment of his fief, to guard him against his enemies, and to see that in all matters he received just treatment. This was no slight undertaking.

The lord's
duty to the
vassal

The ceremony of homage¹ symbolized the whole feudal relationship. One who proposed to become a vassal and hold a fief came into the lord's presence, bareheaded and unarmed, knelt down, placed his hands between those of the lord, and promised henceforth to become his "man." The lord then kissed him and raised him to his feet. After the ceremony the vassal placed his hands upon the Bible, or upon sacred relics, and swore to remain faithful to his lord. This was the oath of "fealty." The lord then gave the vassal some object — a stick, a clod of earth, a lance, or a glove — in token of the fief with the possession of which he was now "invested."

Homage

• It is clear that the feudal method of land tenure, coupled

¹ Latin *homo*, "man."

with the custom of vassalage, made in some degree for security and order. Each noble was attached to the lord **A substitute for anarchy** above him by the bond of personal service and the oath of fidelity. To his vassals beneath him he was at once protector, benefactor, and friend. Unfortunately, feudal obligations were not always strictly observed. Both lords and vassals often broke their engagements, when it seemed profitable to do so. Hence they had many quarrels and indulged in constant warfare. But feudalism, despite its defects, was better than anarchy. The feudal lords drove back the pirates and hanged the brigands and enforced the laws, as no feeble king could do. They provided a rude form of local government for a rude society.

49. Feudal Justice

Feudalism was not only a form of local government; it was also a form of local justice. Knights, barons, counts, and dukes **Judicial rights** had their separate courts, and the king had his court above all. Cases arising on the lord's estate were tried before him and the vassals whom he called to his assistance in giving justice. Since most wrongs could be atoned for by the payment of a fine, the conduct of justice on a large fief produced a considerable income. The nobles, accordingly, regarded their judicial rights as a valuable property, which they were loath to surrender to the state.

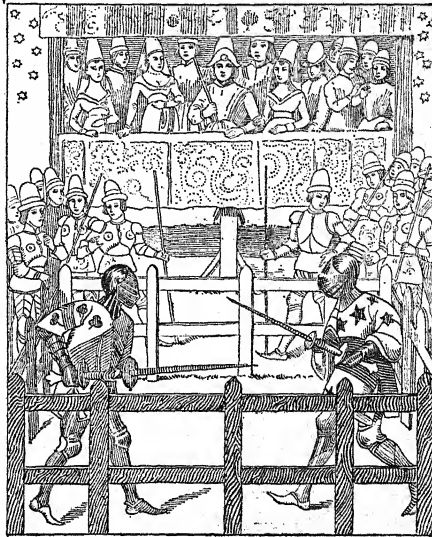
The law followed in a feudal court was largely based on old Germanic customs. The court did not act in the public interest, **Judicial administration** as with us, but waited until the plaintiff requested its service. Moreover, until the case had been decided, the accuser and the accused received the same treatment. Both were imprisoned; and the plaintiff who lost his case suffered the same penalty which the defendant, had he been found guilty, would have undergone.

Unlike a modern court, again, the feudal court did not require the accuser to prove his case by calling witnesses and having **The oath** them give testimony. The burden of proof lay on the accused, who had to clear himself of the charge, if he could do so. In one form of trial it was enough

for him to declare his innocence under oath, and then to bring in several "oath-helpers," sometimes relatives, but more often neighbors, who swore that they believed him to be telling the truth. The number of these "oath-helpers" varied according to the seriousness of the crime and the rank of the accused. This method was hardly as unsatisfactory as it seems to be, for a person of evil reputation might not be able to secure the required number of friends who would commit perjury on his behalf. To take an oath was a very solemn proceeding; it was an appeal to God, by which a man called down on himself divine punishment if he swore falsely.

The consequences of a false oath were not apparent at once. Ordeals, however, formed a method

Ordeals



TRIAL BY COMBAT

From a manuscript of the fifteenth century.

of appealing to God, the results of which could be immediately observed. A common form of ordeal was by fire. The accused walked barefoot over live brands, or stuck his hand into a flame, or carried a piece of red-hot iron for a certain distance. In the ordeal by hot water he plunged his arm into boiling water. A man established his innocence through one of these tests, if the wound healed properly after three days. The ordeal by cold water rested on the belief that pure water would reject the criminal. Hence the accused was thrown bound into a stream: if he floated he was guilty; if he sank he was innocent and had to be rescued. Though a crude method of securing justice, ordeals

were doubtless useful in many instances. The real culprit would often prefer to confess, rather than incur the anger of God by submitting to the test.

A form of trial which especially appealed to the warlike nobles was the judicial duel.¹ The accuser and the accused fought with each other; and the conqueror won the case.

The judicial duel God, it was believed, would give victory to the innocent party, because he had right on his side. When one of the adversaries could not fight, he secured a champion to take his place. Though the judicial duel finally went out of use in the law courts, it still continued to be employed privately, as a means of settling disputes which involved a man's honor. The practice of dueling has now nearly died out in civilized communities.

Oaths, ordeals, and duels formed an inheritance from Germanic antiquity.² They offered a sharp contrast to Roman law, which acted in the public interest, balanced evidence, and sought only to get at the truth. After the middle of the twelfth century the revival of the study of Roman law, as embodied in Justinian's code,³ led gradually to the abandonment of most forms of appeal to the judgment of God. The kings at the same time grew powerful enough to take into their own hands the administration of justice.

50. Feudal Warfare

Feudalism, once more, was a form of local defense. The knight must guard his small estate, the baron his barony, the count his county, the duke his duchy. At the lord's bidding the vassal had to follow him to war, either alone or with a certain number of men, according to the size of the fief. But this assistance was limited. A vassal served only for a definite period (varying from one month to three in the year), and then only within a reasonable distance from the lands for which he did homage. These restrictions

¹ Sir Walter Scott's novel, *Ivanhoe* (chapter xliii), contains an account of a judicial duel.

² See page 30.

³ See pages 238-259.

made it difficult to conduct a lengthy campaign, or one far removed from the vassal's fief, unless mercenary soldiers were employed.

The feudal army, as a rule, consisted entirely of cavalry. Such swiftly moving assailants as the Northmen and the Magyars could best be dealt with by mounted men who could bring them to bay, compel them to fight, and overwhelm them by the shock of the charge. In this way the foot soldiers of Charlemagne's time came to be replaced by the mailed horsemen who for four centuries or more dominated European battlefields.

The armor used in the Middle Ages was gradually perfected, until at length the knight became a living fortress.¹ In the early feudal period he wore a cloth or leather tunic, covered with iron rings or scales, and an iron cap with nose guard. About



MOUNTED KNIGHT

Seal of Robert Fitzwalter, showing a mounted knight in complete mail armor; date about 1265.

the beginning of the twelfth century he adopted chain mail, with a hood of the same material for the head. During the fourteenth century the knight began to wear heavy plate armor, weighing fifty pounds or more, and a helmet with a visor which could be raised or lowered. Thus completely incased in metal, provided with shield, lance, straight sword, or battle-ax, and mounted on a powerful horse, the knight could ride down almost any number of poorly armed peasants. Not till the development of missile weapons—the longbow, and later the musket—did the foot soldier resume his importance in warfare. The feudal age by this time was drawing to a close.

¹ See the illustrations, pages 107, 119, 121, and 169.

The nobles regarded the right of waging war on one another as their most cherished privilege. A vassal might fight with

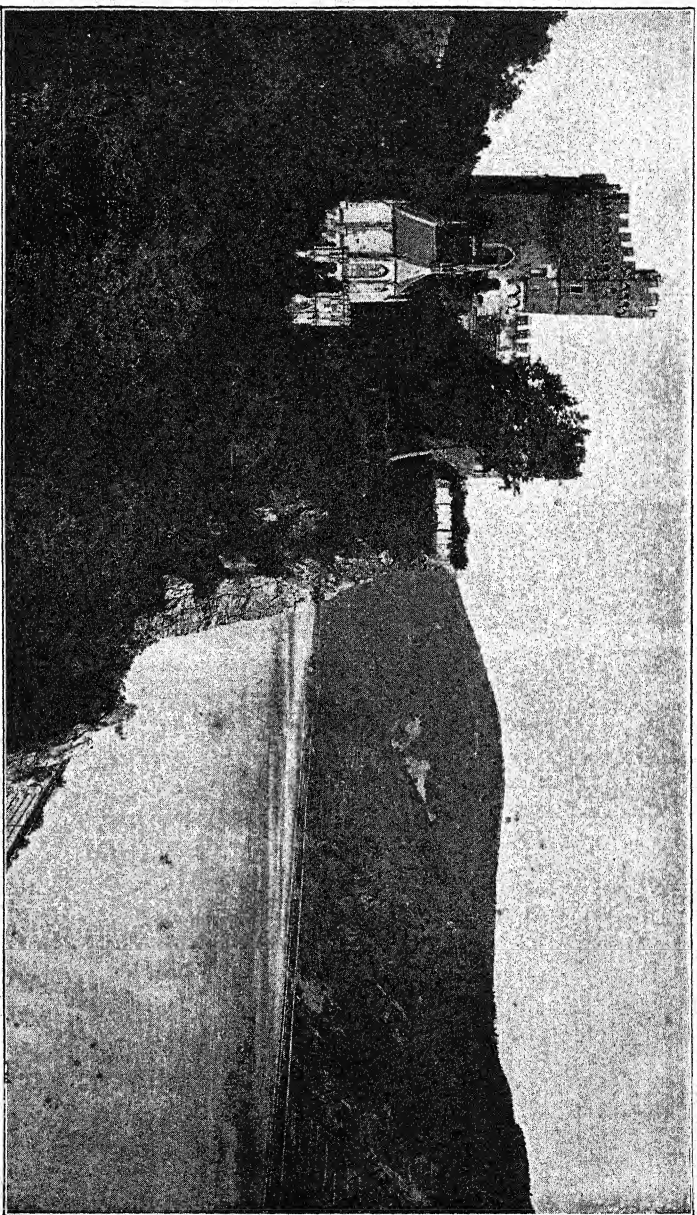
Prevalence of private warfare each of the various lords to whom he had done homage, in order to secure independence from them, with bishops and abbots whom he disliked for any reason, with his weaker fellow vassals, and even with his own vassals. Fighting became almost a form of business enterprise, which enriched the nobles and their retainers through the sack of castles, the plunder of villages, and the ransom of prisoners. Every hill became a stronghold and every plain a battle-field. Such private warfare, though rarely very bloody, spread havoc throughout the land.

The Church, to its great honor, lifted a protesting voice against this evil. It proclaimed a "Peace of God" and for-

The Peace and Truce of God bade attacks on all defenseless people, including priests, monks, pilgrims, merchants, peasants, and women. But it was found impossible to prevent the feudal lords from attacking one another, even though they were threatened with the eternal torments of hell; and so the Church tried to restrict what it could not altogether abolish. A "Truce of God" was established. All men were to cease fighting from Wednesday evening to Monday morning of each week, during Lent, and on various holy days. The truce would have given Christendom peace for about two hundred and forty days each year; but it seems never to have been strictly observed except in limited areas.

As the power of the kings increased in western Europe, they naturally sought to put an end to the constant fighting between

Abolition of private warfare their subjects. The Norman rulers of Normandy, England, and Sicily restrained their turbulent nobles with a strong hand. Peace came later in most parts of the Continent; in Germany, "fist right" (the rule of the strongest) prevailed until the end of the fifteenth century. The abolition of private war was the first step in Europe toward universal peace. The second step — the abolition of public war between nations — is yet to be taken.



RHEINSTEIN CASTLE

Rheinstein Castle, near Bingen, is one of the oldest strongholds bordering the Rhine. After the restoration about 1825 it was used as a summer home of German royalty. The walls are hung with medieval armor, the windows are of stained glass, and the furniture is of the Middle Ages.

51. The Castle and Life of the Nobles

The outward mark of feudalism was the castle,¹ where the lord resided and from which he ruled his fief. The castle, in its earliest form, was simply a wooden block-house placed on a mound and surrounded by a stockade. About the beginning of the twelfth century the nobles began to build in stone, which would better resist fire and the assaults of besiegers. A stone castle consisted at first of a single tower, square, or round, with thick walls, few windows, and often with only one room to each story.² As engineering skill increased, several towers were built and were then connected by outer and inner walls. The castle thus became a group of fortifications, which might cover a wide area.

Develop-
ment of the
castle

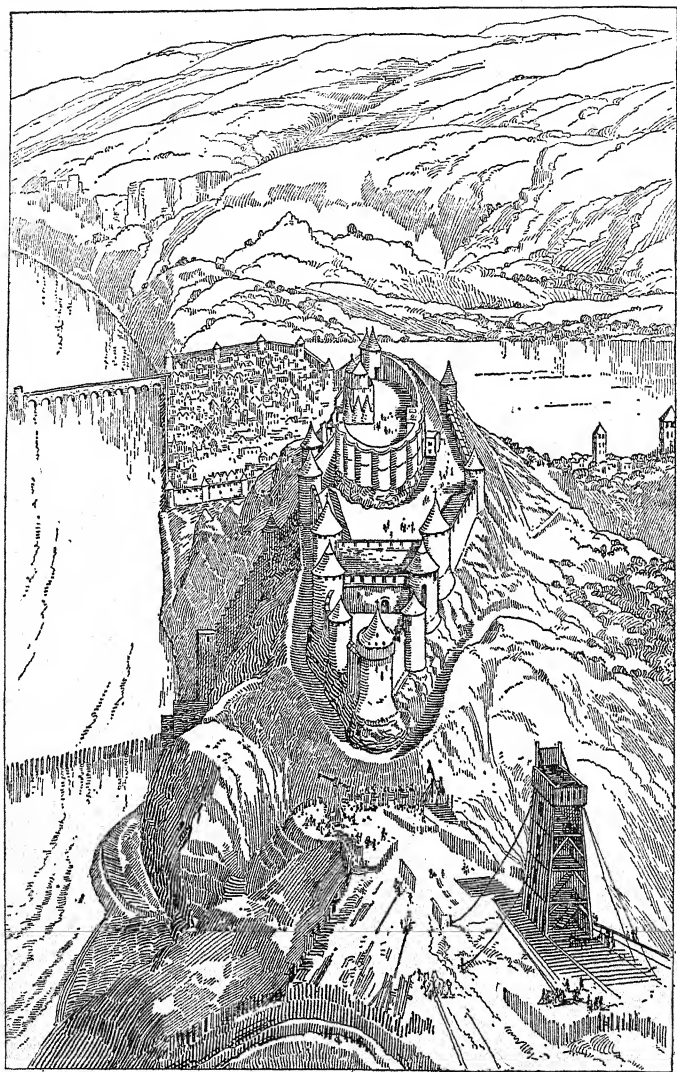
Defense formed the primary purpose of the castle. Until the introduction of gunpowder and cannon, the only siege engines employed were those known in ancient times. They included machines for hurling heavy stones and iron bolts, battering rams, and movable towers, from which the besiegers crossed over to the walls. Such engines could best be used on firm, level ground. Consequently, a castle would often be erected on a high cliff or hill, or on an island, or in the center of a swamp. A castle without such natural defenses would be surrounded by a deep ditch (the "moat"), usually filled with water. If the besiegers could not batter down or undermine the massive walls, they adopted the slower method of a blockade and tried to starve the garrison into surrendering. Ordinarily, however, a well-built, well-provisioned castle was impregnable. Behind its frowning battlements even a petty lord could defy a royal army.

The castle
as a fortress

A visitor to a medieval castle crossed the drawbridge over the moat and approached the narrow doorway, which was protected by a tower on each side. If he was admitted, the

¹ The French form of the word is *châteaux*.

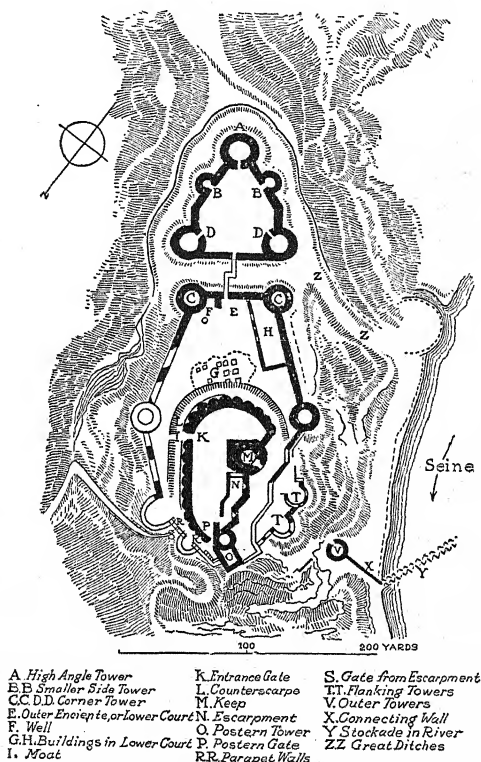
² A good example is the "White Tower," which forms a part of the Tower of London. See the illustration, page 194.



CHÂTEAU GAILLARD (RESTORED)

The finest of all medieval castles. Located on a high hill overlooking the Seine, about twenty miles from Rouen. Built by Richard the Lion-hearted within a twelvemonth (1197-1198) and by him called "Saucy Castle." It was captured a few years later by the French king, Philip Augustus, and was dismantled early in the seventeenth century. The castle consisted of three distinct series of fortifications, besides the keep, which in this case was merely a strong tower

iron grating ("portcullis") rose slowly on its creaking pulleys, the heavy, wooden doors swung open, and he found himself in the courtyard commanded by the great central tower ("keep"), where the lord and his family lived, especially in time of war. At the summit of the keep



PLAN OF CHÂTEAU GAILLARD

The plan is intended to represent that of a typical castle, as the plan of Kirkstall Abbey represents that of a typical monastery.

rose a platform whence the sentinel surveyed the country far and wide; below, two stories underground, lay the prison, dark, damp, and dirty. As the visitor walked about the courtyard, he came upon the hall, used as the lord's residence

in time of peace, the armory, the chapel, the kitchens, and the stables. A spacious castle might contain, in fact, all the buildings necessary for the support of the lord's servants and soldiers.

Life within the castle was very dull. There were some games, especially chess, which the nobles learned from the Moslems. Banqueting, however, formed the chief indoor amusement. The lord and his retainers sat down to a feast and, as they ate and drank, watched



KING AND JESTER

From a manuscript of the early fifteenth century.

the pranks of a professional jester or listened to the songs and music of minstrels or, it may be, heard with wonder the tales of far-off countries brought by some returning traveler. Outside castle walls a common sport was hunting in the forests and game preserves attached to every estate. Deer, bears, and wild boars were hunted with hounds; for smaller animals trained hawks, or falcons, were employed. But the nobles, as we have just seen, found in fighting their chief outdoor occupation and pastime. "To play a great game" was their description of a battle.

52. Knighthood and Chivalry

The prevalence of warfare in feudal times made the use of arms a profession requiring special training. A nobleman's

son served for a number of years, first as a page, then as a squire, in his father's castle or in that of some other lord. He learned to manage a horse, to climb a scaling ladder, to wield sword, battle-ax, and lance. He also waited at the lord's table, assisted him in his toilet, followed him in the chase, and attended him on campaigns. This apprenticeship usually lasted from five to seven years.

When the young noble became of age, he might be made a knight, if he deserved the honor and could afford the expense. The ceremony of conferring knighthood was often most elaborate. The candidate fasted, took a bath — the symbol of purification — and passed the eve of his admission in prayer. Next morning he confessed his sins, went to mass, and listened to a sermon on the duties of knighthood. This ended, his father, or the noble who had brought him up,

girded him with a sword and gave him the “accolade,” that is, a blow on the neck or shoulder, at the same time saying, “Be thou a good knight.” Then the youth, clad in shining armor and wearing golden spurs, mounted his horse



FALCONRY

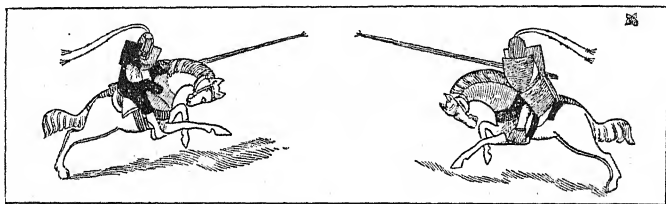
From a manuscript of the thirteenth century in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

and exhibited his skill in warlike exercises. If a squire for valorous conduct received knighthood on the battle-field, the accolade by stroke of the sword formed the only ceremony.

In course of time, as manners softened and Christian teachings began to affect feudal society, knighthood developed into chivalry. The Church, which opposed the warlike excesses of feudalism, took the knight under her wing and bade him be always a true soldier of Christ. To the rude virtues of fidelity to one's lord and bravery in battle, the Church added others. The “good knight” was he who respected his sworn word, who never took an unfair advantage of another, who defended women, widows, and orphans against their oppressors, and who sought to make justice and right prevail in the world. Chivalry thus marked the union of pagan and Christian virtues, of Christianity and militarism.

Needless to say, the "good knight" appears rather in romance than in sober history. Such a one was Sir Lancelot, in the stories of King Arthur and the Round Table.¹ As the chivalric code Sir Lancelot lies in death, a former companion

addresses him in words which sum up the best in the chivalric code: "Thou wert the courtliest knight that ever bare shield; and thou wert the truest friend to thy lover that ever bestrode horse; and thou wert the truest lover among sinful men that ever loved woman; and thou wert the kindest man that ever struck with sword; and thou wert the goodliest person that



A JOUST

From a French manuscript of the early fourteenth century. Shows knights jousting with cronels on their lances.

ever came among press of knights; and thou wert the meekest man, and the gentlest, that ever ate in hall among ladies; and thou wert the sternest knight to thy mortal foe that ever put spear in the rest."²

The all-absorbing passion for fighting led to the invention of mimic warfare in the shape of jousts and tournaments.³ These jousts and tournaments exercises formed the medieval equivalent of the Greek athletic games and the Roman gladiatorial shows. The joust was a contest between two knights; the tournament, between two bands of knights. The contests took place in a railed-off space, called the "lists," about which the spectators gathered. Each knight wore upon his helmet the

¹ See page 251.

² Malory, *Morte d'Arthur*, xxi, 13. See also Tennyson's poem, *Sir Galahad*, for a beautiful presentation of the ideal knight.

³ Sir Walter Scott's novel, *Ivanhoe* (chapter xii), contains a description of a tournament.

scarf or color of his lady and fought with her eyes upon him. Victory went to the one who unhorsed his opponent or broke in the proper manner the greatest number of lances. The beaten knight forfeited horse and armor and had to pay a ransom to the conqueror. Sometimes he lost his life, especially when the participants fought with real weapons and not with blunted lances and pointless swords. The Church now and then tried to stop these performances, but they remained universally popular until the close of the Middle Ages.

Chivalry arose with feudalism, formed, in fact, the religion of feudalism, and passed away only when the changed conditions of society made feudalism an anachronism. While **Influence of chivalry** chivalry lasted, it produced some improvement in manners, particularly by insisting on the notion of personal honor and by fostering greater regard for women (though only for those of the upper class). Our modern notion of the conduct befitting a "gentleman" goes back to the old chivalric code. Chivalry expressed, however, simply the sentiments of the warlike nobles. It was an aristocratic ideal. The knight despised and did his best to keep in subjection the toiling peasantry, upon whose backs rested the real burden of feudal society.

53. Feudalism as a Form of Local Industry

Under the Roman Empire western Europe had been filled with flourishing cities. The Germanic invasions led to a gradual decay of trade and manufacturing, and hence of **Decline of urban life** the cities in which these activities centered. As urban life declined, the mass of the population came to live more and more in isolated rural communities. This was the great economic feature of the early Middle Ages.

An estate in land, when owned by a lord and occupied by dependent peasants, was called a manor.¹ It naturally varied in size according to the wealth of its lord. In **The manor** England perhaps six hundred acres represented the extent of an average estate. Every noble had at least

¹ From the Old French *manoir*, "mansion" (Latin *manere*, "to dwell").

one manor; great nobles might have several manors, usually scattered throughout the country; and even the king depended on his many manors for the food supply of the court. England, during the period following the Norman Conquest, contained more than nine thousand of these manorial estates.

Of the arable land of the manor the lord reserved as much as needful for his own use. The lord's land was called his

“demesne,” or domain. The rest of the land he allotted to the peasants who were his tenants.

Common
cultivation of
the arable
land

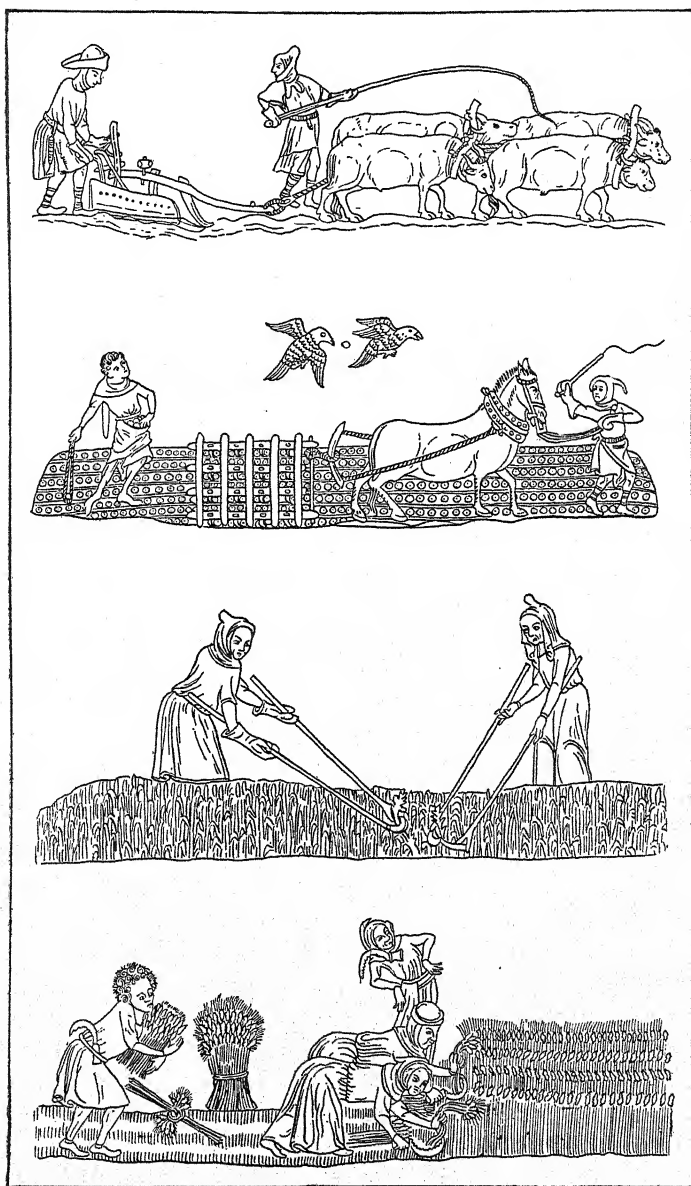
They cultivated their holdings in common according to the “open field” system. A farmer, instead of having his land in one compact mass, had it split up into a large number of small strips (usually about half an acre each) scattered over the manor, and separated, not by fences or hedges, but by banks of unplowed turf. The appearance of a manor, when under cultivation, has been likened to a vast checkerboard or a patchwork quilt. The reason for the intermixture of strips seems to have been to make sure that each farmer had a portion both of the good land and of the bad. It is obvious that this arrangement compelled all the peasants to labor according to a common plan. A man had to sow the same kinds of crops as his neighbors, and to till and reap them at the same time. Agriculture, under such circumstances, could not fail to be unprogressive.

In other ways, too, agriculture was very backward. Farmers did not know how to enrich the soil by the use of fertilizers

Farming
methods

or how to provide for a proper rotation of crops. Hence each year they cultivated only two-thirds of the land, letting the other third lie “fallow” (uncultivated), that it might recover its fertility. It is said that eight or nine bushels of grain represented the average yield of an acre. Farm animals were small, for scientific breeding had not yet begun. Farm implements, also, were few and clumsy. It took five men a day to reap and bind the harvest of two acres.

Besides his holding of arable land, which in England averaged about thirty acres, each peasant had certain rights over the non-arable land of the manor. He could cut a limited amount



FARM WORK IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

Plowing.

Harrowing.

Cutting Weeds.

Reaping.

of hay from the meadow. He could turn so many farm animals — cattle, geese, swine — on the waste. He also enjoyed the privilege of taking so much wood from the forest for fuel and building purposes. A peasant's holding, which also included a house in the village, thus formed a complete outfit.

Common use
of the non-
arable land

54. The Village and Life of the Peasants

The peasants on a manor lived close together in one or more villages. Their small, thatch-roofed, and one-roomed houses were grouped about an open space (the "green"), or on both sides of a single, narrow street. The only important buildings were the parish church, the parsonage, a mill, if a stream ran through the manor, and possibly a blacksmith's shop. The population of one of these communities often did not exceed one hundred souls.

A village in the Middle Ages had a regular staff of officials. First came the headman or reeve, who represented the peasants in their dealings with the lord of the manor. Next came the constable or beadle, whose duty it was to carry messages round the village, summon the inhabitants to meetings, and enforce the orders of the reeve. Then there was the poundkeeper, who seized straying animals, the watchman, who guarded the flocks at night, and the village carpenter, blacksmith, and miller. These officials, in return for their services, received an allowance of land, which the villagers cultivated for them.

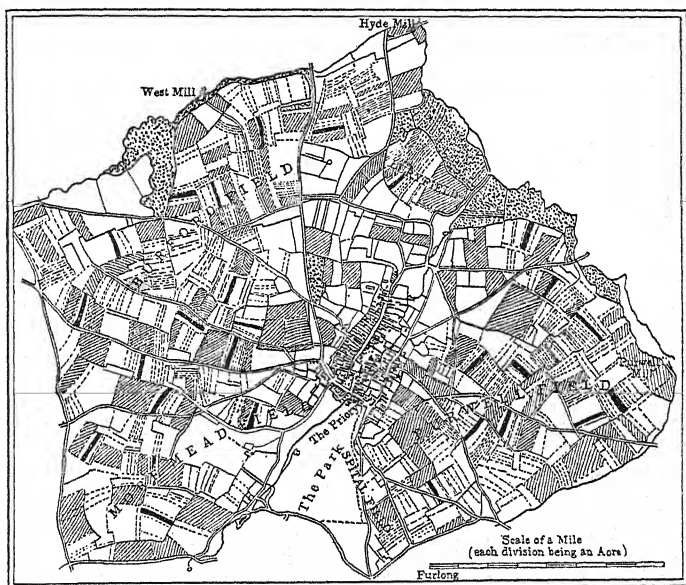
Village
officials

Perhaps the most striking feature of a medieval village was its self-sufficiency. The inhabitants tried to produce at home everything they required, in order to avoid the uncertainty and expense of trade. The land gave them their food; the forest provided them with wood for houses and furniture. They made their own clothes of flax, wool, and leather. Their meal and flour were ground at the village mill, and at the village smithy their farm implements were manufactured. The chief articles which needed to be brought from some distant market included salt, used to salt down farm

A village as
self-sufficing

animals killed in autumn, iron for various tools, and millstones. Cattle, horses, and surplus grain also formed common objects of exchange between manors.

Life in a medieval village was rude and rough. The peasants labored from sunrise to sunset, ate coarse fare, lived in huts, and suffered from frequent pestilences. They were often the helpless prey of the feudal nobles. If their lord happened to be a quarrelsome man, given to fight-



PLAN OF HITCHIN MANOR, HERTFORDSHIRE

Lord's demesne, diagonal lines.
Meadow and pasture lands, dotted areas.
Normal holding of a peasant, black strips.

ing with his neighbors, they might see their lands ravaged, their cattle driven off, and their village burned, and might themselves be slain. Even under peaceful conditions the narrow, shut-in life of the manor could not be otherwise than degrading.

Yet there is another side to the picture. If the peasants had a just and generous lord, they probably led a fairly comfortable

existence. Except when crops failed, they had an abundance of food, and possibly wine or cider to drink. **Alleviations of the peasant's lot** They shared a common life in the work of the fields, in the sports of the village green, and in the services of the parish church. They enjoyed many holidays; it has been estimated that, besides Sundays, about eight weeks in every year were free from work. Festivities at Christmas, Easter, and May Day, at the end of ploughing and the completion of harvest, relieved the monotony of the daily round of labor. Perhaps these medieval peasants were not much worse off than the agricultural laborers in most countries of modern Europe.

55. Serfdom

A medieval village usually contained several classes of laborers. There might be a number of freemen, who paid a fixed rent, either in money or produce, for the use of their land. A few slaves might also be found in the lord's household or at work on his domain. By this time, however, slavery had about died out in western Europe. Most of the peasants were serfs.

Serfdom represented a stage between slavery and freedom. A slave belonged to his master; he was bought and sold like other chattels. A serf had a higher position, for he could not be sold apart from the land nor could his holding be taken from him. He was fixed to the soil. On the other hand, a serf ranked lower than a freeman, because he could not change his abode, nor marry outside the manor, nor bequeath his goods, without the permission of his lord.

The serf did not receive his land as a free gift; for the use of it he owed certain duties to his master. These took chiefly the form of personal services. He must labor on the lord's domain for two or three days each week, and at specially busy seasons, such as ploughing and harvesting, he must do extra work. At least half his time was usually demanded by the lord. The serf had also to make certain payments, either in money or more often in grain, honey, eggs,

or other produce. When he ground the wheat or pressed the grapes which grew on his land, he must use the lord's mill, the lord's wine-press, and pay the customary charge.

Serfdom developed during the later centuries of the Roman Empire and in the early Middle Ages. It was well established by the time of Charlemagne. Most serfs seem to have been descendants of the tenants, both free and servile, who worked the great Roman estates in western Europe. The serf class was also recruited from the ranks of freemen, who by conquest or because of the desire to gain the protection of a lord, became subject to him. Serfdom, however, was destined to be merely a transitory condition. By the close of medieval times, the serfs in the more progressive countries of western Europe had secured their freedom.

56. Decline of Feudalism

Feudalism led a vigorous life for about five hundred years. Taking definite shape early in the ninth century, it flourished throughout the later Middle Ages, but became decadent by the opening of the fourteenth century.

As a form of local government, feudalism tended to pass away when the rulers in England, France, and Spain, and later in Germany and Italy, became powerful enough to put down private warfare, execute justice, and maintain order everywhere in their dominions. The kings were always anti-feudal. We shall study in a later chapter ¹ the rise of strong governments and centralized states in western Europe.

As a form of local industry, feudalism could not survive the great changes of the later Middle Ages, when reviving trade, commerce, and manufactures had begun to lead to the increase of wealth, the growth of markets, and the substitution of money payments for those in produce or services. Flourishing cities arose, as in the days of the Roman Empire, freed themselves from the control of the nobles, and became the homes of liberty and

Origin of
serfdom

Duration of
feudalism

Forces
opposed to
feudalism:
the kings

Forces
opposed to
feudalism:
the cities

¹ See chapter x.

democracy. The cities, like the kings, were always anti-feudal. We shall deal with their development in a later chapter.¹

There was still another anti-feudal force, namely, the Roman Church. It is true that many of the higher clergy were feudal lords, and that even the monasteries owned manorial estates which were parceled out among tenants. Nevertheless, the Roman Church as a universal organization, including men of all ranks and classes, was necessarily opposed to feudalism, a local and an aristocratic system. The work and influence of this Church will now engage our attention.

Studies

1. Write a brief essay on feudal society, using the following words: lord; vassal; castle; keep; dungeon; chivalry; tournament; manor; and serf. 2. Explain the following terms: vassal; fief; serf; "aid"; homage; squire; investiture; and "relief." 3. Look up the origin of the words homage, castle, dungeon, and chivalry. 4. Mention some feudal titles which survive in those of European nobles. 5. "The real heirs of Charlemagne were from the first neither the kings of France nor those of Italy or Germany; but the feudal lords." Comment on this statement. 6. Why was the feudal system not found in the Roman Empire in the East during the Middle Ages? 7. Why has feudalism been called "confusion roughly organized"? 8. Contrast feudalism as a political system with (a) the classical city-states, (b) the Roman Empire, and (c) modern national states. 9. What was the effect of feudalism on the sentiment of patriotism? 10. What are some of the advantages and disadvantages of primogeniture as the rule of inheritance? 11. Explain these phrases: "to be in hot water"; "to go through fire and water"; and "to haul over the coals." 12. Compare the oaths administered to witnesses in modern courts with medieval oaths. 13. Why was war the usual condition of feudal society? 14. Compare the "Peace of God" with the earlier "Roman Peace" (*Pax Romana*). 15. Mention some modern comforts and luxuries which were unknown in feudal castles. 16. What is the present meaning of the word "chivalrous"? How did it get that meaning? 17. Why has chivalry been called "the blossom of feudalism"? 18. Describe the agricultural processes and implements shown in the illustration on page 131. 19. Show that the serf was not a slave or a "hired man" or a tenant-farmer paying rent.

¹ See chapter xi.

CHAPTER VII

THE PAPACY AND THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE, 962-1273¹

57. Characteristics of the Medieval Church

A PRECEDING chapter dealt with the history of Christianity in the East and West during the early Middle Ages. We learned something about its organization, belief, and worship, about the rise and growth of the Papacy, about monasticism, and about that missionary campaign which won all Europe to the Christian religion. Our narrative extended to the middle of the eleventh century, when the quarrel between pope and patriarch led at length to the disruption of Christendom. We have now to consider the work and influence of the Roman Church during later centuries of the Middle Ages.

The Church at the height of its power held spiritual sway throughout western Europe. Italy and Sicily, the larger part of Spain, France, Germany, Hungary, Poland, the British Isles, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, and Iceland yielded obedience to the pope of Rome.

**Territorial
extent of the
Church**

Membership in the Church was not a matter of free choice. All people, except Jews, were required to belong to it. A person joined the Church by baptism, a rite usually performed in infancy, and remained in it as long as he lived. Every one was expected to conform, at least outwardly, to the doctrines and practices of the Church, and any one attacking its authority was liable to punishment as a heretic.

The existence of one Church in the western world furnished a bond of union between European peoples during the age

¹ Webster, *Readings in Medieval and Modern History*, chapter x, "Monastic Life in the Twelfth Century"; chapter xi, "St. Francis and the Franciscans."

of feudalism. The Church took no heed of political boundaries, for men of all nationalities entered the ranks of the priesthood and joined the monastic orders. The Church as international Priests and monks were subjects of no country, but were "citizens of heaven," as they sometimes called themselves. Even differences of language counted for little in the Church, since Latin was the universal speech of the educated classes. One must think, then, of the Church as a great international state, in form a monarchy, presided over by the pope, and with its capital at Rome.

The Church in the Middle Ages performed a double task. On the one hand, it gave the people religious instruction and watched over their morals; on the other hand, it played an important part in European politics and provided a means of government. Because the Church thus combined ecclesiastical and civil functions, it was quite unlike all modern churches, whether Greek, Roman, or Protestant. Both sides of its activities deserve, therefore, to be considered.

58. Church Doctrine and Worship

The Church taught a belief in a personal God, all-wise, all-good, all-powerful, to know whom was the highest goal of life. The avenue to this knowledge lay through "The gate of heaven" faith in the revelation of God, as found in the Scriptures. Since the unaided human reason could not properly interpret the Scriptures, it was necessary for the Church, through her officers, to declare their meaning and set forth what doctrines were essential to salvation. The Church thus appeared as the sole repository of religious knowledge, as "the gate of heaven."

Salvation did not depend only on the acceptance of certain beliefs. There were also certain acts, called "sacraments," in which the faithful Christian must participate, if he was not to be cut off eternally from God. These acts formed channels of heavenly grace; they saved man from the consequences of his sinful nature and filled

him with "the fullness of divine life." Since priests alone could administer the sacraments,¹ the Church presented itself as the necessary mediator between God and man.

Seven sacraments were generally recognized by the thirteenth century. Four of these marked critical stages in human life, from the cradle to the grave. Baptism cleansed the child from the taint of original sin and admitted him into the Christian community. Confirmation gave him full Church fellowship. Matrimony united husband and wife in holy bonds which might never be broken. Extreme unction, the anointing with oil of one mortally ill, purified the soul and endowed it with strength to meet death.

**Baptism,
confirmation,
matrimony,
and extreme
unction**

Penance held an especially important place in the sacramental system. At least once a year the Christian must confess his sins to a priest. If he seemed to be truly repentant, the priest pronounced the solemn words of absolution and then imposed upon him some penalty, which varied according to the nature of the offense. A man who had sinned grievously might be required to engage in charitable work, to make a contribution to the support of the Church, or to go on a pilgrimage to a sacred shrine. The more distant and difficult a pilgrimage, the more meritorious it was, especially if it led to some very holy place, such as Rome or Jerusalem. This system of penitential punishment referred only to the earthly life; it was not supposed to cleanse the soul for eternity.

Penance

The sacrament of the Holy Eucharist formed the central feature of worship. It was more than a common meal in commemoration of the Last Supper of Christ with the Apostles. It was a solemn ceremony by which the Christian believed himself to receive the body and blood of Christ, under the form of bread and wine.² The right of the priest to withhold the Eucharist from any person,

**Holy
Eucharist**

¹ In case of necessity baptism might be performed by any lay person of adult years and sound mind.

² This doctrine is known as transubstantiation. In the Roman Church, as has been noted (page 65), wine is not administered to the laity.

for good cause, gave the Church great power, because the failure to partake of this sacrament imperiled one's chances of future salvation.

The seventh and last sacrament, that of ordination, or "Holy Orders," admitted persons to the priesthood. According to the teaching of the Church the rite had been instituted by Christ, when He chose the Apostles and sent them forth to preach the Gospel. From the Apostles, who ordained their successors, the clergy in all later times received their exalted authority.¹

The Church did not rely solely on the sacramental system as a means to salvation. It was believed that holy persons, called saints,² who had died and gone to heaven, offered to God their prayers for men. The earliest saints were Christian martyrs, who had sealed their faith with their blood. In course of time many other persons, renowned for pious deeds, were exalted to sainthood. Canonization, or the making of a saint, is now done only by the pope.

High above all the saints stood the Virgin Mary. Devotion to her as the "Queen of Heaven" increased rapidly in the Church after the time of Gregory the Great. Everywhere churches arose in her honor, and no cathedral or abbey lacked a chapel dedicated to Our Lady.

The growing reverence for saints led to an increased interest in relics. These included the bones of a saint and shreds of his garments, besides such objects as the wood or nails of the cross on which Christ suffered. Relics were not simply mementos; the faithful believed them to possess miraculous power which passed into them through contact with holy persons. This belief explains the use of relics to heal diseases, to ward off danger, and, in general, to bring good fortune. An oath taken upon relics was especially sacred.³

The Church also taught a belief in purgatory as a state or place of probation.⁴ Here dwelt the souls of those who were

¹ Hence the term "Apostolical Succession."

² Latin *sanctus*, "holy."

³ See pages 106 and 117.

⁴ The belief in purgatory is not held by Protestants or by members of the Greek Church.

guilty of no mortal sins which would condemn them to hell, but yet were burdened with imperfections which prevented them from entering heaven. Such imperfections, it was held, might be removed by the prayers of the living, and hence the practice arose of praying for the dead. Masses were also often said for the repose of souls in purgatory.

59. Church Jurisdiction

The Church had regular courts and a system of "canon law" for the trial of offenders against its regulations. Many cases, which to-day would be decided according to the civil or criminal law of the State, in the Middle Ages came before the ecclesiastical courts. Since marriage was considered a sacrament, the Church took upon itself to decide what marriages were lawful. It forbade the union of first cousins, of second cousins, and of godparents and god-children. It refused to sanction divorce, for whatever cause, if both parties at the time of marriage had been baptized Christians. The Church dealt with inheritance under wills, for a man could not make a legal will until he had confessed, and confession formed part of the sacrament of penance. All contracts made binding by oaths came under Church jurisdiction, because an oath was an appeal to God. The Church tried those who were charged with any sin against religion, including heresy, blasphemy, the taking of interest (usury), and the practice of witchcraft. Widows, orphans, and the families of pilgrims or crusaders also enjoyed the special protection of Church courts.

The Church claimed the privilege of judging all cases which involved clergymen. No layman, it was declared, ought to interfere with one who, by the sacrament of "Benefit of ordination, had been dedicated to God. This clergy" demand of the Church to try its own officers, according to its own mild and intelligent laws, seems not unreasonable, when we remember how rude were the methods of feudal justice.

An interesting illustration of the power of the Church is

afforded by the right of "sanctuary." Any lawbreaker who fled to a church building enjoyed, for a limited "sanctuary" time, the privilege of safe refuge. It was considered a sin against God to drag even the most wicked criminal from the altar. The most that could be done was to deny the refugee food, so that he might come forth voluntarily. This privilege of seeking sanctuary was not without social usefulness, for it gave time for angry passions to cool, thus permitting an investigation of the charges against an offender.

Disobedience to the regulations of the Church might be followed by excommunication. This was a punishment which cut off the offender from Christian fellowship. He could neither attend religious services nor enjoy the sacraments so necessary to salvation. If he died excommunicate, his body could not be buried in consecrated ground. By the law of the State he lost all civil rights and forfeited all his property. No one might speak to him, feed him, or shelter him. Such a terrible penalty, it is well to point out, was usually imposed only after the sinner had received a fair trial and had spurned entreaties to repent.

The interdict, another coercive measure, was directed against a particular locality, for the fault of some of the inhabitants who could not be reached directly. In time of interdict, the priests closed the churches and neither married the living nor buried the dead. All the inhabitants of the afflicted district were ordered to fast, as in Lent, and to let their hair grow long in sign of mourning. The interdict also stopped the wheels of government, for courts of justice were shut, wills could not be made, and public officials were forbidden to perform their duties. In some cases the Church went so far as to lay an interdict upon an entire kingdom, whose ruler had refused to obey her mandate. The interdict has now passed out of use, but excommunication still retains an important place among the spiritual weapons of the Church.¹

¹ Two instances of the use of excommunication are mentioned below (pages 155 and 158). For two instances of interdicts see pages 157-158.

60. The Secular Clergy

Some one has said that in the Middle Ages there were just three classes of society: the nobles who fought; the peasants who worked; and the clergy who prayed. The latter class was divided into the secular¹ clergy, including deacons, priests, and bishops, who lived active lives in the world, and the regular² clergy, or monks, who passed their days in seclusion behind monastery walls.

The secular
and regular
clergy

An account of the secular clergy naturally begins with the parish priest, who had charge of a parish, the smallest division of Christendom. No one could act as a priest without the approval of the bishop, but the



A BISHOP ORDAINING A PRIEST

From an English manuscript of the twelfth century. The bishop wears a mitre and holds in his left hand the pastoral staff, or crozier. His right hand is extended in blessing over the priest's head.

nobleman who supported the parish had the privilege of nominating candidates for the position. The priest derived his income from lands belonging to the parish, from tithes,³ and from voluntary contributions, but as a rule he received little more than a bare living. The parish priest was the only Church

¹ Latin *saeculum*, used in the sense of "the world."

² Latin *regula*, a "rule," referring to the rule or constitution of a monastic order.

³ The tithe was a tenth part of the yearly income from land, stock, and personal industry.

officer who came continually into touch with the common people. He baptized, married, and buried his parishioners. For them he celebrated mass at least once a week, heard confessions, and granted absolution. He watched over all their deeds on earth and prepared them for the life to come.

A group of parishes formed a diocese, over which a bishop presided. It was his business to look after the property belonging to the diocese, to hold the ecclesiastical courts, to visit the clergy, and to see that they did their duty. The bishop alone could administer the sacraments of confirmation and ordination. He also performed the ceremonies at the consecration of a new church edifice or shrine. Since the Church held many estates on feudal tenure, the bishop was usually a territorial lord, owing a vassal's obligations to the king or to some powerful noble for his land, and himself ruling over vassals in different parts of the country. As symbols of his power and dignity, the bishop wore on his head the miter and carried the pastoral staff, or crosier.¹

Above the bishop in rank stood the archbishop. In England, for example, there were two archbishops, one residing at York and the other at Canterbury. The latter, as "primate of all England," was the highest ecclesiastical dignitary in the land. An archbishop's distinctive vestment consisted of the *pallium*, a narrow band of white wool, worn around the neck. The pope alone could confer the right to wear the *pallium*. The church which contained the official seat or throne² of a bishop or archbishop was called a cathedral. It was ordinarily the largest and most magnificent church in the diocese.

61. The Regular Clergy

The regular clergy, or monks, during the early Middle Ages belonged to the Benedictine order. By the tenth century, however, St. Benedict's Rule had lost much of its force. As the monasteries increased in wealth through gifts of land and goods, they sometimes became centers

¹ See the illustration, page 143.

² Latin *cathedra*.

of idleness, luxury, and corruption. The monks forgot their vows of poverty; and, instead of themselves laboring as farmers, craftsmen, and students, they employed laymen to work for them. At the same time powerful feudal lords frequently obtained control of the monastic estates by appointing as abbots their children or their retainers. Grave danger existed that the monasteries would pass out of Church control and decline into mere fiefs ruled by worldly men.

A marked revival of monasticism began in 910, with the foundation of the monastery of Cluny in eastern France. The monks of Cluny led lives of the utmost self-denial and followed the Benedictine Rule in all its strictness. Their enthusiasm and devotion were contagious; before long Cluny became a center from which a reformatory movement spread over France and then over all western Europe. By the middle of the twelfth century more than three hundred monasteries looked to Cluny for inspiration and guidance.

Each of the earlier Benedictine monasteries had been an isolated community, independent and self-governing. Consequently, when discipline grew lax or when the abbot proved to be an incapable ruler, it was difficult to correct the evils which arose. In the Cluniac system, however, all the monasteries formed parts of one organization, the "Congregation of Cluny." The abbot of Cluny appointed their "priors," or heads, and required every monk to pass several years of his monastic life at Cluny itself. This arrangement helps to explain why for two hundred years the abbot of Cluny was, next to the pope, the most important churchman in western Europe.

Other monastic orders arose in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Of these, the most important was the Cistercian, founded in 1098 at Citeaux, not far from Cluny. The Cistercians especially emphasized the need for manual labor. They were the best farmers and cattle breeders of the Middle Ages. Western Europe owes even more to them than to the Benedictines for their hard work as pioneers in the wilderness. "The Cistercians,"

The Cluniac
revival

The "Con-
gregation of
Cluny"

The
Cistercian
order

declared a medieval writer, "are a model to all monks, a mirror for the diligent, a spur to the indolent."

The whole spirit of medieval monasticism found expression in St. Bernard, a Burgundian of noble birth. While still a young man, he resolved to leave the world and seek the repose of the monastic life. He entered Cîteaux, carrying with him thirty companions. Mothers are said to have hid their sons from him, and wives their husbands, lest they should be converted to monasticism by his persuasive words. After a few years at Cîteaux St. Bernard established the monastery of Clairvaux, over which he ruled as abbot till his death. His ascetic life, piety, eloquence, and ability as an executive soon brought him into prominence. People visited Clairvaux from far and near to listen to his preaching and to receive his counsels. The monastery flourished under his direction and became the parent of no less than sixty-five Cistercian houses which were planted in the wilderness. St. Bernard's activities widened until he came to be the most influential man in western Christendom. It was St. Bernard who acted as an adviser of the popes, at one time deciding between two rival candidates for the Papacy, who combated most vigorously the heresies of the day, and who by his fiery appeals set in motion one of the crusades.¹ The charm of his character is revealed to us in his sermons and letters, while some of the Latin hymns commonly attributed to him are still sung in many churches, both Roman Catholic and Protestant.

62. The Friars

The history of Christian monasticism exhibits an ever-widening social outlook. The early hermits² had devoted themselves, as they believed, to the service of God by retiring to the desert for prayer, meditation, and bodily mortification. St. Benedict's wise Rule, as followed by the medieval monastic orders, marked a change for the better. It did away with extreme forms of self-denial, brought the monks together in a common house, and required

Coming of
the friars

¹ See page 170.

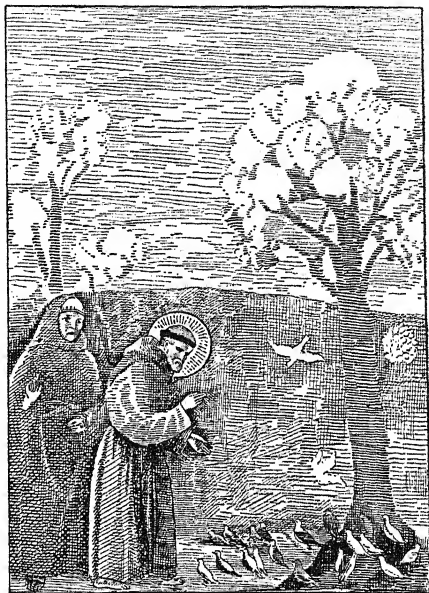
² See page 54.

them to engage in daily manual labor. Yet even the Benedictine system had its limitations. The monks lived apart from the world and sought chiefly the salvation of their own souls. A new conception of the religious life arose early in the thirteenth century, with the coming of the friars.¹ The aim of the friars was social service. They took an active part in affairs and devoted themselves entirely to the salvation of others. The foundation of the orders of friars was the work of two men, St. Francis in Italy and St. Dominic in Spain.

St. Francis was the son of a prominent merchant **St. Francis, of Assisi. 1181(?)–1226**

The young man had before him the prospect of a fine career, but before long he put away all thoughts of riches and honor, deserted his gay com-

panions, and, choosing "Lady Poverty" as his bride, started out to minister to lepers and social outcasts. One day, while attending mass, the call came to him to preach the gospel as Christ had preached it, among the poor and lowly. The man's earnestness and charm of manner soon drew about him devoted followers. After some years St. Francis went to Rome and obtained Pope Innocent III's sanction of his work. The Franciscan order spread so rapidly that even in the founder's



ST. FRANCIS BLESSING THE BIRDS

From a painting by the Italian artist Giotto.

¹ Latin *frater*, "brother."

lifetime there were several thousand members in Italy and other European countries.

St. Francis is one of the most attractive figures in all history. Perhaps no other man has ever tried so seriously to imitate in his own life the life of Christ. St. Francis went about doing good. He resembled, in some respects, the social workers and revivalist preachers of to-day. In other respects he was a true child of the Middle Ages. An ascetic, he fasted, wore a hair-cloth shirt, mixed ashes with his food to make it disagreeable, wept daily, so that his eyesight was nearly destroyed, and every night flogged himself with iron chains. A mystic, he lived so close to God and nature that he could include within the bonds of his love not only men and women, but also animals, trees, and flowers. He preached a sermon to the birds and once wrote a hymn to praise God for his "brothers," sun, wind, and fire, and for his "sisters," moon, water, and earth. When told that he had but a short time to live, he exclaimed, "Welcome, Sister Death!" He died at the age of forty-five, worn out by his exertions and self-denial. Two years later the pope made him a saint.

St. Dominic, unlike St. Francis, was a clergyman and a student of theology. After being ordained, he went to southern France and labored there for ten years among a heretical sect known as the Albigenses. The order of Dominicans grew out of the little band of volunteers who assisted him in the mission. St. Dominic sent his followers — at first only sixteen in number — out into the world to combat heresy. They met with great success, and at the founder's death the Dominicans had as many as sixty friaries in various European cities.

The Franciscans and Dominicans resembled each other in many ways. They were "itinerant,"¹ going on foot from place to place, and wearing coarse robes tied round the waist with a rope. They were "mendicants,"² who possessed no property but lived on the alms of the charitable. They were also preachers, who spoke to the

Character-
istics of the
friars

¹ Low Latin *itinerare*, "to make a journey."

² Latin *mendicare*, "to beg."

people, not in Latin, but in the common language of each country which they visited. The Franciscans worked especially in the slums of the cities; the Dominicans addressed themselves rather to educated people and the upper classes. As time went on, both orders relaxed the rule of poverty and became very wealthy. They still survive, scattered all over the world and employed as teachers and missionaries.

The friars by their preaching and ministrations did a great deal to call forth a religious revival in Europe during the thirteenth century. In particular, they helped to strengthen the papal authority. Both orders received the sanction of the pope; both enjoyed many privileges at his hands; and both looked to him for direction. The pope employed them to raise money, to preach crusades, and to impose excommunications and interdicts. The Franciscans and Dominicans formed, in fact, the agents of the Papacy.

The friars
and the
Papacy

63. Power of the Papacy

The name "pope"¹ seems at first to have been applied to all priests as a title of respect and affection. The Greek Church still continues this use of the word. In the West it gradually came to be reserved to the bishop of Rome as his official title. The pope was addressed in speaking as "Your Holiness." His exalted position was further indicated by the tiara, or headdress with triple crowns, worn by him in processions.² He went to solemn ceremonies sitting in a chair supported on the shoulders of his guard. He gave audience from an elevated throne, and all who approached him kissed his feet in reverence.

The pope's
exalted
position

The pope was the supreme lawgiver of the Church. His decrees might not be set aside by any other person. He made new laws in the form of "bulls"³ and by his "dispensations" could in particular cases set aside old laws, such as those forbidding cousins to marry or monks to

The pope's
authority

¹ Latin *papa*, "father."

² See the illustration, page 51.

³ So called from the lead seal (Latin *bullo*) attached to papal documents.

obtain release from their vows. The pope was also the supreme judge of the Church, for all appeals from the lower ecclesiastical courts came before him for decision. Finally, the pope was the supreme administrator of the Church. He confirmed the election of bishops, deposed them, when necessary, or transferred them from one diocese to another. No archbishop might perform the functions of his office until he had received the *pallium* from the pope's hands. The pope also exercised control over the monastic orders and called general councils of the Church.

The authority of the pope was commonly exercised by the "legates,"¹ whom he sent out as his representatives at the various European courts. These officers kept the pope in close touch with the condition of the Church in every part of western Europe. A similar function is performed in modern times by the papal ambassadors known as "nuncios."

For assistance in government the pope made use of the cardinals,² who formed a board, or "college." At first they were chosen only from the clergy of Rome and the vicinity, but in course of time the pope opened the cardinalate to prominent churchmen in all countries. The number of cardinals is now fixed at seventy, but the college is never full, and there are always ten or more "vacant hats," as the saying goes. The cardinals, in the eleventh century, received the right of choosing a new pope. A cardinal ranks above all other church officers except the pope. His dignity is indicated by the red hat and scarlet robe which he wears and by the title of "Eminence" applied to him.

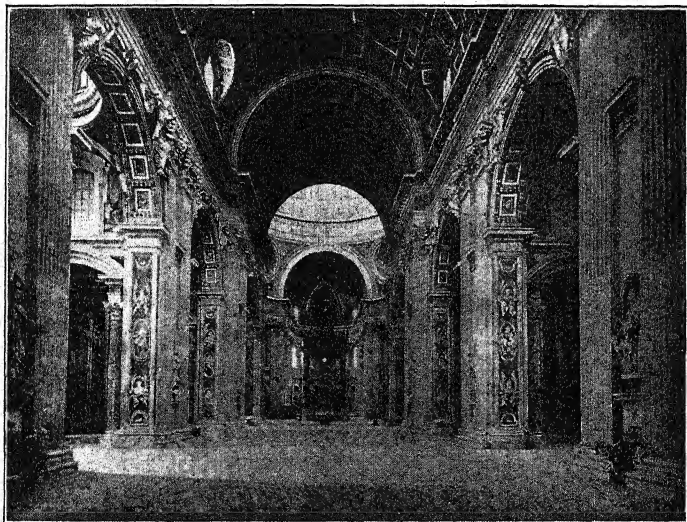
To support the business of the Papacy and to maintain the splendor of the papal court required a large annual income. This came partly from the States of the Church in Italy, partly from the gifts of the faithful, and partly from the payments made by abbots, bishops, and archbishops when the pope confirmed their election to office. Still another source of revenue consisted of "Peter's Pence," a tax of a penny on each hearth. It was collected every year in

¹ Latin *legatus*, "deputy."

² Latin *cardinalis*, "principal."



Exterior



Interior

ST. PETER'S, ROME

St. Peter's, begun in 1506 A.D., was completed in 1667, according to the designs of Bramante, Raphael, Michelangelo, and other celebrated architects. It is the largest church in the world. The central aisle, nave, and choir measure about 600 feet in length; the great dome, 140 feet in diameter, rises to a height of more than 400 feet. A double colonnade encircles the piazza in front of the church. The Vatican is seen to the right of St. Peter's.

England and in some Continental countries until the time of the Reformation. The modern "Peter's Pence" is a voluntary contribution made each year by Roman Catholics in all parts of the world.

Rome, the Eternal City, from which in ancient times the known world had been ruled, formed in the Middle Ages the capital of the Papacy. Tens of thousands of pilgrims went there every year to worship at the shrine of the Prince of the Apostles. Few traces now remain of the medieval city. Old St. Peter's Church, where Charlemagne was crowned emperor, gave way in the sixteenth century to the world-famous structure that now occupies its site. The Lateran Palace, which for more than a thousand years served as the residence of the popes, has also disappeared, its place being taken by a new and smaller building. The popes now live in the splendid palace of the Vatican.

The powers exercised by the popes during the later Middle Ages were not secured without a struggle. As a matter of fact, the concentration of authority in papal hands was a gradual development covering several hundred years. The pope reached his exalted position only after a long contest with the Holy Roman Emperor.

64. Popes and Emperors, 962-1122

One might suppose that there could be no interference between pope and emperor, since they seemed to have separate spheres of action. It was said that God had made the pope, as the successor of St. Peter, supreme in spiritual matters, and the emperor, as heir of the Roman Cæsars, supreme in temporal matters. The former ruled men's souls, the latter, men's bodies. The two sovereigns thus divided on equal terms the government of the world.

The difficulty with this theory was that it did not work. No one could decide in advance where the authority of the pope ended and where that of the emperor began. When the pope claimed certain powers

The capital
of the Papacy

The Papacy
and the
Empire

Relations
between pope
and emperor
in theory

Their rela-
tions in
practice

which were also claimed by the emperor, a conflict between the two rulers became inevitable.

In 962 Otto the Great, as we have learned,¹ restored imperial rule in the West, thus founding what in later centuries came

Otto the Great
and the Papacy

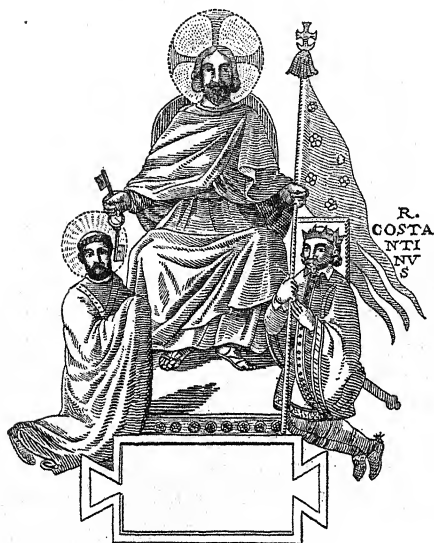
to be known as the Holy Roman Empire. Otto made the city of Rome the imperial capital,

deposed a pope who proved disobedient to his wishes, and on his own authority appointed a successor. At the same time Otto exacted from the people of Rome an oath that they would never recognize any pope to whose election the emperor had not consented.

Otto's successors repeatedly interfered

The Papacy in elections
and Otto's to the Pa-
successors pacy. One

strong ruler, Henry III (1039-1056), has been called the "pope-maker." Early in his reign he set aside



THE SPIRITUAL AND THE TEMPORAL POWER

A tenth-century mosaic in the church of St. John, Rome. It represents Christ giving to St. Peter the keys of heaven, and to Constantine the banner symbolic of earthly dominion.

three rival claimants to the Papacy, creating a German bishop pope, and on three subsequent occasions filled the papal throne by fresh appointments. It was clear that if this situation continued much longer the Papacy would become simply an imperial office; it would be merged in the Empire.

The death of Henry III, which left the Empire in weak hands, gave the Papacy a chance to escape from the control of the

¹ See page 21.

secular power. A church council held at the Lateran Palace decreed that henceforth the right of choosing the supreme pontiff should belong exclusively to the cardinals, who represented the clergy of Rome. This arrangement has tended to prevent any interference with the election of popes, either by the Roman people or by foreign sovereigns.

Papal election by the cardinals

Now that the Papacy had become independent, it began to deal with a grave problem which affected the Church at large. According to ecclesiastical rule bishops were generally chosen by other Church officers, and abbots by their monks. With the growth of feudalism, however, many of these high dignitaries had become vassals, holding their lands as fiefs of princes, kings, and emperors, and owing the usual feudal dues. Their lords expected them to perform the ceremony of homage, before "investing" them with the lands attached to the bishopric or monastery. One can readily see that in practice the lords really chose the bishops and abbots, since they could always refuse to "invest" those who were displeasing to them.

Feudalizing of the Church

To the reformers in the Church lay investiture was intolerable. How could the Church keep itself unspotted from the world when its highest officers were chosen by laymen and were compelled to perform unpriestly duties? In the act of investiture the reformers also saw the sin of simony¹—the sale of sacred powers—because there was such a temptation before the candidate for a bishopric or abbacy to buy the position with promises or with money.

Lay investiture from the Church standpoint

The lords, on the other hand, believed that as long as bishops and abbots held vast estates on feudal tenure they should continue to perform the obligations of vassalage. To forbid lay investiture was to deprive the lords of all control over Church dignitaries. The real difficulty of the situation existed, of course, in the

Lay investiture as viewed by the secular authority

¹ A name derived from Simon Magus, who offered money to the Apostle Peter for the power to confer the Holy Spirit. See *Acts*, viii, 18-20.

fact that the bishops and abbots were both spiritual officers and temporal rulers, were servants of both the Church and the State. They found it very difficult to serve two masters.

The throne of St. Peter was occupied at this time by Hildebrand, one of the most remarkable of the popes. Of obscure

Pontificate of Gregory VII, 1073-1085 Italian birth, he received his education in a Benedictine monastery at Rome and rose rapidly to a position of great influence in papal affairs. On

becoming pope he assumed the name of Gregory VII. He is described as a small man, ungainly in appearance and with a weak voice, but energetic, forceful, and of imperious will.

Gregory devoted all his talents to the advancement of the Papacy. A contemporary document,¹ which may have been

Gregory's aims of Gregory's own composition, and at any rate expresses his ideas, contains the following statements:

"The Roman pontiff alone is properly called universal. He alone may depose bishops and restore them to office. He is the only person whose feet are kissed by all princes. He may depose emperors. He may be judged by no one. He may absolve from their allegiance the subjects of the wicked. The Roman Church never has erred, and never can err, as the Scriptures testify." Gregory did not originate these doctrines, but he was the first pope who ventured to make a practical application of them.

Two years after Gregory became pope he issued a decree against lay investiture. It declared that no emperor, king, duke,

Decree against lay investiture, 1075 marquis, count, or any other lay person should presume to grant investiture, under pain of excommunication. This decree was a general one, applying to all states of western Europe, but circumstances were such that it mainly affected Germany.

Henry IV, the ruler of Germany at this time, did not refuse the papal challenge. He wrote a famous letter to Gregory,

Henry IV and Gregory VII calling him "no pope, but false monk," telling him Christ had never called him to the priesthood, and bidding him "come down," "come down" from St. Peter's

¹ The so-called *Dictatus papa*.

throne. Gregory, in reply, deposed Henry as emperor, excommunicated him, and freed his subjects from their allegiance.

This severe sentence made a profound impression in Germany. Henry's adherents fell away, and it seemed probable that the German nobles would elect another ruler in his stead. Henry then decided on abject submission. He hastened across the Alps and found the pope

at the castle of Canossa, on the northern slopes of the Apennines. It was January, and the snow lay deep on the ground. For three days the emperor stood shivering outside the castle gate, barefoot and clad in a coarse woolen shirt, the garb of a penitent. At last, upon the entreaties of the Countess Matilda of Tuscany, Gregory admitted Henry to his presence and granted absolution. This strange and moving spectacle revealed the tremendous power which the Church in the Middle Ages exercised over the minds of men.

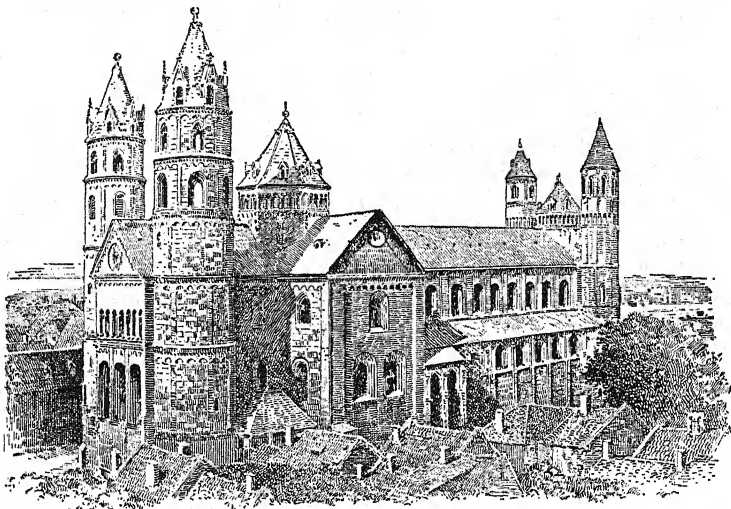
The dramatic scene at Canossa did not end the investiture conflict. It dragged on for half a century after Gregory's death. At length the opposing parties agreed to what is known as the Concordat of Worms, 1122 the Concordat of Worms, from the old German city where it was signed. The concordat drew a distinction between spiritual and lay investiture. The emperor renounced investiture by the ring and crosier — the emblems of spiritual authority — and permitted bishops and abbots to be elected by the clergy and confirmed in office by the pope. On the other hand, the pope recognized the emperor's right to be present



HENRY IV, COUNTESS MATILDA,
AND GREGORY VII

From a manuscript of the twelfth century,
now in the Vatican Library at Rome.

at all elections and to invest bishops and abbots by the scepter for whatever lands they held within his domains. This reasonable compromise worked well for a time. But it was a truce, not a peace. It did not settle the more fundamental issue, whether the Papacy or the Holy Roman Empire should be supreme.



WORMS CATHEDRAL

The old German city of Worms possesses in the Cathedral of SS. Peter and Paul one of the finest Romanesque structures in Europe. The exterior, with its four round towers, two large domes, and a choir at each end, is particularly imposing. The cathedral was mainly built in the twelfth century.

65. Popes and Emperors, 1122-1273

Thirty years after the signing of the Concordat of Worms the emperor Frederick I, called Barbarossa from his red beard, succeeded to the throne. Frederick, the second of the Hohenstaufen dynasty,¹ was capable, imaginative, and ambitious. He took Charlemagne and Otto the Great as his models and aspired like them

**Frederick I,
emperor,
1152-1190**

¹ The name of this German family comes from that of their castle in southwestern Swabia.

to rule Christian Europe and the Church. His reign is the story of many attempts, ending at length in failure, to unite all Italy into a single state under German sway.

Frederick's Italian policy brought him at once into conflict with the Papacy. The popes gave their support to a league of the free cities of northern Italy, which were also threatened by Frederick's soaring ambitions. The haughty emperor, having suffered a severe defeat, sought reconciliation with the pope, Alexander III. In the presence of a vast throng assembled before St. Mark's Cathedral in Venice, Frederick knelt before the pope and humbly kissed his feet. Just a century had passed since the humiliation of Henry IV at Canossa.

Frederick
and the
Papacy

The Papacy reached the height of its power under Innocent III. The eighteen years of his pontificate were one long effort, for the most part successful, to make the pope the arbiter of Europe. Innocent announced the claims of the Papacy in the most uncompromising manner. "As the moon," he declared, "receives its light from the sun, and is inferior to the sun, so do kings receive all their glory and dignity from the Holy See." This meant, according to Innocent, that the pope has the right to interfere in all secular matters and in the quarrels of rulers. "God," he continued, "has set the Prince of the Apostles over kings and kingdoms, with a mission to tear up, plant, destroy, scatter, and rebuild."

Pontificate of
Innocent III,
1198-1216

That Innocent's claims were not idle boasts is shown by what he accomplished. When Philip Augustus, king of France, divorced his wife and made another marriage, Innocent declared the divorce void and ordered him to take back his discarded queen. Philip refused, and Innocent, through his legate, put France under an interdict. From that hour all religious rites ceased. The church doors were barred; the church bells were silent, the sick died unshriven, the dead lay unburied. Philip, deserted by his retainers, was compelled to submit.

Innocent and
King Philip
of France

On another occasion Innocent ordered John, the English

king, to accept as archbishop of Canterbury a man of his own choosing. When John declared that he would never allow the pope's appointee to set foot on English soil, Innocent replied by excommunicating him and laying his kingdom under an interdict. John also had to yield and went so far as to surrender England and Ireland to the pope, receiving them back again as fiefs, for which he promised to pay a yearly rent. The tribute money was actually paid, though irregularly, for about a century and a half.

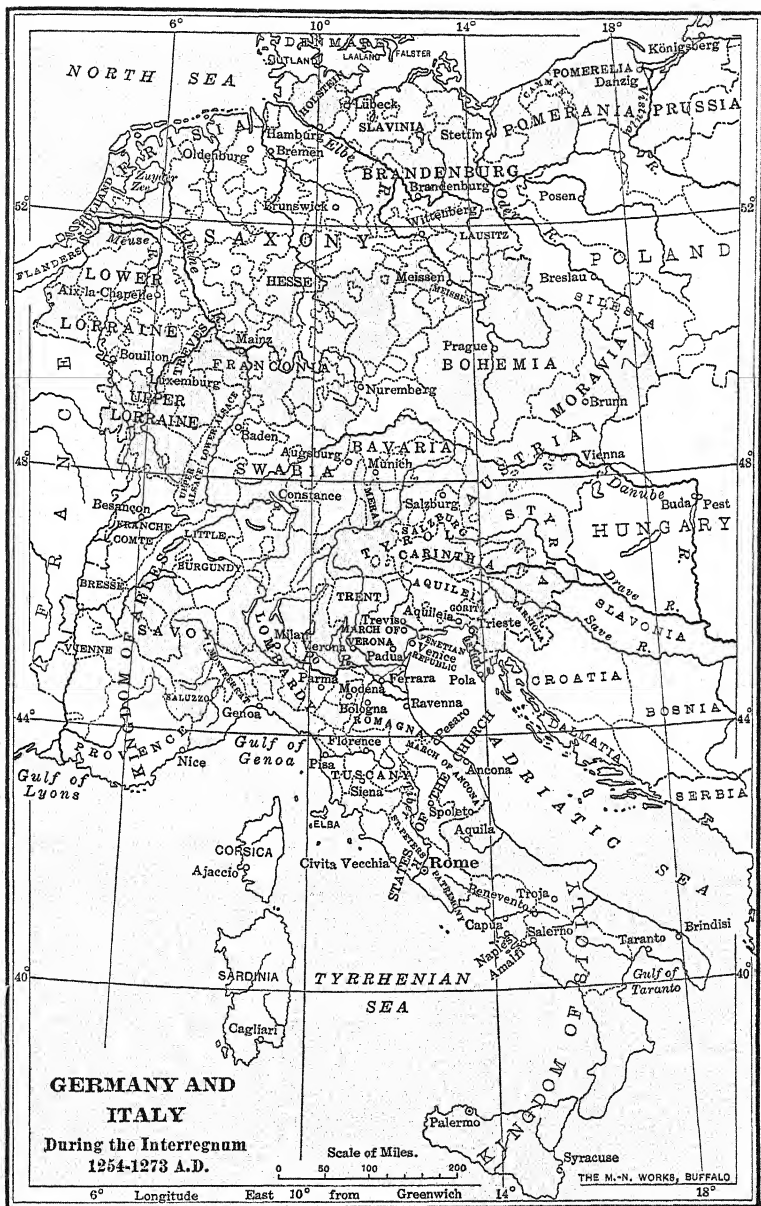
Innocent further exhibited his power by elevating to the imperial throne Frederick II, grandson of Frederick Barbarossa.

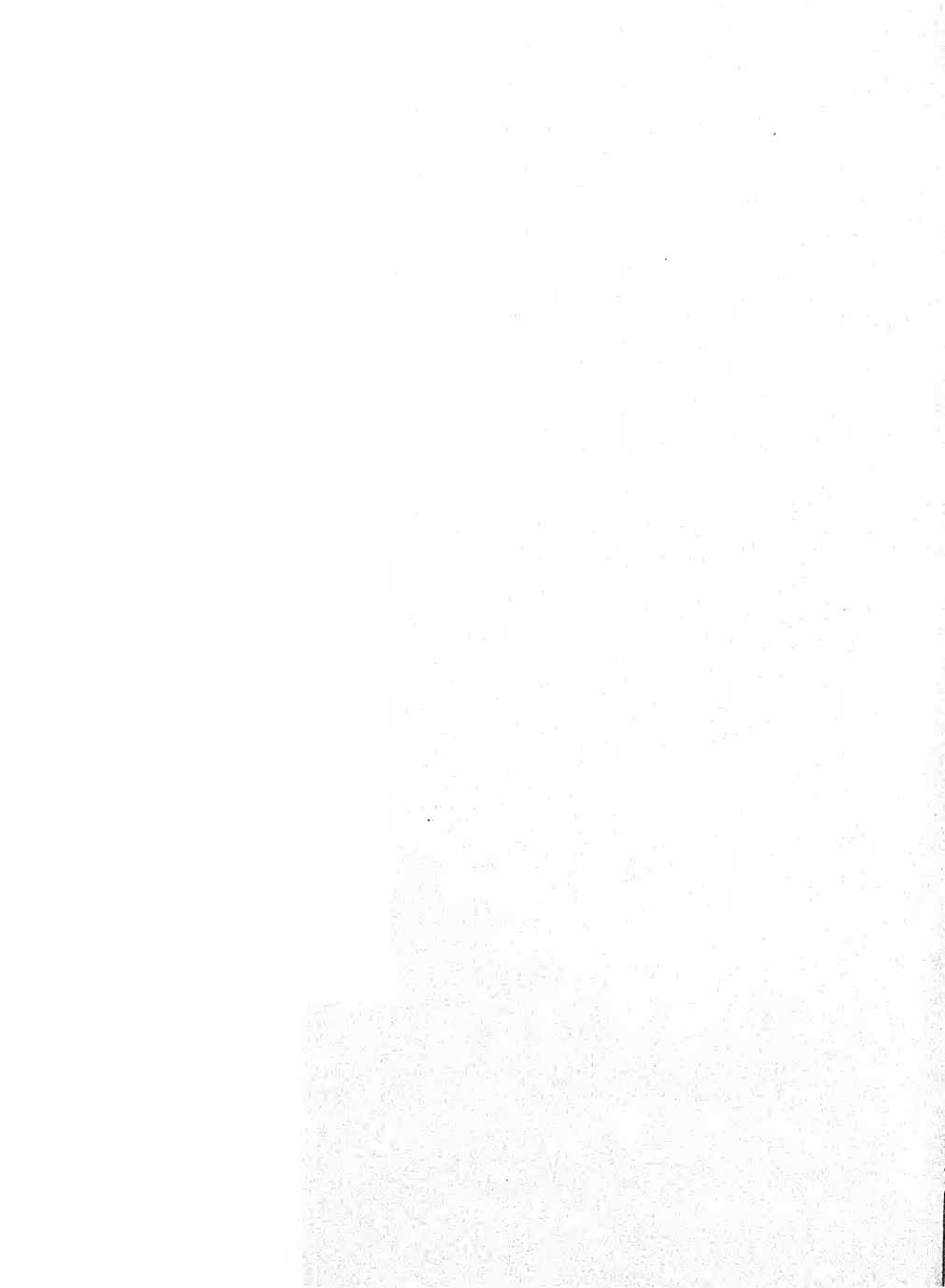
The young man, after Innocent's death, proved to be a most determined opponent of the Papacy. He passed much of his long reign in Italy, warring against the popes, whose territories separated Frederick's possessions in North Italy from his kingdom of Naples and Sicily (the Two Sicilies). Frederick was a man of remarkable talents, but he failed, as his grandfather before him had failed, to unite Italy under German rule.

The death of Frederick II's son (1254) ended the Hohenstaufen dynasty. There now ensued what is called the Interregnum, a period of nineteen years, during which Germany was without a ruler. At length the pope sent word to the German electors that if they did not choose an emperor, he would himself do so. The electors then selected Rudolf of Hapsburg¹ (1273). Rudolf gained papal support by resigning all claims on Italy, but recompensed himself through the conquest of the German state of Austria. It was in this way that the Hapsburgs became an Austrian dynasty.

The conflict between popes and emperors was now over. Its results were momentous. Germany, so long neglected by its rightful rulers, who pursued the will-o'-the-wisp in Italy, broke up into a mass of duchies, counties, archbishoprics, bishoprics, and free cities.

¹ Hapsburg was the name of a castle in northern Switzerland.





The map of the country at this time shows how numerous were these small feudal states. They did not combine into a strong government till the nineteenth century.¹ Italy likewise remained disunited and lacked even a common monarch. The real victor was the Papacy, which had crushed the Empire and had prevented the union of Italy and Germany.

66. Significance of the Medieval Church

Medieval society, we have learned, owed much to the Church, both as a teacher of religion and morality and as an agency of government. It remains to ask what was the attitude of the Church toward the social problems of the Middle Ages. In regard to warfare, the prevalence of which formed one of the worst evils of the time, the Church, in general, cast its influence on the side of peace. It deserves credit for establishing the Peace and the Truce of God and for many efforts to heal strife between princes and nobles. Yet the Church did not carry the advocacy of peace so far as to condemn warfare against heretics and infidels. Christians believed that it was a religious duty to exterminate these enemies of God.

The Church was distinguished for charitable work. The clergy received large sums for distribution to the needy. From the doors of the monasteries, the poor, the sick, and the infirm of every sort were never turned away. Medieval charity, however, was very often injudicious. The problem of removing the causes of poverty seems never to have been raised; and the indiscriminate giving multiplied, rather than reduced, the number of beggars.

Neither slavery nor serfdom, into which slavery gradually passed, was ever pronounced unlawful by pope or Church council. The Church condemned slavery only when it was the servitude of a Christian in bondage to a Jew or an infidel. Abbots, bishops, and popes possessed slaves and serfs. The serfs of some wealthy monasteries were counted by thousands. The Church,

¹ The modern German Empire was founded in 1871.

nevertheless, encouraged the freeing of bondmen as a meritorious act and always preached the duty of kindness and forbearance toward them.

The Church also helped to promote the cause of human freedom by insisting on the natural equality of all men in the sight of God. "The Creator," wrote one of the popes, "distributes his gifts without regard to social classes. In his eyes there are neither nobles nor serfs." It was not necessary to be of aristocratic birth to become a bishop, a cardinal, or a pope. Naturally enough, the Church attracted to its service the keenest minds of the age.

The clergy in medieval Europe were almost the only persons of education. Few except churchmen were able to read or write. So generally was this the case that an offender could prove himself a clergyman, thus securing "benefit of clergy," if he showed his ability to read a single line. It is interesting, also, to note that the word "clerk," which comes from the Latin *clericus*, was originally limited to churchmen, since they alone could keep accounts, write letters, and perform other secretarial duties.

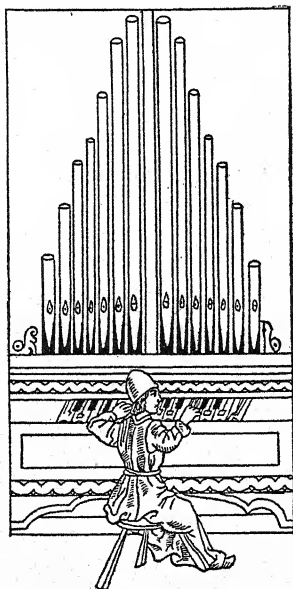
It is clear that priests and monks had much importance quite aside from their religious duties. They controlled the schools, wrote the books, framed the laws, and, in general, acted as leaders and molders of public opinion. A most conspicuous instance of the authority wielded by them is seen in the crusades. These holy wars of Christendom against Islam must now be considered.

Studies

1. Explain the following terms: abbot; prior; archbishop; parish; diocese; regular clergy; secular clergy; friar; excommunication; simony; interdict; sacrament; "benefit of clergy"; right of "sanctuary"; crosier; miter; tiara; papal indulgence; bull; dispensation; tithes; and "Peter's Pence." 2. Mention some respects in which the Roman Church in the Middle Ages differed from any religious society of the present day. 3. "Medieval Europe was a camp with a church in the background." Comment on this statement. 4. Distinguish between the *faith* of

the Church, the *organization* of the Church, and the Church as a *force* in history.

5. How did the belief in purgatory strengthen the hold of the Church upon men's minds? 6. Name several historic characters who have been made saints. 7. Why has the Roman Church always refused to sanction divorce? 8. Compare the social effects of excommunication with those of a modern "boycott." 9. What reasons have led the Church to insist upon celibacy of the clergy? 10. Name four famous monks and four famous monasteries. 11. Could monks enter the secular clergy and thus become parish priests and bishops? 12. Mention two famous popes who had been monks. 13. What justification was found in the New Testament (*Matthew*, x, 8-10) for the organization of the orders of friars? 14. How did the Franciscans and Dominicans supplement each other's work? 15. "The monks and the friars were the militia of the Church." Comment on this statement. 16. Who is the present Pope? When and by whom was he elected? In what city does he reside? What is his residence called? 17. Why has the medieval Papacy been called the "ghost" of the Roman Empire? 18. In what sense is it true that the Holy Roman Empire was "neither holy nor Roman, nor an empire"?



A FIFTEENTH CENTURY ORGAN

The keys were so broad that they were played by the whole hand, instead of by single fingers.

CHAPTER VIII

THE OCCIDENT AGAINST THE ORIENT: THE CRUSADES, 1095-1291¹

67. Causes of the Crusades

THE series of military expeditions undertaken by the Christians of Europe for the purpose of recovering the Holy Land from the Moslems have received the name of crusades. In their widest aspect the crusades may be regarded as a renewal of the age-long contest between East and West, in which the struggle of Greeks and Persians and of Romans and Carthaginians formed the earlier episodes. The contest assumed a new character when Europe had become Christian and Asia, Mohammedan. It was not only two contrasting types of civilization but also two rival world religions which in the eighth century faced each other under the walls of Constantinople and on the battle-field of Tours. Now, during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, they were to meet again.

Seven or eight chief crusades are usually enumerated. To number them, however, obscures the fact that for nearly two hundred years Europe and Asia were engaged in almost constant warfare. Throughout this period there was a continuous movement of crusaders to and from the Moslem possessions in Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt.

The crusades were first and foremost a spiritual enterprise. They sprang from the pilgrimages which Christians had long been accustomed to make to the scenes of Christ's life on earth. Men considered it a wonderful privilege to see the cave in which He was born, to kiss the spot where He died, and to kneel in prayer at His

¹ Webster, *Readings in Medieval and Modern History*, chapter xii, "Richard the Lion-hearted and the Third Crusade"; chapter xiii, "The Fourth Crusade and the Capture of Constantinople."

tomb. The eleventh century saw an increased zeal for pilgrimages, and from this time travelers to the Holy Land were very numerous. For greater security they often joined themselves in companies and marched under arms. It needed little to transform such pilgrims into crusaders.

The Arab conquest of the Holy Land had not interrupted the stream of

Abuse of
pilgrims by
the Seljuk
Turks

pilgrims, for the early caliphs were more tolerant of unbelievers than Christian emperors of heretics. But after the coming of the Seljuk Turks into the East, pilgrimages became more difficult and dangerous. The Seljuks were a ruder people than the Arabs whom

they displaced, and in their fanatic zeal for Islam were not inclined to treat the Christians with consideration. Many tales floated back to Europe of the outrages committed on the pilgrims and on the sacred shrines venerated by all Christendom. Such stories, which lost nothing in the telling, aroused a storm of indignation throughout Europe and awakened the desire to rescue the Holy Land from "infidels."

But the crusades were not simply an expression of the simple faith of the Middle Ages. Something more than religious enthusiasm sent an unending procession of soldiers along the highways of Europe and over the trackless wastes of Asia Minor to Jerusalem. The crusades, in fact, appealed strongly to the warlike instincts of the feudal nobles. They saw in an expedition against the



COMBAT BETWEEN CRUSADERS AND MOSLEMS

A picture in a twelfth century window, formerly in the church of St. Denis, near Paris.

The crusades
and the
upper classes

East an unequaled opportunity for acquiring fame, riches, lands, and power. The Normans were especially stirred by the prospect of adventure and plunder which the crusading movement opened up. By the end of the eleventh century they had established themselves in southern Italy and Sicily, from which they now looked across the Mediterranean for further lands to conquer.¹ Norman knights formed a very large element in several of the crusaders' armies.

The crusades also attracted the lower classes. So great was the misery of the common people in medieval Europe that for them it seemed not a hardship, but rather a relief, to leave their homes in order to better themselves abroad. Famine and pestilence, poverty and oppression, drove them to emigrate hopefully to the golden East.

The Church, in order to foster the crusades, promised both religious and secular benefits to those who took part in them. A warrior of the Cross was to enjoy forgiveness of all his past sins. If he died fighting for the faith, he was assured of an immediate entrance to the joys of Paradise. The Church also freed him from paying interest on his debts and threatened with excommunication any one who molested his wife, his children, or his property.

68. First Crusade, 1095-1099

The signal for the First Crusade was given by the conquests of the Seljuk Turks.² These barbarians, at first the mercenaries and then the masters of the Abbasid caliphs, infused fresh energy into Islam. They began a new era of Mohammedan expansion by winning almost the whole of Asia Minor from the Roman Empire in the East. One of their leaders established himself at Nicæa, the scene of the first Church Council, and founded the sultanate of Rum (Rome).

The presence of the Seljuks so close to Constantinople formed

¹ See page 112.

² See pages 36 and 82.

a standing menace to all Europe. The emperor, Alexius I, on succeeding to the throne toward the close of the eleventh century, took steps to expel the invaders. He could not draw on the hardy tribes of Asia Minor for the soldiers he needed, but with reinforcements from the West he hoped to recover the lost provinces of the empire. Accordingly, Alexius sent an embassy to Pope Urban II, the successor of Gregory VII, requesting aid. The fact that the emperor appealed to the pope, rather than to any king, shows what a high place the Papacy then held in the affairs of Europe.

Appeal of
emperor to
pope

To the appeal of Alexius, Urban lent a willing ear. He summoned a great council of clergy and nobles to meet at Clermont in France. Here, in an address which, measured by its results, was the most momentous recorded in history, Pope Urban preached the First Crusade. He said little about the dangers which threatened the Roman Empire in the East from the Turks, but dwelt chiefly on the wretched condition of the Holy Land, with its churches polluted by unbelievers and its Christian inhabitants tortured and enslaved. Then, turning to the proud knights who stood by, Urban called upon them to abandon their wicked practice of private warfare and take up arms, instead, against the infidel. "Christ Himself," he cried, "will be your leader, when, like the Israelites of old, you fight for Jerusalem. . . . Start upon the way to the Holy Sepulcher; wrench the land from the accursed race, and subdue it yourselves. Thus shall you spoil your foes of their wealth and return home victorious, or, purpled with your own blood, receive an everlasting reward."

Council of
Clermont,
1095

Urban's trumpet call to action met an instant response. From the assembled host there went up, as it were, a single shout: "God wills it! God wills it!" "It is, in truth, His will," answered Urban, "and let these words be your war cry when you unsheath your swords against the enemy." Then man after man pressed forward to receive the badge of a crusader, a cross of red cloth.¹ It was to be worn

¹ Hence the name "crusades," from Latin *crux*, Old French *crois*, a "cross."

on the breast, when the crusader went forth, and on the back, when he returned.

The months which followed the Council of Clermont were marked by an epidemic of religious excitement in western Europe. Popular preachers everywhere took up the cry "God wills it!" and urged their hearers to start for Jerusalem. A monk named Peter the Hermit aroused large parts of France with his passionate elo-



"MOSQUE OF OMAR," JERUSALEM

More correctly called the Dome of the Rock. It was erected in 691, but many restorations have been made since that date. The walls enclosing the entire structure were built in the ninth century, and the dome is attributed to Saladin (1189). This building, with its brilliant tiles covering the walls and its beautiful stained glass, is a fine example of Mohammedan architecture.

quence, as he rode from town to town, carrying a huge cross before him and preaching to vast crowds. Without waiting for the main body of nobles, which was to assemble at Constantinople in the summer of 1096, a horde of poor men, women, and children set out, unorganized and almost unarmed, on the road to the Holy Land. One of these crusading bands, led by Peter the Hermit, managed to reach Constantinople, after suffering terrible hardships. The emperor Alexius sent his ragged allies as quickly as possible to Asia Minor, where most of them were slaughtered by the Turks.

Meanwhile real armies were gathering in the West. Recruits came in greater numbers from France than from any other country, a circumstance which resulted in the crusaders being generally called "Franks" by their Moslem foes. They had no single commander, but each contingent set out for Constantinople by its own route and at its own time.¹

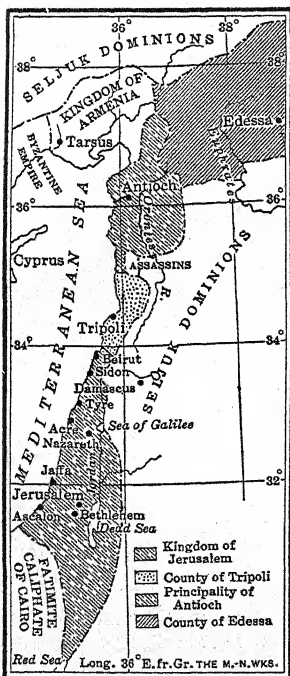
The crusaders included among their leaders some of the most distinguished representatives of European knighthood. Count Raymond of Toulouse headed a band of volunteers from Provence in southern France. Godfrey of Bouillon and his brother Baldwin commanded a force of French and Germans from the Rhinelands. Normandy sent Robert, William the Conqueror's eldest son. The Normans from Italy and Sicily were led by Bohemond, a son of Robert Guiscard, and by his nephew Tancred.

Though the crusaders probably did not number more than fifty thousand fighting men, the disunion which prevailed among the Turks favored the success of their enterprise. With some assistance from the eastern emperor they captured Nicæa, overran Asia Minor, and at length reached Antioch, the key to northern Syria. The city fell after a siege of seven months, but the crusaders were scarcely within the walls before they found themselves besieged by a large Turkish army. The crusaders were now in a desperate plight: famine wasted their ranks; many soldiers deserted; and Alexius disappointed all hope of rescue. The news of the discovery in an Antioch church of the Holy Lance which had pierced the Savior's side restored their drooping spirits. The whole army issued forth from the city, bearing the relic as a standard, and drove the Turks in headlong flight. This victory opened the road to Jerusalem.

Reduced now to perhaps one-fourth of their original numbers, the crusaders advanced slowly to the city which formed the goal of all their efforts. Before attacking it they marched barefoot in religious procession around the walls, with Peter

¹ For the routes followed by the crusaders see the map between pages 170-171.

the Hermit at their head. Then came the grand assault. Godfrey of Bouillon and Tancred were among the first to mount the ramparts. Once inside the city, the crusaders massacred their enemies without mercy. Afterwards, we are told, they went "rejoicing, nay for excess of joy weeping, to the tomb of our Savior to adore and give thanks."



CRUSADERS' STATES IN SYRIA

69. Crusaders' States in Syria

After the capture of Jerusalem the crusaders met to elect a king.

Latin Their choice fell upon
Kingdom of Godfrey of Bouillon.
Jerusalem He refused to wear a

crown of gold in the city where Christ had worn a crown of thorns and accepted, instead, the modest title of "Protector of the Holy Sepulcher."¹ Godfrey died the next year and his brother Baldwin who succeeded him, being less scrupulous, was crowned king at Bethlehem. The new kingdom contained nearly a score of fiefs, whose lords made war, administered justice, and coined money like independent rulers. The main features of European feudalism were thus transplanted to Asiatic soil.

The winning of Jerusalem and the district about it formed hardly more than a preliminary stage in the conquest of Syria. Much fighting had to take place

¹ The emperor Constantine caused a stately church to be erected on the supposed site of Christ's tomb. This church of the Holy Sepulcher was practically destroyed by the Moslems, early in the eleventh century. The crusaders restored and enlarged the structure, which still stands.

before the crusaders could establish themselves firmly in the country. Instead of founding one strong power in Syria, they split up their possessions into three small states centering about Tripoli, Antioch, and Edessa. These states owed allegiance to the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem.

Other
crusaders'
states

The ability of the crusaders to maintain themselves for many years in the Holy Land was largely due to the foundation of two military-religious orders. The members were both monks and knights; that is, to the monastic vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience they added a fourth vow, which bound them to protect pilgrims and fight the infidels. Such a combination of religion and warfare made a strong appeal to the medieval mind.

Military-
religious
orders

The Hospitalers, the first of these orders, grew out of a brotherhood for the care of sick pilgrims in a hospital at Jerusalem. Many knights joined the organization, which soon proved to be very useful in defending the Holy Land. Even more important were the Templars, so called because their headquarters in Jerusalem lay near the site of Solomon's Temple. Both orders built many castles in Syria, the remains of which still impress the beholder. They established numerous branches in Europe and, from presents and legacies, acquired vast wealth. The Templars were disbanded in the fourteenth century, but the Hospitalers continued to fight valiantly against the Turks long after the close of the crusading movement.¹

Hospitalers
and Templars



EFFIGY OF A KNIGHT
TEMPLAR

Temple Church, London

Shows the kind of armor
worn between 1190 and
1225.

¹ The order of Hospitalers, now known as the "Knights of Malta," still survives in several European countries.

The depleted ranks of the crusaders were constantly filled by fresh bands of pilgrim knights who visited Palestine to pray at the Holy Sepulcher and have a taste of fighting. In spite of constant border warfare, much trade and friendly intercourse prevailed between Christians and Moslems. They learned to respect one another both as foes and neighbors. The crusaders' states in Syria became, like Spain¹ and Sicily,² a meeting-place of East and West.

70. Second Crusade, 1147-1149, and Third Crusade, 1189-1192

The success of the Christians in the First Crusade had been largely due to the disunion among their enemies. But the Moslems learned in time the value of united action, and at length succeeded in capturing Edessa, one of the principal Christian outposts in the East. The fall of the city, followed by the loss of the entire county of Edessa, aroused western Europe to the danger which threatened the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, and led to another crusading enterprise.

The apostle of the Second Crusade was the great abbot of Clairvaux, St. Bernard.³ Scenes of the wildest enthusiasm marked his preaching. When the churches were not large enough to hold the crowds which flocked to hear him, he spoke from platforms erected in the fields. In addition to many princes and lesser nobles, two monarchs, Louis VII of France and Conrad III of Germany, assumed the blood-red cross of a crusader.

The Second Crusade, though begun under the most favorable auspices, had an unhappy ending. Of the host that set out from Europe, only a few thousands escaped annihilation in Asia Minor at the hands of the Turks. Louis and Conrad, with the remnants of their armies, made a joint attack on Damascus, but had to raise the siege after a few days. This closed the crusade. As a chronicler of the expedition remarked, "having practically accomplished nothing, the inglorious ones returned home."

¹ See page 85.

² See page 112.

³ See page 146.



Not many years after the Second Crusade, the Moslem world found in the famous Saladin a leader for a holy war against the Christians. Saladin in character was a typical Mohammedan, very devout in prayers and fasting, fiercely hostile toward unbelievers, and full of the pride of race. To these qualities he added a kindliness and humanity not surpassed, if equaled, by any of his Christian foes. He lives in eastern history and legend as the hero who stemmed, once for all, the tide of European conquest in Asia.

Saladin

Having made himself sultan of Egypt, Saladin united the Moslems of Syria under his sway and then advanced against the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. The Christians met him in a great battle near the Lake of Galilee. It ended in the rout of their army and the capture of their king. Even the Holy Cross, which they had carried in the midst of the fight, became the spoil of the conqueror. Saladin quickly reaped the fruits of victory. The Christian cities of Syria opened their gates to him, and at last Jerusalem itself surrendered after a short siege. Little now remained of the possessions which the crusaders had won in the East.

Capture of
Jerusalem
by Saladin,
1187

The news of the taking of Jerusalem spread consternation throughout western Christendom. The cry for another crusade arose on all sides. Once more thousands of men sewed the cross in gold, or silk, or cloth upon their garments and set out for the Holy Land. When the three greatest rulers of Europe — Philip Augustus,¹ king of France, Richard I, king of England, and the German emperor, Frederick Barbarossa² — assumed the cross, it seemed that nothing could prevent the restoration of Christian supremacy in Syria.

Third
Crusade
organized,
1189

The Germans under Frederick Barbarossa were the first to start. This great emperor was now nearly seventy years old, yet age had not lessened his crusading zeal. He took the overland route and after much hard fighting reached southern Asia Minor. Here,

Death of
Frederick
Barbarossa,
1190¹ See page 157.² See page 156.

however, he was drowned, while trying to cross a swollen stream. Many of his discouraged followers at once returned to Germany; a few of them, however, pressed on and joined the other crusaders before the walls of Acre.



RICHARD I IN PRISON

From an illuminated manuscript of the thirteenth century. King Richard on his return from the Holy Land was shipwrecked off the coast of the Adriatic. Attempting to travel through Austria in disguise, he was captured by the duke of Austria, whom he had offended at the siege of Acre. The king regained his liberty only by paying a ransom equivalent to more than twice the annual revenues of England.

Christians to visit Jerusalem without paying tribute. Richard then set sail for England, and with his departure from the Holy Land the Third Crusade came to an end.

The expedition of the French and English achieved little. Philip and Richard, who came by sea, captured Acre after a hard siege, but their quarrels prevented them from following up this initial success. Philip soon went home, leaving the further conduct of the crusade in Richard's hands.

The English king remained fourteen months longer in the Holy Land. His campaigns during this time gained for him the title of "Lion-hearted,"¹ by which he is always known. He had many adventures and performed knightly exploits without number, but could not capture Jerusalem. Tradition declares that when, during a truce, some crusaders went up to Jerusalem, Richard refused to accompany them, saying that he would not enter as a pilgrim the city which he could not rescue as a conqueror. He and Saladin finally concluded a treaty which permitted

Acre captured by Philip and Richard, 1191

Richard in the Holy Land, 1191-1192

¹ In French *Cœur-de-Lion*.

71. Fourth Crusade and the Latin Empire of Constantinople, 1202-1261

The real author of the Fourth Crusade was the famous pope, Innocent III.¹ Young, enthusiastic, and ambitious for the glory of the Papacy, he revived the plans of Urban II and sought once more to unite the forces of Christendom against Islam. No emperor or king answered his summons, but a number of knights (chiefly French) took the crusader's vow.

Innocent III
and the
Fourth
Crusade

The leaders of the enterprise decided to make Egypt their objective point, since that country was then the center of the Moslem power. Accordingly, the crusaders proceeded to Venice, for the purpose of securing transportation across the Mediterranean. The Venetians agreed to furnish the necessary ships only on condition that the crusaders first seize Zara on the eastern coast of the Adriatic. Zara was a Christian city, but it was also a naval and commercial rival of Venice. In spite of the pope's protests, the crusaders besieged and captured the place. Even then they did not proceed against the Moslems. The Venetians persuaded them to turn their arms against Constantinople. Thus it happened that these soldiers of the Cross, pledged to war with the Moslems, attacked a Christian city, which for centuries had formed the chief bulwark of Europe against the Arab and the Turk.

The cru-
saders and
the Venetians

The crusaders — now better styled the invaders — took Constantinople by storm. No "infidels" could have treated in worse fashion this home of ancient civilization. They burned down a great part of it; they slaughtered the inhabitants; they wantonly destroyed monuments, statues, paintings, and manuscripts — the accumulation of a thousand years. Much of the movable wealth they carried away. Never, declared an eye-witness of the scene, had there been such plunder since the world began.

Sack of Con-
stantinople,
1204

The victors hastened to divide between them the lands of

¹ See page 157.

the Roman Empire in the East. Venice gained some districts in Greece, together with nearly all the Ægean islands. The chief crusaders formed part of the remaining territory into the Latin Empire of Constantinople, 1204–1261. It was organized in fiefs, after the feudal manner. There was a prince of Achaia, a duke of Athens, a marquis of Corinth, and a count of Thebes. Large districts, both in Europe and Asia, did not acknowledge, however, these “Latin” rulers. The new empire lived less than sixty years. At the end of this time the Greeks returned to power.



“THE LAST CRUSADE”

Richard I (looking down on the Holy City): “My dream comes true.” A cartoon which appeared in *Punch*, Dec. 19, 1917, at the time of the British capture of Jerusalem.

Europe rests on the heads of the Venetians and the French nobles. Their greed and lust for power turned the Fourth Crusade into a political adventure.

The so-called Children’s Crusade illustrates at once the religious enthusiasm and misdirected zeal which marked the whole crusading movement. Thousands of French children assembled in bands and marched through the towns and villages, carrying banners, candles, and crosses, and singing, “Lord God, exalt Christianity. Lord

Constantinople, after the Fourth Crusade, declined in strength and could no longer cope with the barbarians menacing it. Two centuries later the city fell an easy victim to the Turks. The responsibility for the disaster which gave the Turks a foothold in

Disastrous
consequence
of the Fourth
Crusade

God, restore to us the true Cross." The children could not be restrained at first, but finally hunger compelled them to return home. In Germany, a lad named Nicholas really did succeed in launching a crusade. He led a mixed multitude of men and women, boys and girls over the Alps into Italy, where they expected to take ship for Palestine. But many perished of hardships, many were sold into slavery, and only a few ever saw their homes again. "These children," Pope Innocent III declared, "put us to shame; while we sleep they rush to recover the Holy Land."

The crusading movement came to an end by the close of the thirteenth century. The emperor Frederick II¹ for a short time recovered Jerusalem by a treaty, but in 1244 **End of the crusades** the Holy City became again a possession of the Moslems. Acre, the last Christian post in Syria, fell in 1291, and with this event the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem ceased to exist. The Hospitalers, or Knights of St. John, still kept possession of the important islands of Cyprus and Rhodes, which long served as a barrier to Moslem expansion over the Mediterranean.

72. Results of the Crusades

The crusades, judged by what they set out to accomplish, must be accounted a complete failure. After two hundred years of conflict, after a great expenditure of wealth **Failure of the crusades** and human lives, the Holy Land remained in Moslem hands. It is true that the First Crusade did help, by the conquest of Syria, to check the advance of the Turks toward Constantinople. But even this benefit was more than undone by the weakening of the Roman Empire in the East as a result of the Fourth Crusade.

Of the many reasons for the failure of the crusades, three require special consideration. In the first place, **Why the crusades failed** there was the inability of eastern and western Europe to coöperate in supporting the holy wars. A united Christendom might well have been invincible, but

¹ See page 158.

the bitter antagonism between the Greek and Roman churches effectually prevented all unity of action. The emperors at Constantinople, after the First Crusade, rarely assisted the crusaders and often secretly hindered them. In the second place, the lack of sea-power, as seen in the earlier crusades, worked against their success. Instead of being able to go by water directly to Syria, it was necessary to follow the long, overland route from France or Germany through Hungary, Bulgaria, the territory of the Roman Empire in the East, and the deserts and mountains of Asia Minor. The armies that reached their destination after this toilsome march were in no condition for effective campaigning. In the third place, the crusaders were never numerous enough to colonize so large a country as Syria and absorb its Moslem population. They conquered part of Syria in the First Crusade, but could not hold it permanently in the face of determined resistance.

In spite of these and other reasons, the Christians of Europe might have continued much longer their efforts to recover the Holy Land, had they not lost faith in the movement. But after two centuries the old crusading enthusiasm died out, the old ideal of the crusade as "the way of God" lost its spell. Men had begun to think less of winning future salvation by visits to distant shrines and to think more of their present duties to the world about them. They came to believe that Jerusalem could best be won as Christ and the Apostles had won it — "by love, by prayers, and by the shedding of tears."

The crusades could not fail to affect in many ways the life of western Europe. For instance, they helped to undermine feudalism. Thousands of barons and knights mortgaged or sold their lands in order to raise money for a crusading expedition. Thousands more perished in Syria, and their estates, through failure of heirs, reverted to the crown. Moreover, private warfare, that curse of the Middle Ages, also tended to die out with the departure for the Holy Land of so many turbulent feudal lords. Their decline in both numbers and influence, and the corresponding

Why the
crusades
ceased

Influence of
the crusades
on feudalism

growth of the royal authority, may best be traced in the changes that came about in France, the original home of the crusading movement.

One of the most important effects of the crusades was on commerce. They created a constant demand for the transportation of men and supplies, encouraged ship-building, and extended the market for eastern wares in Europe. The products of Damascus, Mosul, Alexandria, Cairo, and other great cities were carried across the Mediterranean to the Italian seaports, whence they found their way into all European lands. The elegance of the Orient, with its silks, tapestries, precious stones, perfumes, spices, pearls, and ivory, was so enchanting that an enthusiastic crusader called it "the vestibule of Paradise."

The crusades
and Medi-
terranean
commerce

Finally, it must be noted how much the crusades contributed to intellectual and social progress. They brought the inhabitants of western Europe into close relations with one another, with their fellow Christians of the Roman Empire in the East, and with the natives of Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt. The intercourse between Christians and Moslems was particularly stimulating, because the East at this time surpassed the West in civilization. The crusaders enjoyed the advantages which come from travel in strange lands and among unfamiliar peoples. They went out from their castles or villages to see great cities, marble palaces, superb dresses, and elegant manners; they returned with finer tastes, broader ideas, and wider sympathies. The crusades opened up a new world.

The crusades
and
European
culture

When all is said, the crusades remain one of the most remarkable movements in history. They exhibited the nations of western Europe for the first time making a united effort for a common end. The crusaders were not hired soldiers, but volunteers, who, while the religious fervor lasted, gladly abandoned their homes and faced hardship and death in pursuit of a spiritual ideal. They failed to accomplish their purpose, yet humanity is the richer for the memory of their heroism and chivalry.

Significance
of the
crusades

Studies

1. On an outline map indicate Europe and the Mediterranean lands by religions, about 1100. 2. On an outline map indicate the routes of the First and the Third Crusades. 3. Locate on the map the following places: Clermont; Acre; Antioch; Zara; Edessa; and Damascus. 4. Identify the following dates: 1204; 1095; 1096; and 1291. 5. What parts of Europe had not been Christianized at the time of the First Crusade? 6. Write a short essay describing the imaginary experiences of a crusader to the Holy Land. 7. Mention some instances which illustrate the religious enthusiasm of the crusaders. 8. Compare the Mohammedan pilgrimage to Mecca with the pilgrimages of Christians to Jerusalem in the Middle Ages. 9. Compare the Christian crusade with the Mohammedan *jihad*, or holy war. 10. How did the expression, a "red-cross knight," arise? 11. Why is the Second Crusade often called "St. Bernard's Crusade"? 12. Why has the Third Crusade been called "the most interesting international expedition of the Middle Ages"? 13. Would the crusaders in 1204 have attacked Constantinople, if the schism of 1054 had not occurred? 14. "Mixture, or at least contact of races, is essential to progress." How do the crusades illustrate the truth of this statement? 15. Were the crusades the only means by which western Europe was brought in contact with Moslem civilization?



A CRUSADER'S SHIP

CHAPTER IX

THE MONGOLS AND THE OTTOMAN TURKS TO 1453

73. The Mongols

THE extensive steppes in the middle and north of Asia have formed, for thousands of years, the abode of nomadic peoples belonging to the Yellow race. In prehistoric times they spread over northern Europe; but they were gradually supplanted by white-skinned Indo-Europeans, until now only remnants of them exist, such as the Finns and Lapps. In later ages history records how the Huns, the Bulgarians, and the Magyars have poured into Europe, spreading terror and destruction in their path. These invaders were followed in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries by the even more terrible Mongols and Ottoman Turks. Their inroads might well be described as Asia's reply to the crusades, as an Asiatic counter-attack upon Europe.

The Asiatic
counter-
attack

The Mongols, who have given their name to the entire race of yellow-skinned peoples, now chiefly occupy the high plateau bounded on the north by Siberia, on the south by China, on the east by Manchuria, and on the west by Turkestan. Although the greater part of this area consists of the Gobi desert, there are many oases and pastures available to the inhabitants at different seasons of the year. Hence the principal occupation of the Mongols has always been cattle breeding, and their horses, oxen, sheep, and camels have always furnished them with food and clothing.

Mongolia

Like most nomads the Mongols dwell in tents, each family often by itself. Severe simplicity is the rule of life, for property consists of little more than one's flocks and herds, clothes, and weapons. The modern Mongols are a peaceable, kindly folk, who have adopted from Tibet a

Mongol life
and character

debased form of Buddhism, but the Mongols of the thirteenth century in religion and morals were scarcely above the level of savagery. To ruthless cruelty and passion for plunder they added an efficiency in warfare which enabled them, within fifty years, to overrun much of Asia and the eastern part of Europe.

The daily life of the Mongols was a training school for war.



HUT-WAGON OF THE MONGOLS (RECONSTRUCTION)

On the wagon was placed a sort of hut or pavilion made of wands bound together with narrow thongs. The structure was then covered with felt or cloth and provided with latticed windows. Hut-wagons, being very light, were sometimes of enormous size.

Constant practice in riding, scouting, and the use of arms made every man a soldier. The words with which an ancient Greek historian described the Scythians applied perfectly to the Mongols: "Having neither cities nor forts, and carrying their dwellings with them wherever they go; accustomed, moreover, one and all, to shoot from horseback; and living not by husbandry but on their cattle, their wagons the only houses that they possess, how can they fail of being irresistible?"¹

**Military
prowess of
the Mongols**

74. Conquests of the Mongols, 1206-1405

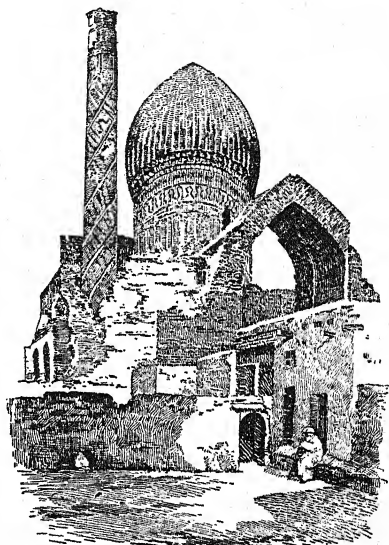
The Mongols had dwelt for ages in scattered tribes throughout their Asiatic wilderness, engaged in petty struggles with one

¹ Herodotus, iv, 46.

another for cattle and pasture lands. It was the celebrated Jenghiz Khan,¹ chief of one of the tribes, who brought them all under his authority and then led them to the conquest of the world. Of him it may be said with truth that he had the most victorious of military careers, and that he constructed the most extensive empire known to history. Had Jenghiz possessed the ability of a statesman, he would have taken a place by the side of Alexander the Great and Julius Cæsar.

Jenghiz first sent the Mongol armies, which contained many Turkish allies, over the Great Wall and into the fertile plains of China.

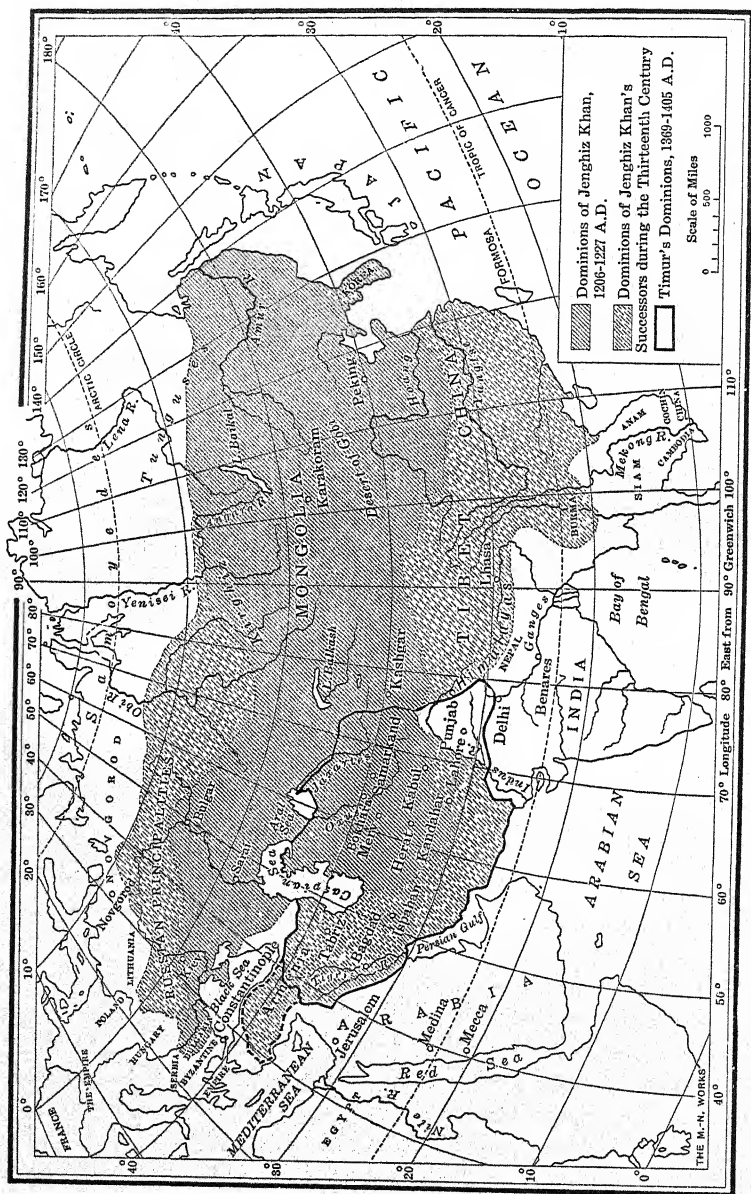
All the northern half of the country was quickly overrun. Then Jenghiz turned westward and invaded Turkestan and Persia. Seven centuries have not sufficed to repair the damage which the Mongols wrought in these once-prosperous lands. The great cities of Bokhara, Samarkand, Merv, and Herat, long centers of Moslem culture, were pillaged and burned, and their inhabitants were put to the sword. Still further conquests enlarged the empire, which at the death of Jenghiz stretched from the Dnieper River to the China Sea.



TOMB OF TIMUR AT SAMARKAND

Samarkand in Russian Central Asia became Timur's capital in 1369. The city was once a center of Mohammedan wealth and culture, famous for its beautiful mosques, palaces, and colleges. The Gur-Amir, or tomb of Timur, consists of a chapel, crowned by a dome and inclosed by a wall. Time and earthquakes have greatly injured this fine building. The remains of Timur lie here under a huge block of jade.

¹ "The Very Mighty King."



THE MONGOL EMPIRE

The Mongol dominions in the thirteenth century were increased by the addition of Korea, southern China, Tibet, and Mesopotamia, as well as the greater part of Asia Minor and Russia. Japan repulsed the Mongol hordes, but at the other extremity of Asia they captured Bagdad, sacked the city, and brought the Abbasid caliphate to an end.¹ The Mongol realm was very loosely organized, however, and during the fourteenth century it fell apart into a number of independent states, or khanates.

Mongol
Empire
under the
successors
of Jenghiz

It was reserved for another renowned Oriental monarch, Timur the Lame,² to restore the empire of Jenghiz Khan. His biographers traced his descent from that famous Mongol, but Timur was a Turk and an adherent of Islam. He has come down to us as perhaps the most terrible personification in history of the evil spirit of conquest. Such distant regions as India, Syria, Armenia, Asia Minor, and Russia were traversed by Timur's soldiers, who left behind them only the smoking ruins of a thousand cities and abominable trophies in the shape of columns or pyramids of human heads. Timur died in his seventieth year, while leading his troops against China, and the extensive empire which he had built up in Asia soon crumbled to pieces.

Reign of
Timur,
1369-1405

75. The Mongols in China and India

The Mongols ruled over China for about one hundred and fifty years. During this period they became thoroughly imbued with Chinese culture. "China," said an old writer, "is a sea that salts all the rivers flowing into it."

Mongol sway
in China

The most eminent of the Mongol emperors was Jenghiz Khan's grandson, Kublai. He built a new capital, which in medieval times was known as Cambaluc and is now called Peking. While Kublai was on the throne, the Venetian traveler, Marco Polo, visited China, and he describes in glowing colors the virtues and glories of the "Great Khan." There appears to have been considerable trade between Europe and China at this time, and Franciscan missionaries and papal legates penetrated to the

¹ See page 82.

² Commonly known as Tamerlane.

remote East. After the downfall of the Mongol dynasty, China again shut her doors to foreign peoples. All intercourse with Europe ceased until the arrival of the Portuguese in the sixteenth century.¹

Northern India, which in earlier ages had witnessed the coming of Persian, Macedonian, and Arabian conquerors, did not escape visitations by fresh Asiatic hordes. Timur the
 Timur and Baber
 Baber
 in India
 Lame, at the head of an innumerable host, rushed down upon the banks of the Indus and the Ganges and sacked Delhi, making there a full display of his unrivaled ferocity. Timur's invasion left no permanent impress on the history of India, but its memory fired the imagination of another Turkish chieftain, Baber, a remote descendant of Timur. In 1525 he invaded India and speedily made himself master of the northern part of the country.

The empire which Baber established in India is known as that of the Moguls, an Arabic form of the word Mongol. The
 Empire of the Moguls
 Moguls, however, were Turkish in blood and Mohammedans in religion. The Mogul emperors reigned in great splendor from their capitals at Delhi and Agra, until the decline of their power in the eighteenth century opened the way for the British conquest of India.

76. The Mongols in Eastern Europe

The location of Russia on the border of Asia exposed that country to the full force of the Mongol attack. Jenghiz Khan's
 Mongol conquest of Russia, 1237-1240
 successors, entering Europe north of the Caspian, swept resistlessly over the Russian plain. Moscow and Kiev fell in quick succession, and before long the greater part of Russia was in the hands of the Mongols. Wholesale massacres marked their progress. "No eye remained open to weep for the dead."

Still the invaders pressed on. They devastated Hungary, driving the Magyar king in panic flight from his realm. They overran Poland and defeated the knighthood of Germany in a great battle. The European peoples, taken completely by

¹ See page 310.

surprise, could offer no effective resistance to these Asiatics, who combined superiority in numbers with surpassing generalship. Since the Arab attack in the eighth century Christendom had never been in graver peril. But the wave of Mongol invasion, which threatened to engulf Europe in barbarism, receded as quickly as it came. The Mongols soon abandoned Poland and Hungary and retired to their possessions in Russia.

**Invasion of
Poland and
Hungary by
the Mongols,
1241**

The ruler of the "Golden Horde," as the western section of the Mongol Empire was called, continued to be the lord of Russia for about two hundred and fifty years. Russia, throughout this period, was little more than a dependency of Asia. The conquered people were obliged to pay a heavy tribute and to furnish soldiers for the Mongol armies. Their princes, also, became vassals of the Great Khan.

**The
"Golden
Horde"**

The Mongols, or "Tartars,"¹ are usually said to have Orientalized Russia. It seems clear, however, that they did not interfere with the language, religion, and laws of their subjects. The chief result of the Mongol supremacy was to cut off Russia from western Europe, just at the time when England, France, Germany, and Italy were emerging from the darkness of the early Middle Ages.

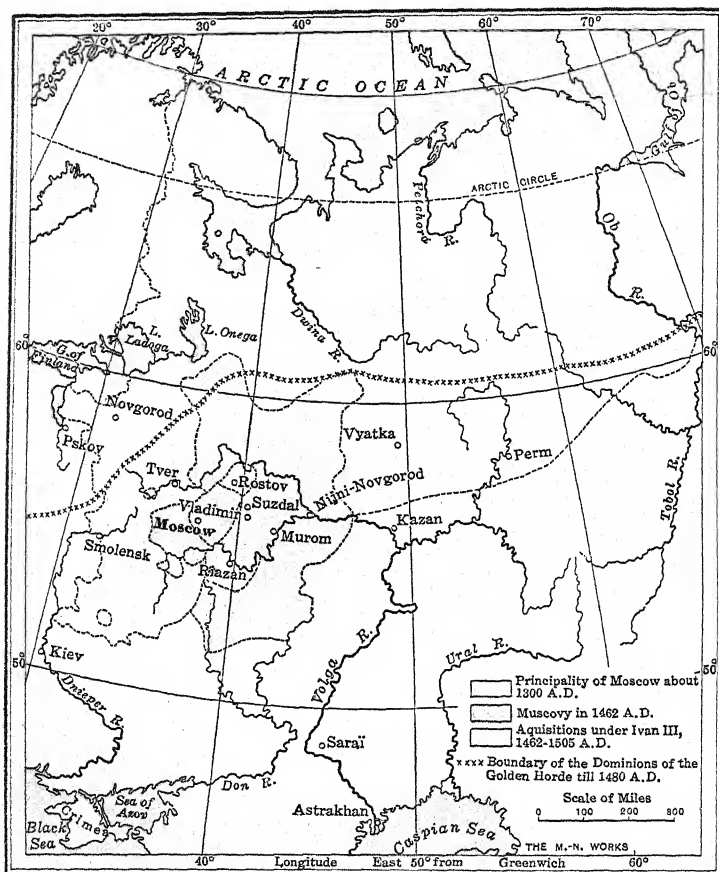
**Mongol
influence
on Russia**

The invasion of the Mongols proved to be, indirectly, the making of the Russian state. Before they came the country was a patchwork of rival, and often warring, principalities. The need of union against the common enemy welded them together. The principality of Muscovy, so named from the capital city of Moscow, conquered its neighbors, annexed the important city of Novgorod, whose vast possessions stretched from Lapland to the Urals, and finally became powerful enough to shake off the Mongol yoke.

**Rise of
Muscovy**

The final deliverance of Russia from the Mongols was accomplished by Ivan III, surnamed the Great. He is generally

¹ The name Tartar (more correctly, Tatar) was originally applied to both Mongol and Turkish tribes that entered Russia. There are still several million "Tartars" settled in the Crimea.



RUSSIA AT THE END OF THE MIDDLE AGES

regarded as the founder of Russian autocracy, that is, of a personal, absolute, and arbitrary government. With a view to strengthening his claim to be the political heir of the eastern emperors, Ivan married a niece of the last ruler at Constantinople, who had fallen in the defense of his capital against the Ottoman Turks. Henceforth the Russian monarch described himself as "the new Tsar¹ Constantine in the new city of Constantine, Moscow."

Reign of
Ivan III,
the Great,
1462-1505

¹ The title Tsar, or Czar, is supposed to be a contraction of the word Cæsar.

77. The Ottoman Turks and their Conquests, 1227-1453

The first appearance of the Ottoman Turks in history dates from 1227, the year of Jenghiz Khan's death. In that year a small Turkish horde, driven westward from their central Asian homes by the Mongol advance, settled in Asia Minor. There they enjoyed the protection of their kinsmen, the Seljuk Turks, and from them accepted Islam. As the Seljuk power declined, that of the Ottomans rose in its stead. Their chieftain, Othman,¹ declared his independence about 1300 and became the founder of a new empire.

The growth of the Ottoman power was almost as rapid as that of the Arabs or of the Mongols. During the first half of the fourteenth century they firmly established themselves in northwestern Asia Minor, along the beautiful shores washed by the Bosphorus, the Sea of Marmora, and the Dardanelles. The second half of the same century found them in Europe, wresting province after province from the feeble hands of the eastern emperors. First came the seizure of Gallipoli on the Dardanelles, which long remained the principal Turkish naval station. Then followed the capture of Adrianople, where in earlier centuries the Visigoths had destroyed a Roman army. By 1400 all that remained of the Roman Empire in the East was Constantinople and a small district in the vicinity of that city.

The Turks owed much of their success to the famous body of troops known as Janizaries.² These were recruited for the most part from Christian children surrendered by their parents as tribute. The Janizaries were educated in the Moslem faith and received careful instruction in the use of arms. Their discipline and fanatic zeal made them irresistible on the field of battle.

Constantinople had never recovered from the blow inflicted upon it by the freebooters of the Fourth Crusade. It was isolated from western Europe by the advance of the Turks. Frantic appeals for help brought only

¹ Whence the name Ottoman applied to this branch of the Turks.

² A name derived from the Turkish *yeni cheri*, "new troops."

a few ships and soldiers from Genoa and Venice. When in 1453 the sultan Mohammed II, commanding a large army amply supplied with artillery, appeared before the walls, all men knew that Constantinople was doomed.

The defense of the city forms one of the most stirring episodes in history. The Christians, not more than eight thousand in number, were a mere handful compared to the Ottoman hordes. Yet they held out for nearly two months against every assault. When at length the end drew near, the Roman emperor, Constantine

Constanti-
nople
captured



MOHAMMED II

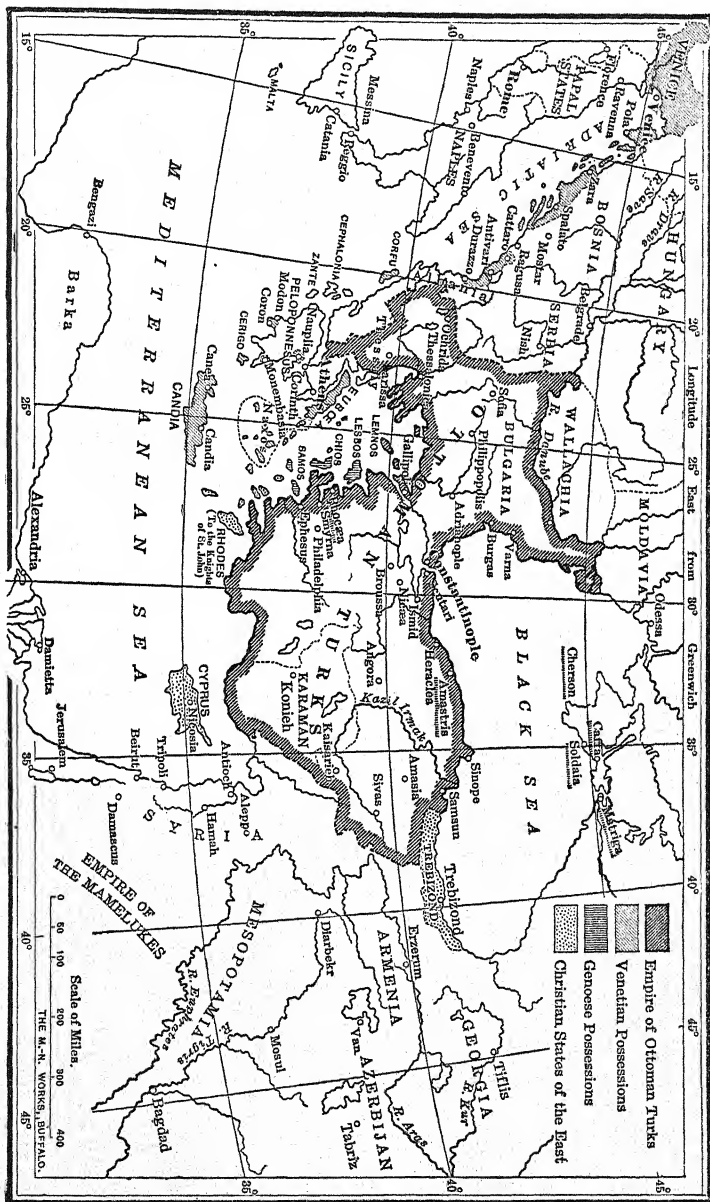
A medal showing the strong face of the conqueror of Constantinople.

Palæologus, a hero worthy of the name he bore, went with his followers at midnight to Sancta Sophia and there in that solemn fane received a last communion. Before sunrise on the following day the Turks were within the walls. The emperor, refusing to survive the city which he could not save, fell in the onrush of the Janizaries. Constantinople endured a sack of three days, during which

many works of art, previously spared by the crusaders, were destroyed. Mohammed II then made a triumphal entry into the city and in Sancta Sophia, now stripped of its crosses, images, and other Christian emblems, proclaimed the faith of the prophet. And so the "Turkish night," as Slavic poets named it, descended on this ancient home of civilization.

The capture of Constantinople is rightly regarded as an epoch-making event. It meant the end, once for all, of the empire which had served so long as the rearguard of Christian civilization, as the bulwark of the

EMPIRE OF THE OTTOMAN TURKS AT THE FALL OF CONSTANTINOPLE, 1453 A.D.



West against the East. Europe stood aghast at a calamity which she had done so little to prevent. The Christian powers of the West have been paying dearly, even to our own age, for their failure to save New Rome from Moslem hands.

78. The Ottoman Turks in Southeastern Europe

The Turks form a small minority among the inhabitants of the Balkans. At the present time there are said to be less than one million Turks in southeastern Europe. Even about Constantinople the Greeks far outnumber them. The Turks from the outset have been, not a nation in the proper sense of the word, but rather an army of occupation, holding down by force their Christian subjects.

The people who thus acquired dominion in southeastern Europe had become, even at the middle of the fifteenth century, greatly mixed in blood. Their ancestors were natives of central Asia, but in Europe they intermarried freely with their Christian captives and with converts from Christianity to Islam. The modern Turks are almost entirely European in physique.

The Bulgarians, who came out of Asia to devastate Europe, at length turned Christian, adopted a Slavic speech, and entered the family of European nations. The Magyars, who followed them, also made their way into the fellowship of Christendom. Quite the opposite was the case with the Turks. Preserving their Asiatic language and Moslem faith, they remained in Europe, not a transitory scourge, but an abiding oppressor of Christian lands.

The isolation of the Turks prevented them from assimilating the higher culture of the peoples whom they conquered.

They have never created anything in science, art, literature, commerce, or industry. Conquest has been the Turks' one business in the world, and when they ceased conquering their decline set in. But it was not till the end of the seventeenth century that the Turkish Empire entered on that downward road which has now led to its exclusion from almost all of the Balkan peninsula.

Studies

1. On an outline map indicate the extent of the Ottoman Empire in 1453. 2. Locate these cities: Bokhara; Samarkand; Merv; Herat; Bagdad; Peking; Delhi; Kiev; Moscow; and Adrianople. 3. Who were Baber, Kublai Khan, Othman, Mohammed II, Constantine Palaeologus, and Ivan the Great? 4. Why should the steppes of central and northern Asia have been a nursery of warlike peoples? 5. What parts of Asia were not included in the Mongol Empire at its greatest extent? 6. Trace on the map (page 182) the further expansion of the Mongol Empire after the death of Jenghiz Khan. 7. On the same map indicate approximately the Christian and Moslem territories overrun by the Mongols. 8. "Scratch a Russian and you will find a Tartar." What does this mean? 9. Why did the Mongol conquest of Russia tend to strengthen the sentiment of nationality in the Russian people? 10. How did the tsars come to regard themselves as the successors of the eastern emperors? 11. Compare the Janizaries with the Christian military-religious orders. 12. How was "the victory of the Crescent secured by the children of the Cross"? 13. Why were the invasions of the Mongols and Ottoman Turks more destructive to civilization than those of the Germans, the Arabs, and the Northmen? 14. Enumerate the more important services of the Roman Empire in the East to civilization.



A MONGOL

After a Chinese drawing.

CHAPTER X

EUROPEAN NATIONS DURING THE LATER MIDDLE AGES¹

79. Growth of the Nations

THE map of western Europe, that is, of Europe west of the great Russian plain and the Balkan peninsula, showed this part of the continent at the beginning of the twentieth century divided among no less than thirteen separate and independent nations. Most of them arose during the latter part of the Middle Ages. They have existed so long that we now think of the national state as the highest type of human association, forgetting that it has been preceded by other forms of political organization, such as the Greek republic, the Roman Empire, and the feudal state, and that it may be followed some day by an international or universal state composed of all civilized peoples.

These national states succeeded feudalism. The complete establishment of feudalism in any country meant, as has been seen, its division into numerous small communities, each with a law court, treasury, and army. Such an arrangement helped to keep order in an age of confusion, but it did not meet the needs of a progressive society. In most parts of Europe the feudal states gradually gave way to centralized governments ruled by despotic kings.

A feudal king was often little more than a figurehead, equaled, or perhaps surpassed, in power by some of his own vassals. But in England, France, Spain, and other countries a series of astute and energetic sovereigns were able to strengthen their authority at the expense of the nobles.

¹ Webster, *Readings in Medieval and Modern History*, chapter xiv, "St. Louis"; chapter xv, "Episodes of the Hundred Years' War"; chapter xvi, "Memoirs of a French Courtier." Webster, *Historical Source Book*, No. 1, "The Great Charter, 1213"; No. 2, "Confirmation of the Charters, 1297."

They formed permanent armies by insisting that all military service should be rendered to themselves and not to the feudal lords. They got into their own hands the administration of justice. They developed a revenue system, with the taxes collected by royal officers and deposited in the royal treasury. The kings thus succeeded in creating in each country one power which all the inhabitants feared, respected, and obeyed.

A national state in modern times is keenly conscious of its separate existence. All its people usually speak the same language and have for their "fatherland" the warmest feelings of patriotic devotion. In the Middle Ages, however, patriotism was commonly confounded with loyalty to the sovereign, while the differences between nations were obscured by the existence of an international Church and by the use of Latin as the common language of all cultivated persons. The sentiment of nationality arose earlier in England than on the Continent, partly owing to the insular position of that country, but nowhere did it become a very strong influence before the end of the fifteenth century.

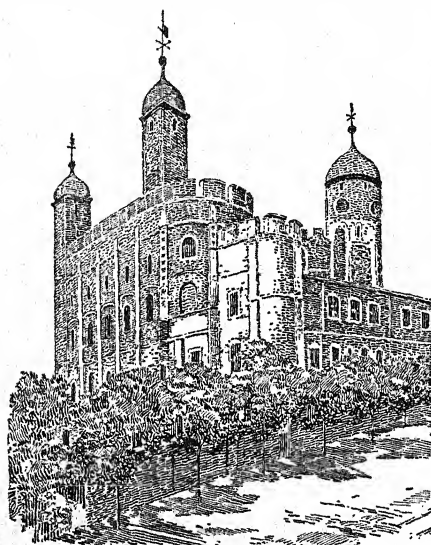
The sentiment of nationality

80. England under William the Conqueror, 1066-1087; the Norman Kingship

William the Conqueror had won England by force of arms. He ruled it as a despot. Those who resisted him he treated as rebels, confiscating their land and presenting it to Norman followers. To prevent uprisings he built a castle in every important town, with garrisons of his own soldiers. The Tower of London still stands as an impressive memorial of the days of the Conquest. But William did not rely on force alone. He sought with success to attach the English to himself by retaining most of their old customs and by giving them an enlightened administration of the law. "Good peace he made in this land," said the old Anglo-Saxon chronicler, "so that a man might travel over the kingdom with his bosom full of gold without molestation, and no man durst kill another, however great the injury he might have received from him."

William's despotic rule

The feudal system on the Continent permitted a powerful noble to gather his vassals and make war on the king, whenever he chose to do so. William had been familiar with this evil side of feudalism, both in France and in his own duchy of Normandy, and he determined to prevent its introduction into England. William established the



THE "WHITE TOWER"

Forms part of the Tower of London. Built by William the Conqueror.

principle that a vassal owed his first duty to the king and not to his immediate lord. If a noble rebelled and his men followed him, they were to be treated as traitors. Rebellion proved to be an especially difficult matter in England, since the estates which a great lord possessed were not all in any one place, but were scattered about the kingdom. A noble who planned to revolt could be put down before he was able to collect his retainers

from the more distant parts of the country.

The extent of William's authority is illustrated by the survey which he had made of the taxable property of the kingdom.

Domesday Book, 1085 Royal commissioners went throughout the length and breadth of England to find out how much farm land there was in every county, how many land-owners there were, and what each man possessed, to the last ox or cow or pig. The reports were set down in the famous Domesday Book, perhaps so called because one could no more appeal from it than from the Last Judgment. A similar census

of population and property had never before been taken in the Middle Ages.

Almost at the close of his reign William is said to have summoned all the landowning men in England to a great meeting on Salisbury Plain. They assembled there to the number, as it is reported, of sixty thousand and promised "that they would be faithful to him against all other men." The Salisbury Oath was a national act of homage and allegiance to the king.

The Salisbury
Oath,
1086

Tempore heic fozwar Reddobar Annyeban
p theloneo / gablo / omib. aluf cſuerudinib, pannu
regi qdem. xx. lib. / v. : leuar mellis. Comra u Algar
ad lib. adiuneto molino que infra autuſu habebat
Quando jec ilu' m expeduone : burgenceſ. xx. lib.
ad eo p omib. aluf. uel. xx. lib. dabat regi. ut om' ſee libi.

A PASSAGE FROM DOMESDAY BOOK

Beginning of the entry for Oxford. The handwriting is the beautiful Carolingian minuscule which the Norman Conquest introduced into England. The two volumes of Domesday Book and the chest in which they were formerly preserved may be seen in the Public Record Office, London.

81. England under Henry II, 1154-1189; Royal Justice and the Common Law

A grandson of William the Conqueror, Henry II, was the first of the Plantagenet¹ family. Henry spent more than half of his reign abroad, looking after his extensive possessions in France, but this fact did not prevent him from giving England good government. Three things in which all Englishmen take special pride — the courts, the jury system, and the Common law — began to take shape during Henry's reign.

Henry, first of all, developed the royal court of justice. This had been, at first, simply the court of the king's chief

¹ The name comes from that of the broom plant (Latin *planta genesta*), a sprig of which Henry's father used to wear in his hat. The family is also called Angevin, because Henry on his father's side descended from the counts of Anjou in France.



DOMINIONS OF THE PLANTAGENETS IN ENGLAND AND FRANCE

vassals, corresponding to the local feudal courts. Henry transformed it from an occasional assembly of warlike nobles into a regular body of trained lawyers, and at the same time opened its doors to all except serfs. In the king's court any freeman could find speedier and more effective legal relief than that provided by the feudal lords. The higher courts of England have sprung from this institution.

Henry also took measures to bring the king's justice directly to the people. He sent members of the royal court on circuit throughout the kingdom. At least once a year a judge was to hold an assembly in each county and try such cases as were brought before him. This system of circuit judges helped to make the law uniform in all parts of England.

The king's court owed much of its popularity to the fact that it employed a better form of trying cases than the old ordeal, oath-swearing, or judicial duel. Henry introduced a method of jury trial which had earlier been used in Normandy. When a case came before the king's judges on circuit, they were to select twelve knights, usually neighbors of the parties engaged in the dispute, to make an investigation and give a "verdict"¹ as to which side was in the right. These selected men bore the name of "jurors,"² because they swore to tell the truth. This method of securing justice applied at first only to civil cases, that is, to cases affecting land and other forms of property, but later it was extended to persons charged with criminal offenses. Thus arose the "petty jury," an institution which nearly all European peoples have borrowed from England.

Another of Henry's innovations developed into the "grand jury." Before his time many offenders went unpunished, especially if they were so powerful that no private individual dared accuse them. Henry provided that when the king's justices came to a county court a number of selected men should be put upon their oath and required to give the names of any persons whom they knew

¹ Latin *verum dictum*, "a true statement."

² Latin *juro*, "I take an oath."

or believed to be guilty of crimes. Such persons were then to be arrested and tried. The "grand jury," as it came to be called, thus had the public duty of making accusations, whether its members felt any private interest in the matter or not.

The decisions handed down by the legal experts who composed the royal court formed the basis of the English system of **The Common law** jurisprudence. It received the name Common law because it grew out of such customs as were common to the realm, as distinguished from those which were merely local. This law, from Henry II's reign, became so widespread and so firmly established that it could not be supplanted by the Roman law followed on the Continent. Carried by English colonists across the seas, it has now come to prevail throughout a great part of the world.

82. The Great Charter

The great Henry, from whose legal reforms English-speaking peoples receive benefit even to-day, was followed by his son **Richard I and John, 1189-1216** Richard, the Lion-hearted crusader. After a short reign Richard was succeeded by his brother John, a man so cruel, tyrannical, and wicked that he is usually regarded as the worst of English kings. In a war with the French ruler, Philip Augustus, John lost Normandy and some of the other English possessions on the Continent.¹ In a dispute with Innocent III he ended by making an abject submission to the Papacy.² Finally, John's oppressive government provoked a revolt of his English subjects, and he was compelled to grant the famous charter of privileges known as Magna Carta.

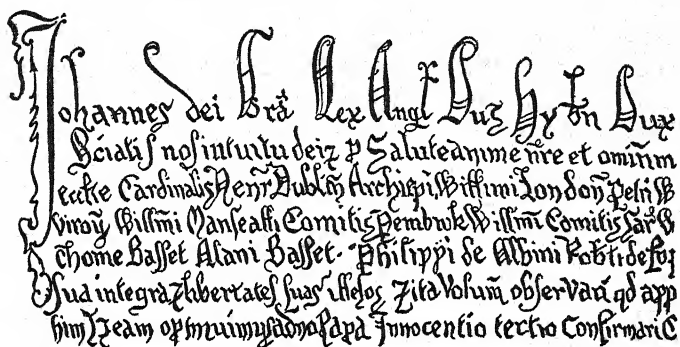
The Norman Conquest had made the king so strong that his **Winning of Magna Carta, 1215** authority could be resisted only by a union of all classes of the people. The feudal lords were obliged to unite with the clergy and the commons,³ in order to save their honor, their estates, and their

¹ See page 209.

² See page 158.

³ A term which refers to all freemen in town and country below the rank of nobles.

heads. Matters came to a crisis in 1215, when the nobles, supported by the archbishop of Canterbury, placed their demands for reform in writing before the king. John refused to make any concessions. The nobles at once formed the "army of God and the Holy Church," as it was called, and occupied London, thus ranging the townspeople on their side. Deserted by all except the hired troops which he had brought from the Continent, John was compelled to yield. At Run-



EXTRACT FROM THE GREAT CHARTER

Facsimile of the opening lines. Four copies of Magna Carta, sealed with the great seal of King John, as well as several unsealed copies, are in existence. The British Museum possesses two of the sealed copies; the other two belong to the cathedrals of Lincoln and Salisbury, respectively.

nimed on the Thames, not far from Windsor, he set his seal to the Great Charter.

Magna Carta does not profess to be a charter of liberties for all Englishmen. Most of its sixty-three clauses merely guarantee to each member of the coalition against John — nobles, clergy, and commons — those special privileges which the Norman rulers had tried to take away. Very little is said in this long document about the serfs, who composed probably five-sixths of the population of England in the thirteenth century.

Character
of Magna
Carta

But there are three clauses of Magna Carta which came to have a most important part in the history of English freedom.

The first declared that no taxes were to be levied on the nobles — besides the three recognized feudal “aids” — except

Significance of Magna Carta	by consent of the Great Council of the realm. By this clause the nobles compelled the king to secure their approval of any proposed taxation.
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The second set forth that no one was to be arrested, imprisoned, or punished in any way, except after a trial by his equals and in accordance with the law of the land. The third said simply that to no one should justice be sold, denied, or delayed. These last two clauses contained the germ of legal principles on which the English people relied for protection against despotic kings. They form a part of our American inheritance from England and have passed into the laws of all our states.

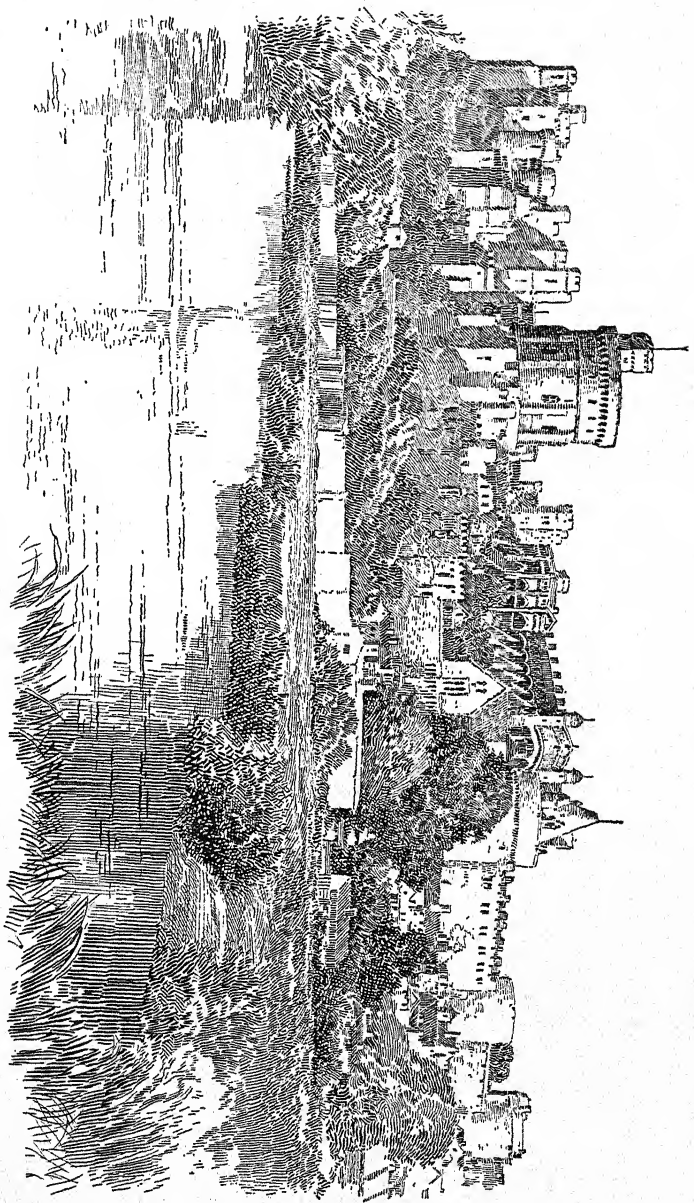
83. Parliament in the Thirteenth Century

The thirteenth century, which opened so auspiciously with the winning of the Great Charter, is also memorable as the time when England developed her Parliament¹ into something like its present form. The first steps in parliamentary government were taken during the reign of John's son, Henry III.

The Witenagemot and the Great Council	It had long been the custom in England in all important matters for the ruler to act only with the advice and consent of his leading men. The Anglo-Saxon kings sought the advice and consent of their Witenagemot, ² a body of nobles, royal officers, bishops, and abbots. It approved laws, served as a court of final appeal, elected a new monarch, and at times deposed him. The Witenagemot did not disappear after the Norman Conquest. Under the name of the Great Council it continued to meet from time to time for consultation with the king. This assembly was now to be transformed from a feudal body into a parliament representing the entire nation.
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¹ The word “parliament,” from French *parler*, “to speak,” originally meant a talk or conference. Later, the word came to be applied to the body of persons assembled for conference.

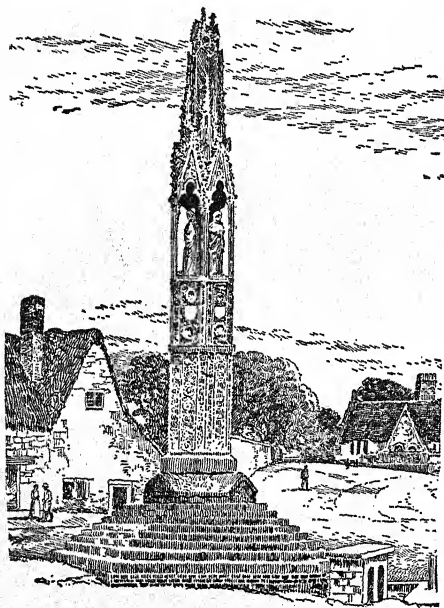
² See page 106 and note 1.



WINDSOR CASTLE

The town of Windsor lies on the west bank of the Thames, about twenty-one miles from London. Its famous castle has been the chief residence of English sovereigns from the time of William the Conqueror. The massive round tower, which forms the most conspicuous feature of the castle, was built by Henry III about 1272, but Edward III wholly reconstructed it about 1344. The state apartments of the castle include the throne room, a guard room with medieval armor, a reception room adorned with tapestries, picture galleries, and the royal library.

The Great Council, which by one of the provisions of Magna Carta had been required to give its consent to the levying of taxes, met quite frequently during Henry III's reign. On one occasion, when Henry was in urgent need of money and the bishops and lords refused to grant it, the king took the significant step of calling to the council two knights from each county to declare what



A QUEEN ELEANOR CROSS

After the death of his wife Eleanor, Edward I caused a memorial cross to be set up at each place where her funeral procession had stopped on its way to London. There were originally seven crosses. Of the three that still exist, the Geddington cross is the best preserved. It consists of three stories and stands on a platform of eight steps.

The custom of selecting certain men to act in the name and on the behalf of the community had existed during Anglo-Saxon times in local government. Representatives of the counties had been employed by the Norman kings to assess

money they would give him. These knights, so ran Henry's summons, were to come "in the stead of each and all," in other words, they were to act as representatives of the counties. Then in 1265, when the nobles were at war with the king, a second and even more significant step was taken. Their leader, Simon de Montfort, summoned to the council not only two knights from each county, but also two citizens from each of the more important towns.

and collect taxes on land and personal property. As we have just learned, the "juries" of Henry II also consisted of such representatives. The English people, in fact, were quite familiar with the idea of representation long before it was applied on a larger scale to Parliament.

The representative system

Simon de Montfort's Parliament included only his own supporters, and hence was not a truly national body. But it made a precedent for the future. Ten years later Edward I called together at Westminster, now a part of London, a Parliament which included all classes of the people. Here were present earls and barons as representatives from the nobility; bishops, abbots, and other representatives of the clergy; two knights from every county; and two townsmen to represent each town in that county. After this time all these classes were regularly summoned to meet in assembly at Westminster.

"Model Parliament" of Edward I, 1275

The two chambers (houses) of Parliament existed as early as the fourteenth century. The House of Lords contained the nobles and higher clergy, the House of Commons, the representatives from counties and towns. This bicameral arrangement, as it is called, has been followed in the parliaments of most modern countries.

Lords and Commons

The early English Parliament was not a law-making but a tax-voting body. The king would call the two houses in session only when he needed their sanction for raising money. Parliament in its turn would refuse to grant supplies until the king had corrected abuses in administration or had removed unpopular officials. This control of the public purse in time enabled Parliament to grasp other powers. It became generally recognized that royal officials were responsible to Parliament for their actions, that the king himself might be deposed for good cause, and that bills, when passed by Parliament and signed by the king, were henceforth the law of the land. England thus worked out in the Middle Ages a system of parliamentary government which nearly all civilized nations have held worthy of imitation.

Powers of Parliament

84. Expansion of England under Edward I, 1272-1307

Our narrative has been confined until now to England, which forms, together with Wales and Scotland, the island known as **The Great Britain.** Ireland is the only other important **British Isles** division of the United Kingdom. It was almost inevitable that in process of time the British Isles should have

come under a single government, but political unity has not yet fused English, Welsh, Scotch, and Irish into a single people.

The conquest of Britain by the Anglo-Saxons drove many of the Welsh, as the invaders called the Britons, into the western part of the island. This district, henceforth known as **Wales**, was one of the last strongholds of the Celts. Even to-day a variety of the old Celtic language, called Cymric, is still spoken by the Welsh people.

The Welsh long resisted all attempts to subjugate them. Harold exerted some authority over Wales;

William the Conqueror entered part of it; and Henry II induced the local rulers to acknowledge him as overlord; but it was Edward I who first brought all the country under English sway. Edward fostered the building of towns in his new possession, divided it into counties or shires, after the system that prevailed in England, and introduced the Common law. He called his son, Edward II, who was born in the country, the "Prince of Wales," and this title has ever since been borne by the heir apparent to



CORONATION CHAIR, WESTMINSTER ABBEY

Every English ruler since Edward I has been crowned in this oak chair. Under the seat is the "Stone of Scone," said to have been once used by the patriarch Jacob. Edward I brought it to London in 1291, as a token of the subjection of Scotland.

attempt to annex the Highlands, and the Anglo-Saxons and Danes never penetrated their fastnesses. On the other hand, the southern Lowlands, which include only about one-third of Scotland, were subdued by the Teutonic invaders, and so this district became thoroughly English in language and culture.¹

One might suppose that the Lowlands, geographically only an extension of northern England and inhabited by an English-speaking people, would have early united with the southern kingdom. But matters turned out otherwise. The Lowlands and the Highlands came together under a line of Celtic kings, who fixed their residence at Edinburgh and long maintained their independence.

Edward I, having conquered Wales, took advantage of the disturbed conditions which prevailed in Scotland to interfere in the affairs of that country. The Scotch offered a brave but futile resistance under William Wallace. This heroic leader, who held out after most of his countrymen submitted, was finally captured and executed. His head, according to the barbarous practice of the time, was set upon a pole on London Bridge. The English king now annexed Scotland without further opposition.

The Scotch soon found another champion in the person of Robert Bruce. Edward I, now old and broken, marched against him, but died before reaching the border. The weakness of his son, Edward II, permitted the Scotch, ably led by Bruce, to win the signal victory of Bannockburn, near Stirling Castle. Here the Scottish spearmen drove the English knights into ignominious flight and freed their country from its foreign overlords.

The battle of Bannockburn made a nation. A few years afterwards the English formally recognized the independence of the northern kingdom. The great design of Edward I to unite all the peoples of Britain under one government had to be postponed for centuries.²

¹ See the map, page 28.

² In 1603, James VI of Scotland ascended the throne of England as James I.

No one kingdom ever arose in Ireland out of the numerous tribes into which the Celtic-speaking inhabitants were divided. The island was not troubled, however, by foreign invaders till the coming of the Northmen in the ^{Ireland} ninth century. The English, who first entered Ireland during the reign of Henry II, for a long time held only a small district about Dublin known as the Pale.¹ Ireland because of its situation could scarcely fail to become an appanage of Great Britain, but the dividing sea has combined with differences in race, language, and religion, and with English misgovernment, to prevent anything like a genuine union of the conquerors and the conquered.

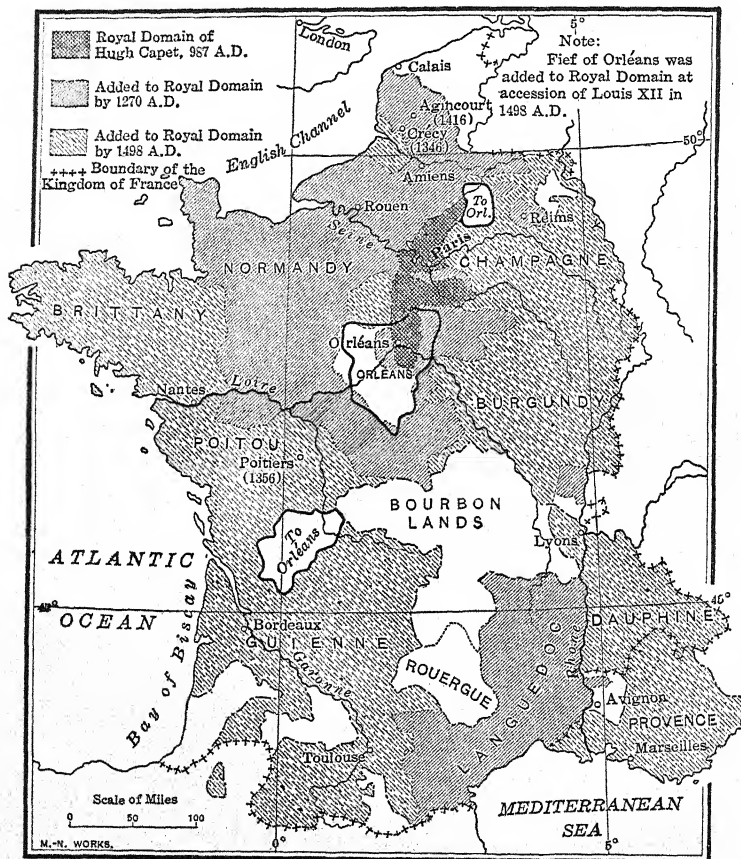
85. Unification of France, 987-1328

Nature seems to have intended that France should play a leading part in European affairs. The geographical unity of the country is obvious. Mountains and seas ^{Physical} form its permanent boundaries, except on the north- ^{France} east, where the frontier is not well defined. The western coast of France opens on the Atlantic, now the greatest highway of the world's commerce, while on the southeast France touches the Mediterranean, the home of classical civilization. This intermediate position between two seas helps us to understand why French history should form, as it were, a connecting link between ancient and modern times.

But the greatness of France has been due, also, to the qualities of the French people. Many racial elements have contributed to the population. The blood of prehistoric ^{Racial} men, whose monuments and grave mounds are ^{France} scattered over the land, still flows in the veins of Frenchmen. At the opening of historic times France was chiefly occupied by the Gauls, whom Julius Cæsar found there and subdued. The Gauls, a Celtic people, formed in later ages the main stock of the French nation, but their language gave place to Latin after the Roman conquest. In the course of five hundred years the Gauls were so thoroughly Romanized that they may best be

¹ See the map on page 388.

described as Gallo-Romans. The Burgundians, Franks, and Northmen afterwards added a Teutonic element to the population, as well as some infusion of Teutonic laws and customs.



UNIFICATION OF FRANCE DURING THE MIDDLE AGES

France, again, became a great nation because of the greatness of its rulers. Hugh Capet, who assumed the French crown in The Capetian 987, was fortunate in his descendants. The dynasty Capetian dynasty was long lived, and for more than three centuries son followed father on the throne without

a break in the succession. During this time the French sovereigns worked steadily to exalt the royal power and to unite the feudal states of medieval France into a real nation under a common government. Their success in this task made them, at the close of the Middle Ages, the strongest monarchs in Europe.

Hugh Capet's duchy — the original France — included only a small stretch of inland country centering about Paris on the Seine and Orléans on the Loire. His election to **France and its fiefs** the kingship did not increase his power over the great lords who ruled in Normandy, Brittany, Burgundy, and other parts of the country. They did homage to the king for their fiefs and performed the usual feudal services, but otherwise regarded themselves as independent.

The most considerable additions to the royal domains, or territories under the king's control, were effected by Philip II, called Augustus. Reference has already been **Philip II, Augustus, 1180-1223** made to his contest with Pope Innocent III and to his participation in the Third Crusade.¹ The English king, John, was Philip's vassal for Normandy and other provinces in France. A quarrel between the two rulers gave Philip an opportunity to declare John's fiefs forfeited by feudal law. Philip then seized all the English possessions north of the river Loire. The loss of these possessions abroad had the result of separating England almost completely from Continental interests; for France it meant a great increase in territory and population. Philip made Paris his chief residence, and that city was henceforth the capital of France.

During the long reign of Philip's grandson, Louis IX, rich districts to the west of the Rhone became a part of the royal domains. This king, whose Christian virtues led to his canonization, distinguished himself **Louis IX, the Saint, 1226-1270** as an administrator. His work in unifying France may be compared with that of Henry II in England. He decreed that only the king's money was to circulate in the provinces ruled directly by himself, thus limiting the right of

¹ See pages 157 and 171.

coinage enjoyed by feudal lords. He restricted very greatly the right of private war and forbade the use of judicial duels. Louis also provided that important cases could be appealed from feudal courts to the king's judges, who sat in Paris and followed in their decisions the principles of Roman law. In these and other ways he laid the foundations of absolute monarchy in France.

The grandson of St. Louis, Philip IV, did much to organize a financial system for France. Now that the kingdom had become so large and powerful, the old feudal dues were insufficient to pay the salaries of the royal officials and support a standing army. Philip resorted to new methods of raising revenue, by imposing various taxes and by requiring the feudal lords to substitute payments in money for the military service due from them.

Philip also called into existence the Estates-General, an assembly in which the clergy, the nobles, and representatives from the commons (the Third Estate) met as separate bodies and voted grants of money. The Estates-General arose almost at the same time as the English Parliament, to which it corresponded, but it never secured the extensive authority of that body. After a time the kings of France became so powerful that they managed to reign without once summoning the nation in council. The French did not succeed, as the English had done, in founding political liberty upon the vote and control of taxation.

86. The Hundred Years' War between France and England, 1337-1453

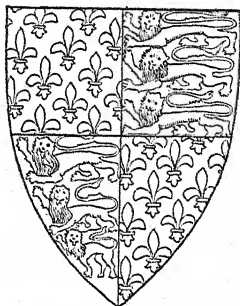
The task of unifying France was interrupted by a deplorable war between that country and England. It continued, including periods of truce, for over a century. The pretext for the war was found in a disputed succession. In 1328 the last of the three sons of Philip IV passed away, and the direct line of the house of Capet, which had reigned over France for more than three hundred years, came to an end. The English ruler, Edward III, whose mother was

the daughter of Philip IV, considered himself the next lineal heir. The French nobles were naturally unwilling to receive a foreigner as king, and gave the throne, instead, to a nephew of Philip IV. This decision was afterwards justified on the ground that, by the old law of the Salian Franks, women could neither inherit estates nor transmit them to a son.¹

Edward III at first accepted the situation. But Philip VI, the new king, irritated Edward by constant encroachments on the territories which the English still kept in France. Philip also allied himself with the Scotch and interfered with English trade interests in the county of Flanders. This attitude of hostility provoked retaliation. Edward now reasserted his claim to the crown of France and prepared by force of arms to make it good.

Edward led his troops across the Channel and at Crécy gained a complete victory over the knighthood of France. Ten years later the English at Poitiers almost annihilated another French force much superior in numbers. These two battles were mainly won by foot soldiers armed with the longbow, in the use of which the English excelled. Ordinary iron mail could not resist the heavy, yard-long arrows, which fell with murderous effect upon the bodies of men and horses alike. Henceforth infantry, when properly armed and led, were to prove themselves on many a bloody field more than a match for feudal cavalry.

Edward's son, the Prince of Wales, when only sixteen years



ROYAL ARMS OF
EDWARD III

Edward III, having in 1340 set up a claim to the throne of France, proceeded to add the French lilies (*fleurs-de-lis*) to his coat of arms. He also took as his motto *Dieu et mon Droit* ("God and my Right"). The lilies of France remained in the royal arms till 1801; the motto is still retained.

Battles of
Crécy, 1346,
and Poitiers,
1356

¹ Hence the name "Salic law" applied to the rule excluding women from succession to the French throne.

of age won his spurs by distinguished conduct at Crécy. It was the "Black Prince,"¹ also, who gained the day at Poitiers, where he took prisoner the French king, John. Toward his royal captive he behaved in chivalrous fashion. At supper, on the evening of the battle, he stood behind John's chair and waited on him, praising the

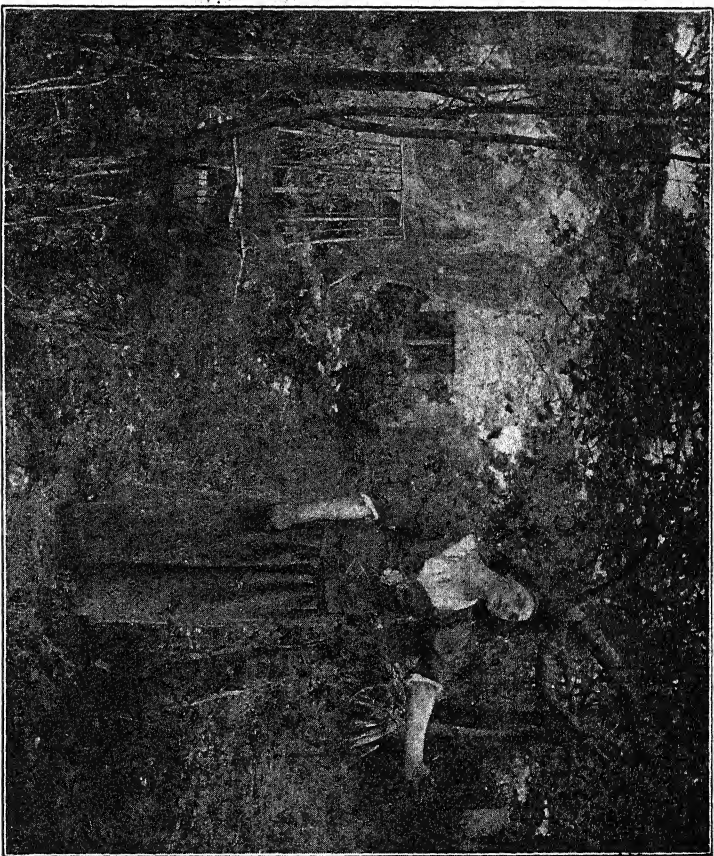


BATTLE OF CRÉCY

From a manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

king's brave deeds. But this "flower of knighthood," who regarded warfare as only a tournament on a larger scale, could be ruthless in his treatment of the common people. On one occasion he caused three thousand inhabitants of a captured town — men, women, and children — to be butchered before his eyes. The incident shows how far apart in the Middle Ages were chivalry and humanity.

¹ Probably so called from the black armor which he wore. It may still be seen above his tomb in Canterbury Cathedral.



JOAN OF ARC

Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

A painting by Jules Bastien-Lepage. Joan, as a peasant girl, is shown in the woods near her home, listening to the heavenly voices which called her to the redemption of France. In the background appear a vision of a warrior in armor and two accompanying figures purposely left vague and incomplete. The detail of the house is closely copied from the original building at Domremy.

The English, in spite of their victories, could not conquer France. The French refused to fight more pitched battles and retired to their castles and fortified towns. The ^{Renewal of} war almost ceased for many years after the death ^{the war} of Edward III. It began again early in the fifteenth century, and the English this time met with more success. They gained possession of almost all France north of the Loire, except the important city of Orléans. Had the English taken it, French resistance must have collapsed. That they did not take it was due to one of the most remarkable women in history — Joan of Arc.¹

Joan was a peasant girl, a native of the little village of Domremy. Always a devout and imaginative child, she early began to see visions of saints and angels and to hear ^{The "Maid} mysterious voices. At the time of the siege of ^{of Orléans,"} Orléans the archangel Michael appeared to her, ¹⁴²⁹ so she declared, and bade her go forth and save France. Joan obeyed, and though barely seventeen years of age, made her way to the court of the French king. There her piety, simplicity, and evident faith in her mission overcame all doubts. Clad in armor, girt with an ancient sword, and with a white banner borne before her, Joan was allowed to accompany an army for the relief of Orléans. She inspired the French with such enthusiasm that they quickly compelled the English to raise the siege. Then Joan led her king to Reims and stood beside him at his coronation in the cathedral.

Though Joan was soon afterwards captured by the English, who burned her as a witch, her example nerved the French to further resistance. The English gradually ^{End of} lost ground and in 1453, the year of the fall of ^{the war} Constantinople, abandoned the effort to conquer a land much larger than their own. They retained of the French territories only the port of Calais and the Channel Islands.²

Few wars have had less to justify them, either in their causes

¹ In French, Jeanne d'Arc.

² Calais went back to the French in 1558. The Channel Islands are still English possessions.

or in their consequences, than this long contest between England and France. It was a calamity to both lands. For England it meant the dissipation abroad of the energies which would have been better employed at home. For France it resulted in great destruction of property, untold suffering, famines, and much loss of life. The war, however, did help to arouse national self-consciousness in both countries. The awakening of a sentiment of patriotism was especially marked in France, which had fought so long for independence.

Shortly after the conclusion of the Hundred Years' War the two branches of the English royal family became involved in a desperate struggle for the crown. This was known as the War of the Roses, because the house of York took as its badge a white rose and the house of Lancaster, a red rose. The contest lasted until 1485, when the Lancastrians conquered, and their leader, Henry Tudor, ascended the throne as Henry VII. He married a Yorkist wife, thus uniting the two factions, and founded the Tudor dynasty. The War of the Roses arrested the progress of English freedom. It created a demand for a strong monarchy which could keep order and prevent civil strife between the nobles. The Tudors met that demand and ruled as absolute sovereigns.

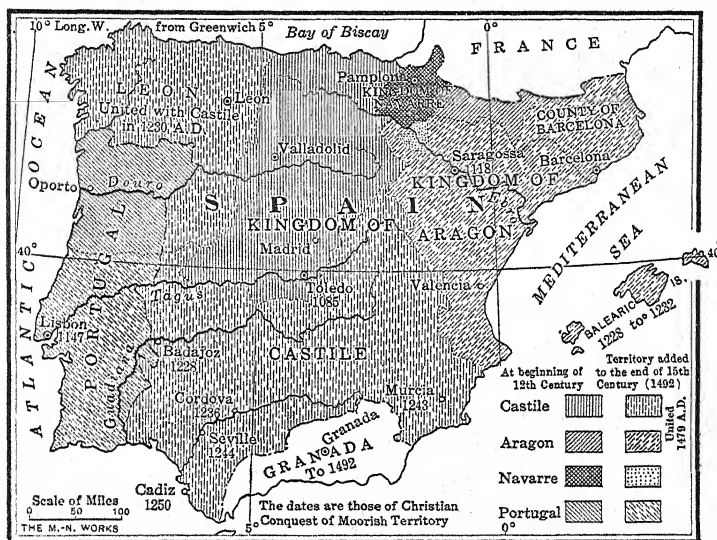
France also issued from the Hundred Years' War with an absolute government. Strengthened by victory over the English, the French kings were able to reduce both the nobility and the commons to impotence. At the same time they steadily enlarged the royal domains, until by the end of the fifteenth century the unification of France was almost complete.

87. Unification of Spain (to 1492)

The Spanish peninsula, known to the Romans as Hispania, is sharply separated from the rest of Europe by the Pyrenees Mountains. The proximity of Spain to Africa has always brought it into intimate relations with that continent. Just as Russia has formed a link between

Asia and Europe, so Spain has served as a natural highway from Africa to Europe.

The first settlers in Spain, of whom we know anything, were the Iberians. They may have emigrated from northern Africa. After them came the Celts, who overran a large part of the peninsula and appear to have mingled with the Iberians, thus forming the mixed people known as Celtiberians. In historic times Spain was conquered by the



UNIFICATION OF SPAIN DURING THE MIDDLE AGES

Carthaginians, who left few traces of their occupation; by the Romans, who thoroughly Romanized the country; by the Visigoths, who founded a Teutonic kingdom; and lastly by the Moors,¹ who introduced Arabian culture and the faith of Islam. These invaders were not numerous enough greatly to affect the population, in which the Celtiberian strain is still predominant.

¹ The name Moor (derived from the Roman province of Mauretania) is applied to the Arab and Berber peoples who occupied North Africa and Spain.

The Moors never wholly conquered a fringe of mountain territory in the extreme north of Spain. Here a number of small Christian states, including León, Castile, Navarre, and Aragon, came into being. In the west there also arose the Christian state of Portugal. Geographically, Portugal belongs to Spain, from which it is separated only by artificial frontiers, but the country has usually managed to maintain its independence.

Acting sometimes alone and sometimes in concert, the Christian states fought steadily to enlarge their boundaries at the expense of their Moslem neighbors. The contest was blessed by the pope and supported by the chivalry of Europe. Periods of victory alternated with periods of defeat, but by the close of the thirteenth century Mohammedan Spain had been reduced to the kingdom of Granada at the southern extremity of the peninsula.

The long struggle with the Moors made the Spanish a patriotic people, keenly conscious of their national unity. The achievements of Christian warriors were recited in countless ballads, and especially in the fine *Poem of the Cid*. It deals with the exploits of Rodrigo Díaz, better known by the title of the Cid (lord) given to him by the Moors. The Cid of romance was the embodiment of every knightly virtue; the real Cid was a bandit, who fought sometimes for the Christians, sometimes against them, but always in his own interests. The Cid's evil deeds were forgotten after his death, and he became the national hero of Spain.

Meanwhile, the separate Spanish kingdoms were coming together to form a nation. León and Castile in 1230 combined into the one kingdom of Castile, so named because its frontiers bristled with castles against the Moors. The most important step in the making of Spain was the marriage of Ferdinand of Aragon to Isabella of Castile, leading in 1479 to the union of these two kingdoms. About the same time the Castilian language began to crowd out the other Spanish dialects and to become the national speech.

Christian
states of
Spain

Recovery of
Spain from
the Moors

The Cid

Union of
Castile and
Aragon,
1479

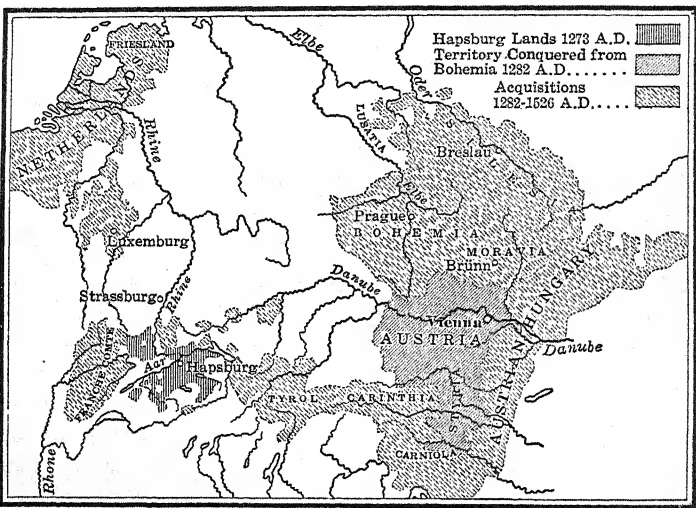
The king and queen of Spain aimed to continue the unification of the peninsula by the conquest of Granada. Nothing was done by the Ottoman Turks, who shortly before had captured Constantinople, to defend this last stronghold of Islam in the West. The Moors, though thrown upon their own resources, made a gallant resistance. At least once Ferdinand wearied of the struggle, but Isabella's determination never wavered. Granada surrendered in 1492, and the silver cross of the crusading army was raised on the highest tower of the city. Moslem rule in Spain, after an existence of almost eight centuries, now came to an end.

Ferdinand and Isabella belong in the front rank of European sovereigns. They labored with success to build up an absolute monarchy. Spain had found, as England and France had found, that feudalism spelled disorder, and that only a strong central government could keep the peace, repress crime, and foster trade and commerce. Ferdinand and Isabella firmly established the supremacy of the crown. By the end of the fifteenth century Spain had become a leading European power. Its importance in the councils of Europe was soon to be increased by the marriage of a daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella to the heir of the Austrian house of Hapsburg.

88. Austria and the Swiss Confederation, 1273-1499

The name Austria — in German Oesterreich — means simply the eastern part of any kingdom. It came to be applied particularly to the territory on the Danube east of Bavaria, which Otto the Great had formed into a mark or border province for defense against the Magyars. This mark, soon to be known as Austria, gained an important place among German states. The frontiers were pushed down the Danube valley, and the capital was finally located at Vienna, once a Roman city. Frederick Barbarossa raised Austria to the rank of a duchy. Rudolf of Hapsburg, who became emperor in 1273, made it a Hapsburg possession.

The Hapsburgs had great success in building up the Austrian state. At the end of the fourteenth century their dominions included a large part of eastern Germany,¹ reaching from beyond the Danube southward to the Adriatic. Early in the sixteenth century they secured Bohemia, a Slavic land thrust like a wedge into German territory, as well as part of the Magyar land of



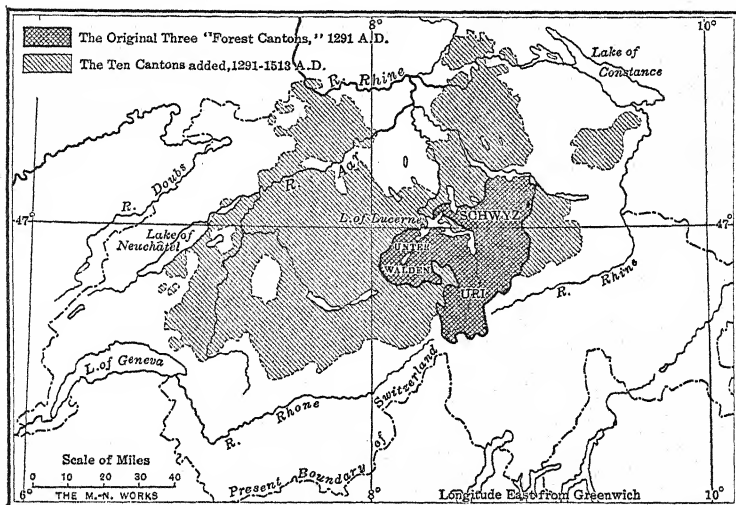
HAPSBURG POSSESSIONS, 1273-1526 A.D.

Hungary. The possession of these two kingdoms gave Austria its special character of a state formed by the union under one ruler of several wholly distinct nations. Meanwhile the right of election as Holy Roman Emperor became hereditary in the Hapsburg family.²

¹ The duchies of Upper and Lower Austria, Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola, and the county of Tyrol.

² The seven German princes who chose the emperor were the archbishops of Mayence (or Mainz), Trèves (or Trier), and Cologne, the margrave of Brandenburg, the count palatine of the Rhine, the duke of Saxony, and the king of Bohemia. This electoral college continued to exist until the dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire in 1806.

Switzerland, during the earlier period of the Middle Ages, formed a part of the German duchy of Swabia and belonged to the Holy Roman Empire.¹ About two thirds of the population of Switzerland remain German in speech and feeling, though now the country includes districts in which French or Italian are spoken. All Swiss laws are still proclaimed in the three languages.



THE SWISS CONFEDERATION, 1291-1513 A.D.

Swiss history is closely bound up with that of Austria. The little mountain communities of Schwyz,² Uri, and Unterwalden, on the shores of beautiful Lake Lucerne, were possessions of the counts of Hapsburg. In 1291, the year when Rudolf of Hapsburg died, these three "Forest Cantons" formed a confederation for resistance to their Hapsburg overlords. Additional cantons joined the league, which now entered upon a long struggle, dear to all lovers of liberty, against Austrian rule. Nowhere did the old methods of feudal warfare break down more conspicuously than in the battles gained by Swiss pikemen over the knights of Austria. The

¹ See the map facing page 158.

² From Schwyz comes the name Switzerland.

struggle closed in 1499, when Switzerland became practically a free state.¹

Switzerland has two heroes of her war for independence. William Tell is a wholly mythical character, for the story of a skillful marksman who succeeds in striking off some small object placed on a child's head is found in England, Norway, Denmark, and other countries. The Swiss have localized it in Uri. Another popular hero has a better claim to historical existence. It is said that at a critical moment in the battle of Sempach, when the Swiss with their short weapons failed to break the Austrian ranks, Arnold von Winkelried, a man of Unterwalden, came to the rescue. Rushing single-handed upon the enemy, he seized all the spears within reach and turned them upon his own body. He thus opened a gap in the line, through which the Swiss pressed on to victory. Winkelried's deed might well have been performed, though the evidence for it is very scanty.

Little Switzerland, lying in the heart of the Alps and surrounded by powerful neighbors, is one of the most interesting states in Europe. The twenty-two communities, or cantons, which make up the Swiss Confederation, differ among themselves in language, religion (Roman Catholic or Protestant), and customs, according to their nearness to Germany, France, or Italy. Nevertheless the Swiss form a patriotic and united nation. It is remarkable that a people whose chief bond of union was common hostility to the Austrian Hapsburgs, should have established a federal government so strong and enduring.

89. Expansion of Germany

An examination of the map shows how deficient Germany is in good natural boundaries. The valley of the Danube affords an easy road to the southeast, a road which the early rulers of Austria followed as far as Vienna and the Hungarian frontier. Eastward along the Baltic no break occurs in the great plain stretching from

Lines of
German
expansion

¹ The independence of the country was not formally recognized till 1648.

the North Sea to the Ural Mountains. It was in this direction that German conquests and colonization during medieval times laid the foundation of modern Prussia.

The Germans, when descending upon the Roman Empire, had abandoned much of their former territories to the Slavs. In the reign of Charlemagne nearly all the region **The German** between the Elbe and the Vistula belonged to **and the Slav** Slavic tribes. To win it back for Germany required several centuries of hard fighting. The Slavs were heathen and barbarous, so that warfare with them seemed to be a kind of crusade. In the main, however, German expansion eastward was a business venture, due to the need for free land. The hope of gain thus combined with religious zeal and the spirit of adventure to stimulate emigration into the "Great East" of the Middle Ages.

German expansion began early in the tenth century, when Henry the Fowler invaded Brandenburg between the Elbe and the Oder. Subsequently much of the territory between the Oder and the Vistula, including **Brandenburg and Pomerania** Pomerania on the southern coast of the Baltic, came under German control. The Slavic inhabitants were exterminated or reduced to slavery. Their place was taken by thousands of German colonists, who introduced Christianity, built churches and monasteries, cleared the woods, drained the marshes, and founded many cities destined to become centers of German trade and culture.

Beyond the Vistula lay the lands of the Prussians, a non-Teutonic people closely related to the Slavs. The conquest and conversion of the Prussians was accomplished by the famous order of Teutonic Knights. **Prussia and the Teutonic Order** It had been founded in Palestine as a military-religious order, at the time of the Third Crusade. The decline of the crusading movement left the knights with no duties to perform, and so they transferred their activities to the Prussian frontier, where there was still a chance to engage in a holy war. The Teutonic Order flourished throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, until its grand-master

ruled over the entire Baltic coast from the Vistula to the Gulf of Finland. The knights later had to relinquish much of this region to the Slavs, but they sowed there the seeds of



GERMAN EXPANSION EASTWARD DURING THE MIDDLE AGES

civilization. The Baltic countries — Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia — rank to-day among the richest and most advanced parts of eastern Europe.

Germany at the close of the Middle Ages was not a united, intensely national state, such as had been formed in England,

France, and Spain. It had split into hundreds of principalities, none large, some extremely small, and all practically independent of the feeble German kings. This weakness of the central power condemned the country to a minor part in the affairs of Europe as late as the nineteenth century. Yet Germany found some compensation for political backwardness in the splendid city life which it developed during the later Middle Ages. The German cities, together with those of Italy and other European lands, now call for our attention.

Studies

1. On an outline map indicate (a) William the Conqueror's French dominions and (b) additional dominions of the Plantagenet kings in France. 2. Prepare a chart showing the leading rulers mentioned in this chapter. Arrange your material in parallel columns with dates, one column for England, one for France, and one for the other European countries. 3. Locate the following places: Crécy; Calais; Poitiers; Stirling; Edinburgh; Orléans; and Granada. 4. What happened in 987? in 1066? in 1215? in 1295? in 1346? in 1453? in 1485? and in 1492? 5. Distinguish between a nation, a government, and a state. 6. Are unity of race, a common language, a common religion, and geographical unity of themselves sufficient to make a nation? May a nation arise where these bonds are lacking? 7. "The thirteenth century gave Europe the nations as we now know them." Comment on this statement. 8. Account for the rise of national feeling in France, Spain, Scotland, and Switzerland. 9. "Good government in the Middle Ages was only another name for a public-spirited and powerful monarchy." Comment on this statement. 10. What advantages has trial by jury over the older forms of trial, such as oaths, ordeals, and the judicial duel? 11. Explain the difference between a grand jury and a trial, or petty jury. 12. Compare the extent of territory in which Roman law now prevails with that which follows the Common law. 13. Why was the Parliament of 1295 named the "Model Parliament"? 14. Distinguish between England and Great Britain. Between Great Britain and the United Kingdom. 15. What were the Roman names of England, Scotland, and Ireland? 16. "Islands seem dedicated by nature to freedom." How does the history of Ireland illustrate this statement? 17. Trace on the map the main water routes in France between the Mediterranean and the Atlantic. 18. Show that Paris occupies an exceptionally good location for a capital city. 19. What French kings did most to form the French nation? 20. Why have queens never ruled in France? 21. How did the methods of fighting at Crécy contrast with those at Hastings? 22. Why has Joan of Arc become "the embodiment of the soul of France for all time"? 23. "Beyond the Pyrenees begins Africa." What does this statement mean? 24. Why was Spain inconspicuous in European politics before the opening of the sixteenth century? 25. Look up in an encyclopedia the story of William Tell and prepare an oral report upon it. 26. Why was the German system of elective rulers politically less advantageous than the settled hereditary succession which prevailed in England and France?

CHAPTER XI

EUROPEAN CITIES DURING THE LATER MIDDLE AGES

90. Growth of the Cities

CIVILIZATION has always had its home in the city. The statement applies as well to medieval times as to the present day.

The civic revival Nothing marks more strongly the backwardness of the early Middle Ages than the absence of large and flourishing cities throughout western Europe. The growth of trade in the later Middle Ages led, however, to a civic revival beginning in the eleventh century. This change from rural to urban life was scarcely less significant for European history than the change from the feudal to the national state.

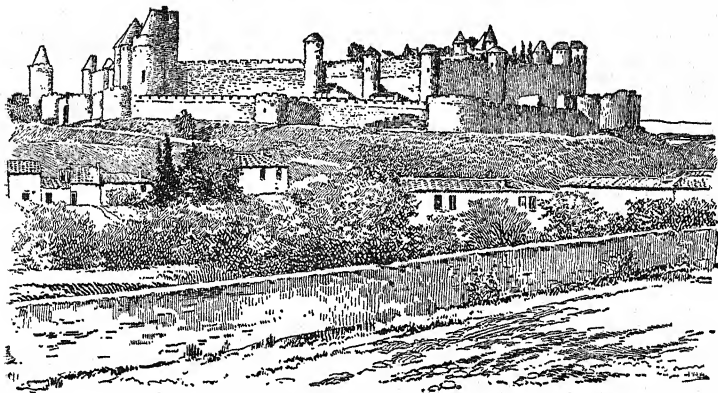
A number of medieval cities stood on the sites, and even within the walls, of Roman municipalities. Particularly in Italy, southern France, and Spain, and also in the Rhine and Danube regions, it seems that some ancient *municipia* had never been entirely destroyed during the German invasions. They preserved their Roman names, their streets, aqueducts, amphitheaters, and churches, and possibly vestiges of their Roman institutions. Among them were such important centers as Milan, Florence, Venice, Lyons, Marseilles, Paris, Vienna, Cologne, London, and York.

Many medieval cities were new foundations. Some began as small communities which increased in size because of exceptional advantages of situation. A place where a river could be forded, where two roads met, or where a good harbor existed, would naturally become the resort of traders. Some, again, started as fortresses, behind whose ramparts the peasants took refuge when danger threatened. A third group of cities developed from villages on the manors. A thriving settlement was pretty sure to spring up

near a monastery or castle, which offered both protection and employment to the common people.

The city at first formed part of the feudal system. It arose upon the territory of a feudal lord and naturally owed obedience to him. The citizens ranked not much higher than serfs, though they were traders and artisans instead of farmers. They enjoyed no political rights, for their

The city and
feudalism



WALLS OF CARCASSONNE

The fortifications of Carcassonne, an ancient city of southern France, are probably unique in Europe for completeness and strength. They consist of a double line of ramparts, protected by towers and pierced by only two gates. A part of the fortifications is attributed to the Visigoths in the sixth century; the remainder, including the castle, was raised during the Middle Ages (eleventh to thirteenth centuries).

lord collected the taxes, appointed officials, kept order, and punished offenders. In short, the city was not free.

But the city from the first was the decided enemy of feudalism. As its inhabitants became more numerous and wealthy, they refused to submit to oppression. Sometimes they won their freedom by hard fighting; more often they purchased it, perhaps from some noble who needed money to go on a crusade. In France, England, and Spain, where the royal power was strong, the cities obtained exemption from their feudal burdens, but did not become entirely self-governing. In Germany and Italy, on the other hand,

The civic
revolt

the weakness of the central government permitted many cities to secure complete independence. They became true republics, like the old Greek city-states.

The contract which the citizens extorted from their lord was known as a charter. It specified what taxes they should be required to pay and usually granted to them various privileges, such as those of holding assemblies, electing magistrates, and raising militia for local defense.

Charters



A SCENE IN ROTHENBURG

Rothenburg ob-der-Tauber in Bavaria has preserved its old ramparts, narrow streets, town hall, and picturesque wooden houses of the Middle Ages. Nuremberg, another German town, and Chester in England are also very medieval in appearance.

The revolt of the cities gradually extended over all western Europe, so that at the end of the fourteenth century very few of them lacked a charter.

The free city had no room for either slaves or serfs. All servile conditions ceased inside its walls. The rule prevailed that any one who had lived in a city for the term of a year and a day could no longer be claimed by a lord as his serf. This rule found expression in the famous saying, "Town air renders free."

**Civic
freedom**

The freedom of the cities naturally attracted many immigrants to them. There came into existence a middle class of city people, between the clergy and nobles on the one side and the peasants on the other side — what the French call the *bourgeoisie*.¹ As we have learned,² the kings of England and France soon began to summon representatives of this middle class to sit in assemblies by the side of the clergy and the nobles. Henceforth the middle class, or *bourgeoisie*, distinguished as it was for wealth, intelligence, and enterprise, exerted an ever-greater influence on European affairs.

Rise of
the Third
Estate

91. City Life

The visitor approaching a mediæval city through miles of open fields saw it clear in the sunlight, unobscured by coal smoke. From without it looked like a fortress, with walls, towers, gateways, drawbridges, and moat. Beyond the fortifications he would see, huddled together against the sky, the spires of the churches and the cathedral, the roofs of the larger houses, and the dark, frowning mass of the castle. The general impression was one of wealth and strength and beauty.³

Once within the walls the visitor would not find things so attractive. The streets were narrow, crooked, and ill-paved, dark during the day because of the overhanging houses, and without illumination at night. There were no open spaces or parks except a small market place. The whole city was cramped by its walls, which shut out light, air, and view, and prevented expansion into the neighboring country. Mediæval London, for instance, covered an area of less than one square mile.

A city from
within

A city in the Middle Ages lacked all sanitary arrangements. The only water supply came from polluted streams and wells. Sewers and sidewalks were quite unknown. People piled up their refuse in the backyard or flung it into the street, to be devoured by the dogs and pigs which served

Unsanitary
conditions

¹ From French *bourg*, "town."

² See frontispiece.

³ See pages 203 and 210.

as scavengers. The holes in the pavement collected all manner of filth, and the unpaved lanes, in wet weather, became quagmires. We can understand why the townspeople wore overshoes when they went out, and why even the saints in the pictures were represented wearing them. The living were crowded



A LONDON BELLMAN

Title-page of a tract published in 1616. It was part of the duties of a bellman, or night-watchman, to call out the hours, the state of the weather, and other information as he passed by.

together in many-storied houses, airless and gloomy; the dead were buried close at hand in crowded churchyards. Such unsanitary conditions must have been responsible for much of the sickness that was prevalent. The high death rate could only be offset by a birth rate correspondingly high, and by the constant influx of country people.

The inhabitants of the city took a just pride in their public buildings. The market place, where traders assembled, often contained a beautiful cross and sometimes a market hall to shelter goods from the weather. Not far away rose the city hall,¹ for the transaction of public business and the holding of civic feasts. The hall might be crowned by a high belfry with an alarm bell to summon the citizens to mass meeting. There were also a number of churches and abbeys and, if the city was the capital of a bishop's diocese, an imposing cathedral.

The small size of medieval cities — few included as many as ten thousand inhabitants — simplified the problem of governing them. The leading merchants usually formed a council pre-

¹ In French *hôtel de ville*; in German *Rathhaus*.

sided over by a head magistrate, the burgomaster¹ or mayor,² who was assisted by aldermen.³ In some places the guilds chose the officials and managed civic affairs. These associations had many functions and held a most important place in city life.

92. Civic Industry: the Guilds

The Anglo-Saxon word "guild," which means "to pay," came to be applied to a club or society whose members made contributions for some common purpose. This form of association is very old. Some of the guilds in imperial Rome had been established in the age of the kings, while not a few of those which flourish to-day in China and India were founded before the Christian era. Guilds existed in Continental Europe as early as the time of Charlemagne, but they did not become prominent till after the crusades.

A guild of merchants grew up when those who bought and sold goods in any place united to protect their own interests. The membership included many artisans, as well as professional traders, for in medieval times a man often sold in the front room of his shop the goods which he made in the back rooms. He was often both shopkeeper and workman in one.

The chief duty of a merchant guild was to preserve to its own members the monopoly of trade within a town. Strangers and non-guildsmen could not buy or sell there except under the conditions imposed by the guild. They must pay the town tolls, confine their dealings to guildsmen, and as a rule sell only at wholesale. They were forbidden to purchase wares which the townspeople wanted for themselves or to set up shops for retail trade. They enjoyed more freedom at fairs, which were intended to attract outsiders.

After a time the traders and artisans engaged in a particular occupation began to form an association of their own. Thus

¹ German *bürgermeister*, from *burg*, "castle."

² French *maire*, from Latin *major*, "greater."

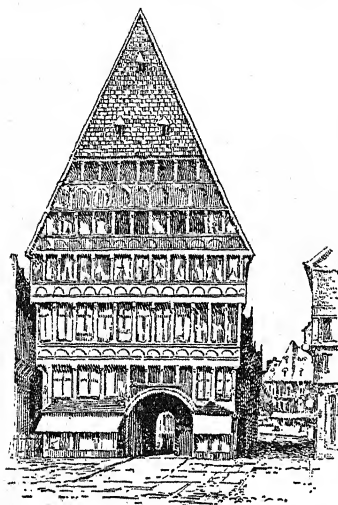
³ Anglo-Saxon *ealdorman* (*eald* means "old").

arose the craft guilds, composed of weavers, shoemakers, bakers, tailors, carpenters, and so on, until almost every form of industry had its separate organization.

Craft guilds

The names of the various occupations came to be used as the surnames of those engaged in them, so that to-day we have such common family names as Smith, Cooper,

Fuller, Potter, Chandler, and many others. The number of craft guilds in an important city might be very large. London and Paris at one time each had more than one hundred, and Cologne in Germany had as many as eighty. The members of a particular guild usually lived in the same street or quarter of the city, not only for companionship but also for better supervision of their labor.¹



HOUSE OF THE BUTCHERS' GUILD,
HILDESHEIM, GERMANY

Hildesheim, near Hanover, is perhaps the richest of all German towns in fine wooden-framed houses. The house of the Butchers' Guild has been recently restored, with all its original coloring carefully reproduced.

Just as the merchant guild regulated town trade, so the craft guilds had charge of town industry. No one could engage in any craft without becoming a member of the guild which controlled it and submitting

to the guild regulations. A man's hours of labor and the prices at which he sold his goods were fixed for him by the guild. He might not work elsewhere than in his shop, because of the difficulty of supervising him, nor might he work by artificial light, lest he turn out badly finished goods. Everything made by him was carefully inspected to see if it contained shoddy materials or showed poor workmanship. Failure to meet the test meant a heavy fine or perhaps expulsion from the guild.

¹ A map of London still shows such names as Shoe Lane, Distaff Lane, Cornhill, and many other similar designations of streets.

The industrial monopoly possessed by the craft guild thus gave some protection to both producer and consumer.

Full membership in a guild was reached only by degrees. A boy started as an apprentice, that is, a learner. He paid a sum of money to his master and agreed to serve him for a fixed period, usually seven years. The master, in turn, promised to provide the apprentice with food, lodging, and clothing, and to teach him all the secrets of the craft. At the end of the seven years the apprentice had to pass an examination by the guild. If he was found fit, he then became a journeyman and worked for daily wages. As soon as he had saved enough money, he might set up as a master in his own shop. A master was at once workman and employer, laborer and capitalist.

Like the old Roman guilds, those of the Middle Ages had their charitable and religious aspects. Each guild raised large benefit funds for the relief of members or their widows and orphans. Each guild had its private altar in the cathedral, or often its own chapel, where masses were said for the repose of the souls of deceased members, and where on the day of its patron saint religious services were held. The guild was also a social organization, with frequent meetings for a feast in its hall or in some inn. The guilds in some cities entertained the people with an annual play or procession.¹ It is clear that the members of a craft guild had common interests and shared a common life.

As the craft guilds prospered and increased in wealth, they tended to become exclusive organizations. Membership fees were raised so high that few could afford to pay them, while the number of apprentices that a master might take was strictly limited. It also became increasingly difficult for journeymen to rise to the station of masters; they often remained wage-earners for life. The mass of workmen could no longer participate in the benefits of the guild system. In the eighteenth century most of

¹ See page 273. The civic procession in London on Lord Mayor's Day is the last survival in England of these yearly shows.

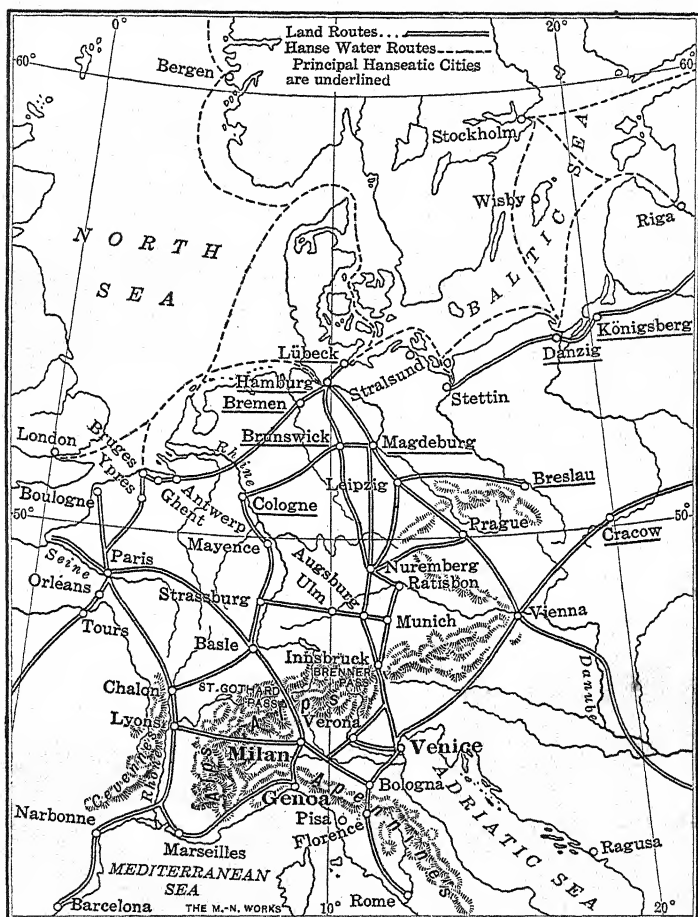
the guilds lost their monopoly of industry, and in the nineteenth century they gave way to trade unions.

93. Trade and Commerce

Nearly every town of any consequence had a weekly or semiweekly market, which was held in the market place or in the churchyard. Marketing often occurred on
Markets Sunday, in spite of many laws against this desecration of the day. Outsiders who brought cattle and farm produce for sale in the market were required to pay tolls, either to the town authorities or sometimes to a neighboring nobleman. These market dues still survive in the "octroi" collected at the gates of some European cities.

People in the Middle Ages did not believe in unrestricted competition. It was thought wrong for any one to purchase goods outside of the regular market ("forestalling")
 "Just price" or to purchase them in larger quantities than necessary ("engrossing"). A man ought not to charge for a thing more than it was worth, or to buy a thing cheap and sell it dear. The idea prevailed that goods should be sold at their "just price," which was not determined by supply and demand, but by an estimate of the cost of the materials and the labor that went into their manufacture. Laws were often passed fixing this "just price," but it was as difficult then as now to prevent the "cornering of the market" by shrewd and unscrupulous traders.

Besides markets at frequent intervals, many towns held fairs once or twice a year. The fairs often lasted for a month or more. They were especially necessary in medieval
Fairs Europe, because merchants did not keep large quantities or many kinds of goods on their shelves, nor could intending purchasers afford to travel far in search of what they wanted. The more important English fairs included those at Stourbridge near Cambridge, Winchester, St. Ives, and Boston. Fairs were numerous on the Continent, and in some places, such as Leipzig in Germany and Nijni-Novgorod in Russia, they are still kept up.



TRADE ROUTES BETWEEN NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN EUROPE
IN THE 13TH AND 14TH CENTURIES

A fair gave opportunity for the sale of commodities brought from the most distant regions. Stourbridge Fair, for instance, attracted Venetians and Genoese with silk, pepper, and spices of the East, Flemings with fine cloths and linens, Spaniards with iron and wine, Norwegians with tar and pitch from their forests, and Baltic merchants with

furs, amber, and salted fish. The fairs, by fostering commerce, helped to make the various European peoples better acquainted with one another.

Commerce in western Europe had almost disappeared as a result of the Teutonic invasions and the establishment of feudalism. What little commercial intercourse there was encountered many obstacles. A merchant who went by land from country to country might expect to find bad roads, few bridges, and poor inns.

Goods were transported on pack-horses instead of in wagons. Highway robbery was so common that travelers always carried arms and usually united in bands for better protection. The feudal lords, often themselves not much more than highway-men, demanded tolls at every bridge and ford and on every road. If the merchant proceeded by water, he must face, in addition to the ordinary hazards of wind and wave, the danger from the ill-lighted coasts and from attacks by pirates. No wonder commerce languished in the early Middle Ages and for a long time lay chiefly in the hands of Byzantines¹ and Arabs.²

Even during the dark centuries that followed the end of the Roman Empire, some trade with the Orient had been carried on by the cities of Italy and southern France. The crusades, which brought East and West face to face, greatly increased this trade.³ The Mediterranean lands first felt the stimulating effects of intercourse with the Orient, but before long the commercial revival extended to the rest of Europe.

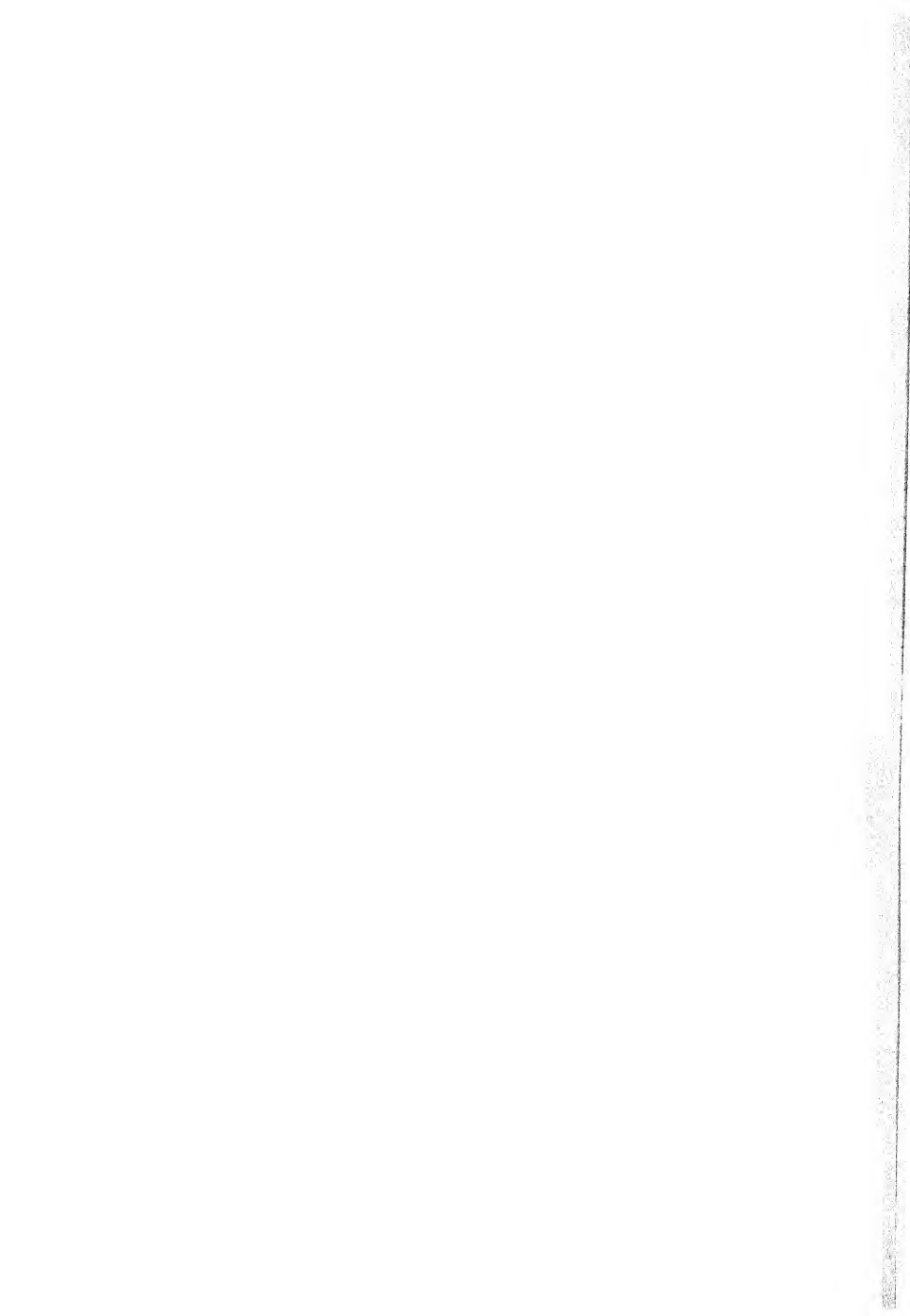
Before the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope the spices, drugs, incense, carpets, tapestries, porcelains, and gems of India, China, and the East Indies reached the West by three main routes. All had been used in ancient times. The central and most important route led up the Persian Gulf and Tigris River to Bagdad, from which city goods went by caravan to Antioch or Damascus. The southern route reached Cairo and Alexandria by way of the Red Sea

¹ See page 39.

² See page 83.

³ See page 177.





and the Nile. By taking advantage of the monsoons, a merchant ship could make the voyage from India to Egypt in about three months. The northern route, entirely overland, led to ports on the Black Sea and thence to Constantinople. It traversed high mountain passes and long stretches of desert, and hence was profitably used only for the transport of valuable articles small in bulk. The conquests of the Ottoman Turks greatly interfered with the use of this route by Christians after the middle of the fifteenth century.

Oriental goods, upon reaching the Mediterranean, could be transported by water to northern Europe. Every year the Venetians sent a fleet loaded with eastern products **European** to Bruges in Flanders, a city which was the most **trade routes** important depot of trade with Germany, England, and Scandinavia. Bruges also formed the terminus of the main overland route leading from Venice over the Alps and down the Rhine. Many other commercial highways also linked the Mediterranean with the North Sea and the Baltic.

94. Money and Banking

We have seen that business in the Middle Ages was chiefly of a retail character and was conducted in markets and fairs. One reason for the small scale of business enter- **Lack of** prise is found in the inadequate supply of money. **money** From the beginning of the Christian era to the twelfth century there seems to have been a steady decrease in the amount of specie in circulation, partly because so much moved to the Orient in payment for luxuries, and partly because the few mines in western Europe were not worked during the period of the invasions. The scarcity of money helped directly to build up the feudal system, since salaries, wages, and rents could be paid only in personal services or in produce. The money supply increased during the latter part of the Middle Ages, but it did not become sufficient for the needs of business till the discovery of the New World enabled the Spaniards to tap the wealth of the silver mines in Mexico and Peru.

Medieval currency was not only small in amount but also faulty in character. Many great nobles enjoyed the privilege of keeping a mint and issuing coins. Since this feudal money passed at its full value only in the locality where it was minted, a merchant had to be constantly changing his money, as he went from one district to another. Kings and nobles for their own profit would often debase the currency by putting silver into the gold coins and copper into the silver coins. Every debasement, as it left the coins with less pure metal, lowered their purchasing power and so raised prices unexpectedly. Even in countries like England, where debasement was exceptional, much counterfeit money circulated, to the constant impediment of trade.

The prejudice against "usury," as any lending of money at interest was called, was another reason for the small scale of business enterprise. It seemed wrong for a person to receive interest, since he lost nothing by the loan of his money. Numerous Church laws condemned the receipt of interest as unchristian. If, however, the lender could show that he had suffered any loss, or had been prevented from making any gain, through not having his money, he might charge something for its use. Ultimately, people began to distinguish between interest moderate in amount and an excessive charge for the use of money. The latter alone was henceforth prohibited as usurious. Most modern states still have usury laws which fix the legal rate of interest.

The business of money lending, denied to Christians, fell into the hands of the Jews. In nearly all European countries popular prejudice forbade the Jews to engage in agriculture, while the guild regulations barred them from industry. They turned to trade and finance for a livelihood and became the chief capitalists of medieval times. But the law gave the Jews no protection, and kings and nobles constantly extorted large sums from them. The persecutions of the Jews date from the era of the crusades, when it was as easy to excite fanatical hatred against them as against the Moslems. Edward I drove the Jews from England, and Fer-

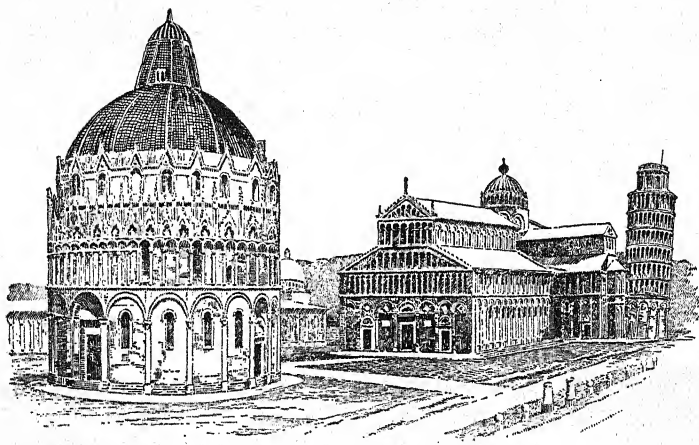
Faults of
medieval
currency

"Usury"
laws

The Jews
as money
lenders

dinand and Isabella expelled them from Spain, from which they are still excluded; and in some other countries they are not granted all the privileges which Christians enjoy.

The Jews were least persecuted in the commercial cities of northern Italy. Florence, Genoa, and Venice in the thirteenth century were the financial centers of Europe. The Italian banking companies in these cities received deposits and then loaned the money to foreign governments and great nobles. It was the Florentine bankers, for instance, who



BAPTISTERY, CATHEDRAL, AND "LEANING TOWER" OF PISA

These three buildings in the piazza of Pisa form one of the most interesting architectural groups in Italy. The baptistery, completed in 1278, is a circular structure, 100 feet in diameter and covered with a high dome. The cathedral was consecrated in 1118 A.D. The finest part of the building is the west front with its four open arcades. The campanile, or bell tower, reaches a height of 179 feet. Owing to the sinking of the foundations, it leans from the perpendicular to a striking extent (now about 16½ feet).

provided the English king, Edward III, with the funds to carry on his wars against France. The Italian banking houses had branches in the principal cities of Europe.¹ It became possible, therefore, to introduce the use of bills of exchange as a means of balancing debts between countries, without

¹ Lombard Street in London, the financial center of England, received its name from the Italian bankers who established themselves in this part of the city.

the necessity of sending the actual money. This system of international credit was doubly important at a time when so many risks attended the transportation of the precious metals. Another Florentine invention was bookkeeping by double-entry.¹

95. Italian Cities

The cities of northern Italy owed their prosperity, as we have learned, to the commerce with the Orient. It was this which gave them the means and the strength to keep up a long struggle for freedom against the German emperors. The end of the struggle, at the middle of the thirteenth century, saw all North Italy divided into the dominions of various independent cities. Among them were Milan, Pisa, Florence, Genoa, and Venice.

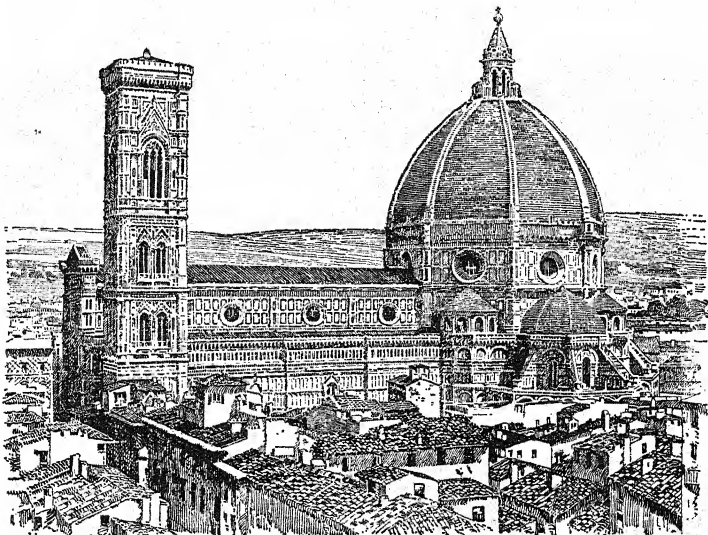
Milan, a city of Roman origin, lay in the fertile valley of the Po, at a point where the trade routes through several Alpine passes converged. Milan early rose to importance, and it still remains the commercial metropolis of Italy. Manufacturing also flourished there. Milanese armor was once celebrated throughout Europe. The city is rich in works of art, the best known being the cathedral, which, after St. Peter's at Rome and the cathedral of Seville, is the largest church in Europe. Though the Milanese were able to throw off the imperial authority, their government fell into the hands of the local nobles, who ruled as despots. Almost all the Italian cities, except Venice, lost their freedom in this manner.

Pisa, like Milan, was an old Roman city which profited by the disorders of the barbarian invasions to assert its independence. The situation of Pisa on the Arno River, seven miles from the sea, made it a maritime state, and the Pisan navy gained distinction in warfare against the Moslems in the Mediterranean. The Pisans joined in the First Crusade and showed their valor at the capture of Jerusalem. They profited greatly by the crusading movement

¹ Among Italian words having to do with commerce and banking which have come into general use are *conto*, *disconto*, *risico*, *netto*, *deposito*, *folio*, and *bilanza*.

and soon possessed banks, warehouses, and trading privileges in every eastern port. But Pisa had bitter rivals in Florence and Genoa, and the conflicts with these two cities finally brought about the destruction of its power.

Florence, Pisa's neighbor on the Arno, was renowned for manufactures. The fine wool, silk cloths, golden brocades,



DUOMO AND CAMPANILE OF FLORENCE

The cathedral (Duomo) of Florence, though begun in 1298, was not completed until the fifteenth century, when the famous architect Brunelleschi added the huge dome, 300 feet high. Close by the Duomo is the campanile or bell tower, adorned with bas-reliefs and colored marbles.

jewelry, and metal work of Florence were imported into all European countries. The craft guilds were very strong there and even the neighboring nobles, who wished to become citizens, had first to enroll themselves in some guild. It was from banking, however, that Florence gained most wealth. In the fifteenth century the city contained eighty great banking houses, in addition to numerous branches outside of Italy. The Florentines combined with their commercial spirit a remarkable taste for art and literature.

Florence

Their city, whose population never exceeded seventy thousand, gave birth to some of the most illustrious poets, prose writers, architects, sculptors, and painters of medieval times. It was the Athens of Italy.¹

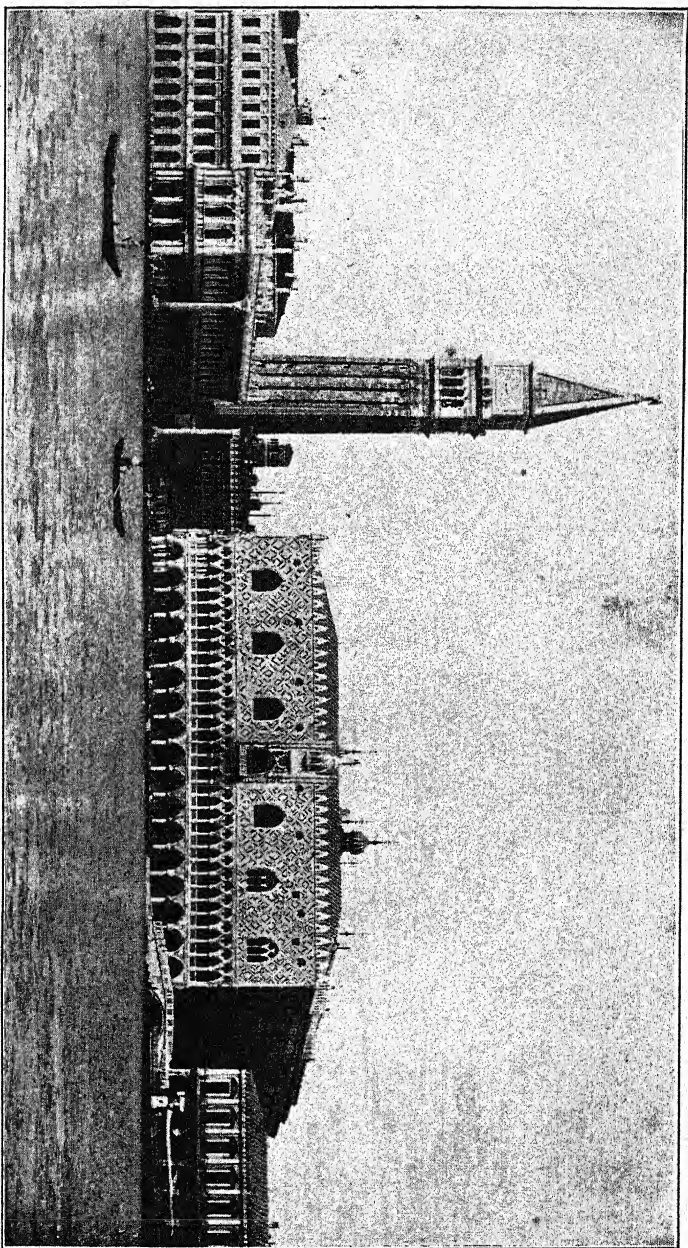
Genoa, located on the gulf of the same name, possesses a safe and spacious harbor. During the era of the crusades the city carried on a flourishing trade in both the Mediterranean and the Atlantic. After the fall of the Latin Empire of Constantinople² the Genoese almost monopolized Oriental commerce along the Black Sea route. The closing of this route by the Ottoman Turks was a heavy blow to their prosperity, which also suffered from the active competition of Venice.

Almost alone among Italian cities Venice was not of Roman origin. Her beginning is traced back to the period of barbarian Situation of inroads, when fugitives from the mainland sought Venice a new home on the islands at the head of the Adriatic. These islands, which lie about five miles from the coast, are protected from the outer sea by a long sand bar. They are little more than mud-banks, barely rising above the shallow water of the lagoons. The oozy soil afforded no support for buildings, except when strengthened by piles; there was scarcely any land fit for farming or cattle-raising; and the only drinking water had to be stored from the rainfall. Yet on this unpromising site arose one of the most splendid of European cities.

The early inhabitants of Venice gained their living from the sale of sea salt and fish, two commodities for which a constant Venetian demand existed in the Middle Ages. Large quantities of salt were needed for preserving meat in the winter months, while fish was eaten by all Christians on the numerous fast days and in Lent. The Venetians exchanged these commodities for the productions of the mainland and so built up a thriving trade. From fishermen they became merchants, with commercial relations which gradually extended to the Orient. The crusades vastly increased the wealth of

¹ See page 280.

² See page 174.



CAMPANILE AND DOGE'S PALACE, VENICE

The famous Campanile or bell tower of St. Mark's Cathedral collapsed in 1902. A new tower, faithfully copying the old monument, was completed nine years later. The Doge's Palace, a magnificent structure of brick and marble, is especially remarkable for the graceful arched colonnades forming the two lower stories. The blank walls of the upper story are broken by a few large and richly ornamented windows.



Venice, for she provided the ships in which troops and supplies went to the Holy Land, and she secured the largest share of the new eastern trade. Venice became the great emporium of the Mediterranean.

Venice also used the crusading movement for her political advantage. The capture of Constantinople in the Fourth Crusade extended Venetian control over the Peloponnesus,¹ Crete, Rhodes, Cyprus, and many smaller islands in the eastern Mediterranean. Even before this time Venice had begun to gain possessions upon the Italian mainland and along the eastern side of the Adriatic. Eventually, she ruled a real empire.²

The commerce and possessions of Venice made it necessary for her to maintain a powerful fleet. She is said to have once had over three thousand merchant vessels, in addition to forty-five war galleys. Her ships went out in squadrons, with men-of-war acting as a convoy against pirates. One fleet traded with the ports of western Europe, another proceeded to the Black Sea, while others visited Syria and Egypt to meet the caravans from the Far East. Venetian sea-power humbled Genoa and for a long time held the Mediterranean against the Ottoman Turks.

The visitor to modern Venice can still gain a good impression of what the city must have looked like in the fourteenth century, when ships of every nation crowded its quays and strangers of every country thronged its squares or sped in light gondolas over the canals which take the place of streets. The main highway is the Grand Canal, nearly two miles long and lined with palaces and churches. The Grand Canal leads to St. Mark's Cathedral, brilliant with mosaic pictures, the Campanile, or bell tower, and the Doge's Palace. The "Bridge of Sighs" connects the ducal palace with the state prison. The Rialto in the business heart of Venice is another famous bridge. But these are only a few of the historic and beautiful buildings of the island city.

¹ Known in the Middle Ages as the Morea.

² For the Venetian possessions in 1453, see the map, page 189.

96. German Cities: the Hanseatic League

The important trade routes from Venice and Genoa through the Alpine passes into the valleys of the Rhine and Danube were responsible for the prosperity of many fine cities in southern and central Germany. Among them were Augsburg, which rivaled Florence as a financial center, Nuremberg, famous for artistic metal work, Ulm, Strassburg, and Cologne. The feeble rule of the German kings compelled the cities to form several confederacies, for the purpose of resisting the extortionate tolls and downright robberies of feudal lords.

It was the Baltic commerce which brought the cities of northern Germany into a firm union. The Baltic region furnished large quantities of dried and salted fish, especially herring, wax candles for church services, skins, tallow, and lumber. Furs were also in great demand. Every one wore them during the winter, on account of the poorly heated houses. The German cities which shared in this commerce early formed the celebrated Hanseatic¹ League for protection against pirates and feudal lords.

The league seems to have begun with an alliance of Hamburg and Lübeck to safeguard the traffic on the Elbe. The growth of the league was rapid. At the period of its greatest power, about 1400, there were upwards of eighty Hanseatic cities along the Baltic and in the inland districts of northern Germany.

The commercial importance of the league extended far beyond the borders of Germany. Its trading posts, or "factories," at Bergen in Norway and Novgorod in Russia, controlled the export trade of those two countries. Similar establishments existed at London, on the Thames just above London Bridge, and at Bruges in Flanders. Each factory served as a fortress where merchants could be safe from attack, as a storehouse for goods, and as a general market.

The Hanseatic League ruled over the Baltic Sea very much

¹ From the old German *hansa*, a "confederacy." See the map on page 233.

as Venice ruled over the Adriatic. In spite of its monopolistic tendencies, so opposed to the spirit of free intercourse between nations, the league did much useful work by suppressing piracy and by encouraging the art of navigation. The Hanseatic merchants were also pioneers in the half-barbarous lands of northern and eastern Europe, where they founded towns, fostered industry, and introduced comforts and luxuries previously unknown. Such services in advancing civilization were comparable to those performed by the Teutonic Knights.

**Influence
of the
Hanseatic
League**

After several centuries of usefulness the league lost its monopoly of the Baltic trade and began to decline. Moreover the Baltic, like the Mediterranean, sank to minor importance as a commercial center, when the Portuguese had discovered the sea route to India and the Spaniards had opened up the New World.

**Decline
of the
Hanseatic
League**

City after city gradually withdrew from the league, until only Hamburg, Lübeck, and Bremen remained. They are still called free and independent cities, though in the nineteenth century they entered the German Empire.

97. The Cities of Flanders

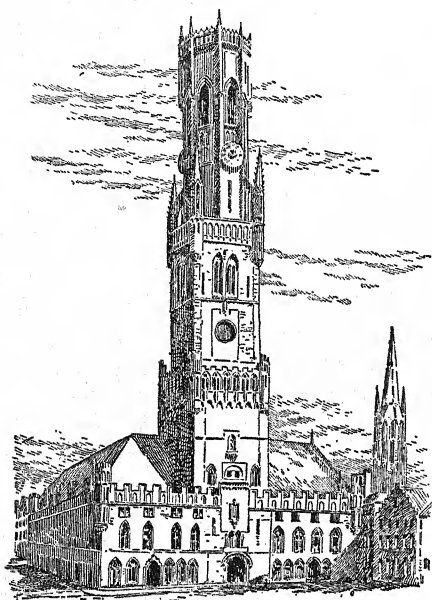
In the Middle Ages the Netherlands, or "Low Countries," now divided between Holland and Belgium, consisted of a number of feudal states, nominally under the control of German and French rulers, but really quite independent. Among them was the county of Flanders. It included the coast region from Calais to the mouth of the Scheldt, as well as a considerable district in what is now north-western France. The inhabitants of Flanders were partly of Teutonic extraction (the Flemings) and partly akin to the French (the Walloons).

**County of
Flanders**

Flanders enjoyed a good situation for commerce. The country formed a convenient stopping place for merchants who went by sea between the Mediterranean and the Baltic, while important land routes led there from all parts of western Europe. Flanders was also an

**Flanders,
commercial
and industrial**

industrial center. Its middle classes early discovered the fact that by devotion to manufacturing even a small, sterile region may become rich and populous.

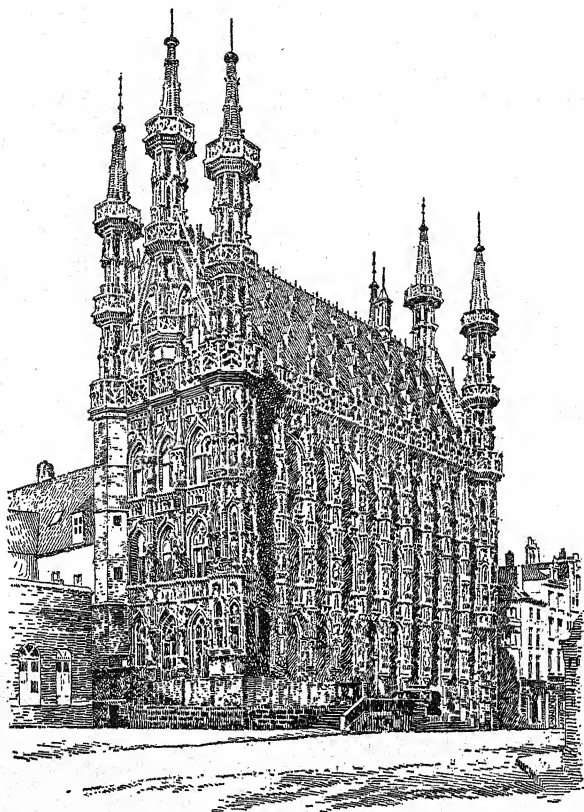


BELFRY OF BRUGES

Bruges, the capital of West Flanders, contains many fine monuments of the Middle Ages. Among these is the belfry, which rises in the center of the façade of the market hall. It dates from the end of the thirteenth century. Its height is 352 feet. The belfry consists of three stories, the two lower ones square, and the upper one, octagonal.

Among the thriving communities of Flanders three held an exceptional position. Bruges was the mart where the trade of southern Europe, in the hands of the Venetians, and the trade of northern Europe, in the hands of the Hanseatic merchants, came together. Ghent, with forty thousand workshops, and Ypres, which counted two hundred thousand workmen within its walls and suburbs, were scarcely less prosperous. When these cities declined in wealth, Antwerp became the commercial metropolis of the Netherlands.

The leading industry of Flanders was Flemish weaving. wool trade England in the Middle Ages raised great flocks of sheep, but lacking skilled workmen to manufacture the wool into fine cloth, sent it across the Channel to Flanders. A medieval writer declared that the whole world was clothed in English wool manufactured by the Flemings. The wool trade made Flanders the ally of England in the Hundred Years' War, thus beginning that historic friendship between the two countries which still endures.



TOWN HALL OF LOUVAIN, BELGIUM

One of the richest and most ornate examples of Gothic architecture. Erected in the fifteenth century. The building consists of three stories above which rises the lofty roof crowned with graceful towers. The interior decorations and arrangements are commonplace.

Flanders during the fourteenth century was annexed by France. The Flemish cities resisted bravely, and on more than one occasion their citizen levies, who could handle the sword and axe, as well as the loom, defeated the French armies, thus demonstrating again that foot soldiers were a match for mailed cavalry. Had the cities been able to form

a lasting league, they might have established an independent Flanders, but the bitter rivalry of Ghent and Bruges led to foreign domination, lasting into the nineteenth century.¹

The great cities of Flanders, Germany, and Italy, not to speak of those in France, Spain, and England, were much more than centers of trade, industry, and finance. Within their walls learning and art flourished to an extent which had never been possible in earlier times, when rural life prevailed throughout western Europe. We shall now see what the cities of the Middle Ages contributed to civilization.

Studies

1. Indicate on the map (page 233) the Italian, German, and Flemish cities mentioned in this chapter. 2. Look up the derivation of the words "city," "town," and "village." 3. Why does an American city have a charter? Where is it obtained? What privileges does it confer? 4. Who comprised the Third Estate in Middle Ages? What class corresponds to it at the present time? 5. Why has the medieval city been called the "birthplace of modern democracy"? 6. Compare the merchant guild with the modern chamber of commerce, and craft guilds with modern trade unions. 7. Look up the origin of the words "apprentice," "journeyman," and "master." 8. Why was there no antagonism between labor and capital under the guild system? 9. Compare the medieval abhorrence of "engrossing" with the modern idea that "combinations in restraint of trade" are wrong. 10. Why were fairs a necessity in the Middle Ages? Why are they not so useful now? Where are they still found? 11. Compare a medieval fair with a modern exposition. 12. What would be the effect on trade within an American state if tolls were levied on the border of every county? 13. What is meant by a "robber baron"? 14. How did the names "damask" linen, "chinaware," "japanned" ware, and "cashmere" shawls originate? 15. Why was the purchasing power of money much greater in the Middle Ages than it is now? 16. Why are modern coins always made perfectly round and with "milled" edges? 17. Are modern coins "debased" to any considerable extent? What is the use of alloys? 18. Why was the money-changer so necessary a figure in medieval business? 19. How is it easy to evade laws forbidding usury? 20. Look up in an encyclopedia the legend of the "Wandering Jew." How does it illustrate the medieval attitude toward Jews? 21. Write out the English equivalents of the Italian words mentioned in the footnote on page 238. 22. Compare the Italian despots with the Greek tyrants. 23. Show that Venice in medieval times was the seaport nearest the heart of commercial Europe. 24. Why was Venice called the "bride of the sea"?

¹ In 1831 the two provinces of East Flanders and West Flanders became part of the kingdom of Belgium.

CHAPTER XII

MEDIEVAL CIVILIZATION¹

98. Formation of National Languages

THROUGHOUT the Middle Ages Latin continued to be an international language. The Roman Church used it for papal bulls and other documents. Prayers were recited, hymns were sung, and sometimes sermons were preached in Latin. It was also the language of men of culture everywhere in western Christendom.

Latin as
an inter-
national
language

University professors lectured in Latin, students spoke Latin, lawyers addressed judges in Latin, and the merchants in different countries wrote Latin letters to one another. All learned books were composed in Latin until the close of the sixteenth century. This practice has not yet been entirely abandoned by scholars.

Each European country during the Middle Ages had also its own national tongue. The so-called Romance languages, including modern French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, and Rumanian, were derived from the Latin spoken by the Romanized inhabitants

The
Romance
languages

of the lands now known as France, Italy, Spain, Portugal, and Rumania. Their colloquial Latin naturally lacked the elegance of the literary Latin used by Cæsar, Cicero, Vergil, and other ancient authors. The difference between the written and spoken forms of the language became more marked from the fifth century onward, in consequence of the barbarian invasions. Gradually in each country new and vigorous tongues arose, related to, yet different from, the old classical Latin in pronunciation, grammar, and vocabulary.

The popular Latin of the Gallo-Romans gave rise to two groups of languages in medieval France. The first was used

¹ Webster, *Readings in Medieval and Modern History*, chapter xvii, "Medieval Tales"; chapter xviii, "Three Medieval Epics."

in the southern part of the country; it was called Provençal (from Provence). The second was spoken in the north, particularly in the region about Paris. The unification of the French kingdom under Hugh Capet and his successors gradually extended the speech of northern France over the entire country. Modern French contains less than a thousand words introduced by the German invaders of Gaul, while the words of Celtic origin are even fewer in number. Nearly all the rest are derived from Latin.

The Teutonic peoples who remained outside what had been the limits of the Roman world continued to use their native tongues during the Middle Ages. From them have come modern German, Dutch, Flemish, and the various Scandinavian languages (Danish, Norwegian, Swedish, and Icelandic¹). All these languages in their earliest known forms show unmistakable traces of a common origin.

Britain was the only Roman province in the west of Europe where a Teutonic language took root and maintained itself. Here the rough, guttural speech of the Anglo-Saxons completely drove out the popular Latin. In course of time Anglo-Saxon underwent various changes. Christian missionaries, from the seventh century onward, introduced many new Latin terms for church offices, services, and observances. The Danes, besides contributing some place-names, gave us that most useful word *are*, and also the habit of using *to* before an infinitive. The coming of the Normans deeply affected Anglo-Saxon. Norman-French influence helped to make the language simpler, by ridding it of the cumbersome declensions and conjugations which it had in common with all Teutonic tongues. Many new Norman-French words also crept in, as the hostility of the English people toward their conquerors disappeared.

Anglo-Saxon, by the middle of the thirteenth century, had so far developed that it may now be called English. In the poems of Chaucer (about 1340-1400), especially his *Canterbury*

¹ Icelandic is the oldest and purest form of Scandinavian. Danish and Norwegian are practically the same, in fact, their literary or book-language is one.

Tales,¹ English wears quite a modern look, though the reader is sometimes troubled by the old spelling and by certain words not now in use. The changes in the grammar of the language have been so extremely slight since 1485 — the beginning of the reign of Henry VII² — that any Englishman of ordinary education can read without difficulty a book written more than four hundred years ago. English

What in medieval times was the speech of a few millions of Englishmen on a single small island is now spoken by at least one hundred and sixty millions of people all over the world. English is well fitted for the rôle of a universal language, because of its absence of inflections and its simple sentence-order. The great number of one-syllabled words in the language also makes for ease in understanding it. Furthermore, English has been, and still is, extremely hospitable to new words, so that its vocabulary has grown very fast by the adoption of terms from Latin, French, and other tongues. These have immensely increased the expressiveness of English, while giving it a position midway between the very different Romance and Teutonic languages. English as
a universal
language

99. Development of National Literatures

Medieval literature, though inferior in quality to that of Greece and Rome, nevertheless includes many notable productions. In the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries Latin hymns reached their perfection. The sublime *Dies Irae* ("Day of Wrath") presents a picture of the final judgment of the wicked. The pathetic *Stabat Mater*, which describes the sorrows of Mary at the foot of the Cross, has been often translated and set to music. St. Bernard's *Jesu Dulcis Memoria* ("Jesus, the Very Thought of Thee") forms part of a beautiful hymn nearly two hundred lines in length. Part of another hymn, composed by a monk of Cluny, has been rendered into English as "Jerusalem the Golden." Latin hymns made use of rhyme, then something of a novelty, and thus helped to popularize this poetic device. Latin hymns

¹ See page 292.

² See page 214.

A pleasant glimpse of secular society is afforded by the songs of the troubadours. These professional poets flourished in the south of France, but many of them traveled from court to court in other countries. Their verses, composed in the Provençal language, were always sung to the accompaniment of some musical instrument, generally the lute. Romantic love and deeds of chivalry were the two themes which most inspired the troubadours. They, too, took up the use of rhyme, using it so skillfully as to become the teachers of Europe in lyric poetry.

Northern France gave birth to epic or narrative poems, describing the exploits of mythical heroes and historic kings.

The French lyric For a long time the poems were recited by minstrels, who did not hesitate to modify and enlarge them at will. It was not until late in the eleventh century that any of these epics were written down. They enjoyed high esteem in aristocratic circles and penetrated all countries where feudalism prevailed.

Many of the French epics dealt with Charlemagne and the twelve peers of France. The oldest, and at the same time

Song of Roland the finest, of these productions is

called the *Song of Roland*, after its principal hero. When leading the rearguard of Charlemagne's army out of Spain, Roland is suddenly attacked in the pass of Roncesvalles by the treacherous Moors.¹ He slays the enemy in heaps with his good sword, Durendal, and only after nearly all the Franks have perished sounds his magic horn to summon aid. Charle-



ROLAND AT RONCESVALLES

From a thirteenth-century window of stained glass in Chartres Cathedral. At the right Roland sounding his horn; at the left Roland endeavoring to break his sword Durendal.

magne, fifteen leagues distant, hears its notes and returns quickly.

¹ See page 13, note 1.

But before help arrives, Roland has fallen. He dies on the field of battle, with his face to the foe, and a prayer on his lips that "sweet France" may never be dishonored. This stirring poem appealed strongly to the martial Normans. A medieval chronicler relates that just before the battle of Hastings a Norman minstrel rode out between the lines, tossing his sword in air and catching it again, as he chanted the song "of Roland and of Charlemagne, of Oliver and many a brave vassal who lost his life at Roncesvalles."

King Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table were also important figures in medieval legend. Arthur was said to have reigned in Britain early in the sixth century and to have fought against the Anglo-Saxons. Whether he ever lived or not we do not know. In the Arthurian romances this Celtic king stands forth as the model knight, the ideal of noble chivalry. The Norman conquerors of England, who were themselves a knightly aristocracy, especially liked these romances and helped to popularize them both in France and in England. Sir Thomas Malory's *Morte d'Arthur*, one of the first books to be printed in England, contains many of the narratives from which Tennyson, in his *Idylls of the King*, and other modern poets have drawn their inspiration.

The greatest epic composed in Germany during the Middle Ages is the *Nibelungenlied*. The poem begins in Burgundy, where three kings hold court at Worms, on the Rhine. Thither comes the hero, Siegfried, ruler of the Netherlands. He had slain the mysterious Nibelungs and seized their treasure, together with the magic cloud-cloak which rendered its wearer invisible to human eyes. He had also killed a dragon and by bathing in its blood had become invulnerable, except in one place where a linden leaf touched his body. Siegfried marries Kriemhild, a beautiful Burgundian princess, and with her lives most happily. But a curse was attached to the Nibelung treasure, and Siegfried's enemy, the "grim Hagen," treacherously slays him by a spear thrust into the one spot where he could be hurt. Many years afterwards Kriemhild marries Attila, king of the Huns, on condition that he help her to ven-

The
Arthurian
romances

The Nibe-
lungenlied

geance. Hagen and his Burgundians are invited to Hunland, where Kriemhild causes them all to be put to death. The name of the poet who compiled and probably wrote much of the *Nibelungenlied* remains unknown, but his work has a place among the classics of German literature.

No account of medieval literature ought to omit a reference to *Reynard the Fox*. This is a long poem, first written in Latin,

Reynard the Fox and then turned into the chief languages of Europe. The characters are animals: Reynard, cunning and audacious, who outwits all his foes; Chanticleer the Cock; Bruin the Bear; Isengrim the Wolf; and many others. But they are animals in name only. We see them worship like Christians, go to mass, ride on horseback, debate in councils, and amuse themselves with hawking and hunting. Satire often creeps in, as when the villainous Fox confesses his sins to the Badger or vows that he will go to the Holy Land on a pilgrimage. The special interest of this work lies in the fact that it expressed the feelings of the common people, groaning under the oppression of feudal lords.

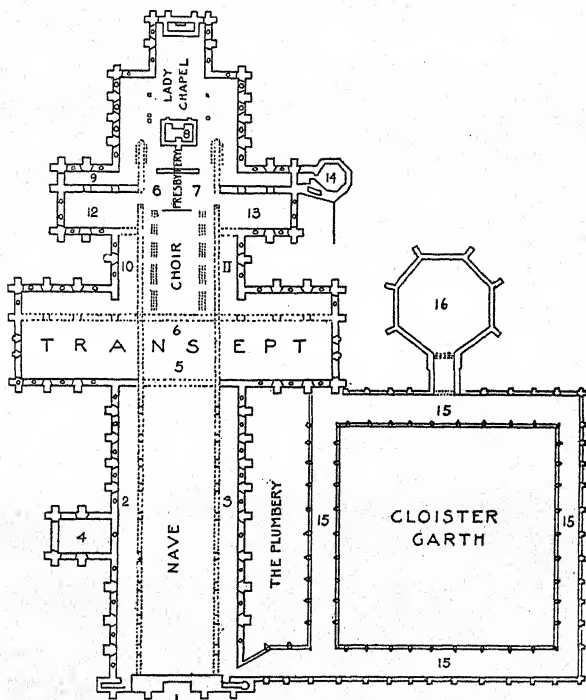
The same democratic spirit breathes in the old English ballads of the outlaw Robin Hood. According to some accounts **The Robin Hood ballads** he flourished in the second half of the twelfth century, when Henry II and Richard the Lion-hearted reigned over England. Robin Hood, with his merry men, leads an adventurous life in Sherwood Forest, engaging in feats of strength and hunting the king's tall deer. Bishops, sheriffs, and gamekeepers are his only enemies. For the common people he has the greatest pity, and robs the rich to endow the poor. Courtesy, generosity, and love of fair play are some of the characteristics which made him a popular hero. If King Arthur was the ideal knight, Robin Hood was the ideal yeoman. The ballads about him were sung or recited by country folk for centuries.

100. Romanesque and Gothic Architecture; the Cathedrals

The genius of the Middle Ages found its highest expression, not in books, but in buildings. For several hundred years after

the barbarian invasions architecture had made little progress in western Europe, outside of Italy, which was subject to Byzantine influence,¹ and Spain, which was a center of Moslem culture.² Beginning about 800 came a revival, and the adoption of an architectural

Two architectural styles



PLAN OF SALISBURY CATHEDRAL, ENGLAND

1 Principal west doorway; 2, 3 aisles of nave; 4 north porch; 5 tower; 6, 6 pulpits; 7 throne; 8 altar; 9 font; 10, 11 choir aisles; 12, 13 east or choir transept; 14 sacristy; 15 cloister; 16 chapter house.

style called Romanesque, because it went back to Roman principles of construction. Romanesque architecture arose in northern Italy and southern France and gradually spread to other European countries. It was followed about 1100 by the

¹ See page 39.

² See page 86.

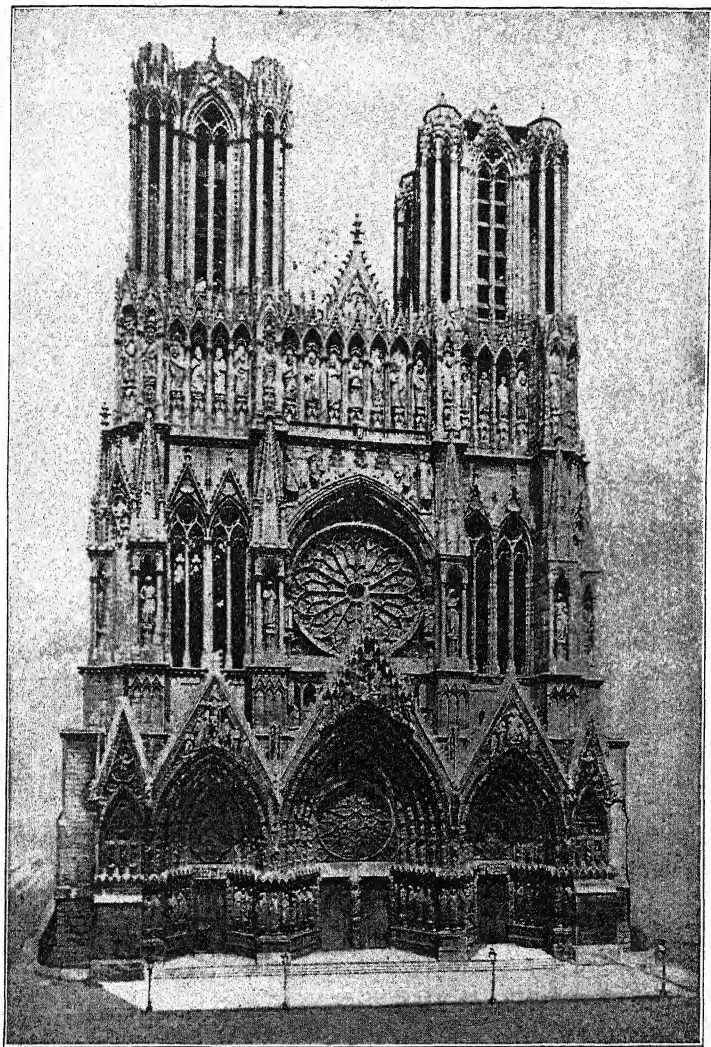
Gothic style of architecture, which prevailed during the next four centuries.

The church of the early Christians seems to have been modeled upon the Roman basilica, with its arrangement of nave and aisles, its circular arched recess (apse) at one end, and its flat, wooden ceiling supported by columns. The Romanesque church departed from the basilican plan by the introduction of transepts, thus giving the building the form of a Latin cross. A dome, which might be covered by a pointed roof, was generally raised over the junction of the nave and transepts. At the same time the apse was enlarged so as to form the choir, a place reserved for the clergy.

The Romanesque church also differed from a basilica in the use of vaulting to take the place of a flat ceiling. The old Romans had constructed their vaulted roofs and domes of concrete, which forms a rigid mass and rests securely upon the walls like the lid of a box. Medieval architects, however, built of stone, which in a vaulted roof exerts an outward thrust and tends to force the walls apart. Consequently, they found it necessary to make the walls very thick and to strengthen them by piers, or buttresses, on the outside of the edifice. It was also necessary to reduce the width of the vaulted spaces. The vaulting, windows, and doorways had the form of the round arch, that is, a semicircle, as in the ancient Roman monuments.¹

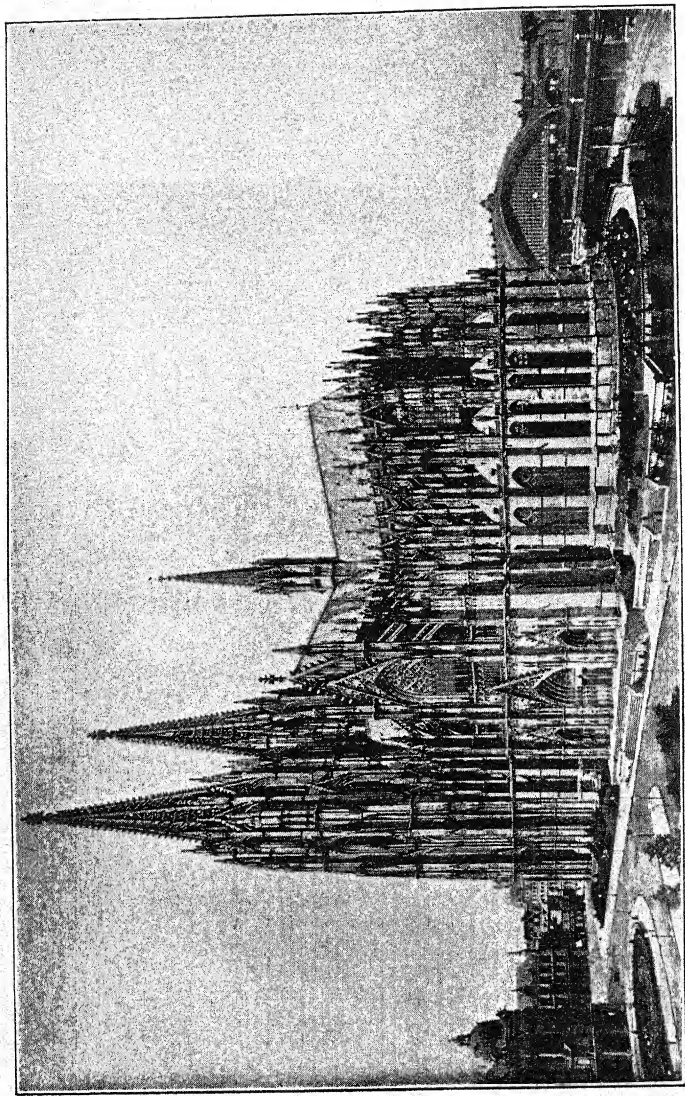
Gothic architecture arose in France in the country around Paris, at a time when the French kingdom was taking the lead in European affairs. Later it spread to England, Germany, the Netherlands, and even to southern Europe. As an old chronicler wrote, "It was as if the whole world had thrown off the rags of its ancient time, and had arrayed itself in the white robes of the churches." The term Gothic was applied to this architectural style by writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, who regarded everything non-classical as barbarous. They believed it to be an invention of the barbarian Goths, and so they called it Gothic.

¹ See the illustrations, pages 156 and 237.



REIMS CATHEDRAL

The cathedral of Notre Dame at Reims in northwestern France stands on the site where Clovis was baptized by St. Remi. Here most of the French kings were consecrated with holy oil by the archbishops of Reims. Except the west front, which was built in the fourteenth century, the cathedral was completed by the end of the thirteenth century. The towers, 267 feet high, were originally designed to reach 394 feet. The façade, with its three arched portals, exquisite rose window, and "gallery of the kings," is justly celebrated. The cathedral — walls, roof, statues, and windows — was terribly damaged by the German bombardment during the late war.



COLOGNE CATHEDRAL

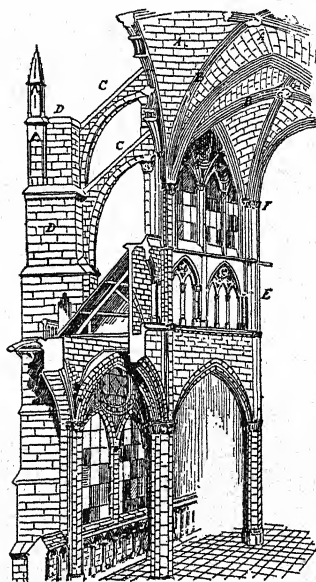
The Cathedral, or Dom, one of the finest monuments of Gothic architecture in Europe, was begun in the thirteenth century. The work of building proceeded slowly and at the time of the Reformation it ceased altogether. The structure was finally completed during the nineteenth century, and in 1880 A.D. it was opened in the presence of the emperor, William I. The Cathedral, which is in form of a cross, measures 480 feet in length and 282 feet in breadth. Each of the towers reaches the height of 511 feet. The very numerous and richly-colored windows add greatly to the imposing effect of the interior.

The Gothic style formed a natural development of the Romanesque style. The architects of a Gothic church wished to retain the vaulted ceiling, but at the same time to do away with thick, solid walls, which had so little window space as to leave the interior of the building dark and gloomy. They solved this problem, in the first place, by using a great number of stone ribs, which rested on pillars and gathered up the weight of the ceiling. Ribbed vaulting made possible higher ceilings, spanning wider areas, than in Romanesque churches.¹ In the second place, the pillars supporting the ribs were themselves connected by means of flying buttresses with stout piers of masonry outside the walls of the church.² These walls, relieved from the pressure of the ceiling, now became a mere screen to keep out the weather. They could be built of light materials and opened up with high, wide windows.

Ribbed vaulting and the flying buttress are the distinctive features of Gothic architecture. A third

feature, noteworthy but not so important, is the use of the pointed arch. It was not Christian in origin, for it had long been known to the Arabs in the East and the Moslem conquerors of Sicily. The semi-

Ribbed
vaulting and
the flying
buttress



CROSS SECTION OF AMIENS CATHEDRAL

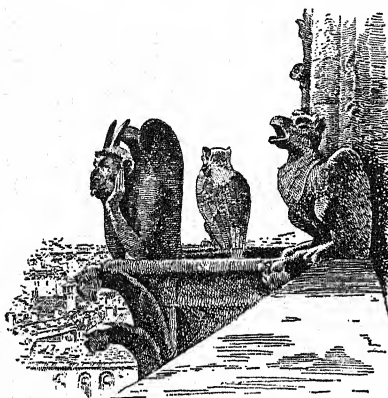
A, vaulting; B, ribs; C, flying buttresses; D, buttresses; E, low windows; F, clerestory.

¹ The interior of King's College Chapel, Cambridge, shows the ribs and the beautiful tracery of the ceiling of a Gothic building. See the plate facing page 260.

² The flying buttress is shown in the view of Cologne Cathedral. See the plate facing page 255.

circular or round arch can be only half as high as it is wide, but the pointed arch may vary greatly in its proportions. The use of this device enabled the Gothic builder to bridge over different widths at any required height. It is also lighter and more graceful than the round arch.

The labors of the Gothic architect were admirably seconded by those of other artists. The sculptor cut figures of men,



GARGOYLES ON THE CATHEDRAL OF
NOTRE DAME, PARIS

Strange, grotesque figures and faces of stone, used as ornaments of Gothic buildings and as spouts to carry off rainwater. They represent beasts, demons, and other creations of medieval fancy.

Gothic animals, and ornament plants in the utmost profusion. The painter covered vacant wall spaces with brilliant frescoes. The wood-carver made exquisite choir stalls, pulpits, altars, and screens. Master workmen filled the stone tracery of the windows with stained glass unequalled in coloring by the finest modern work. Some rigorous churchmen like St. Bernard condemned the expense of these magnificent

cathedrals, but most men found in their beauty an additional reason to praise God.

Gothic architecture, though at first confined to churches, came to be used for other buildings. Among the monuments of the secular Gothic are beautiful town halls, guild halls, markets, and charming private houses.¹ But the cathedral remained the best expression of the Gothic style.

101. Education; the Universities

The universities developed from the monastic and cathedral schools where boys were trained to become monks or priests.

¹ See the illustrations, pages 244 and 245.

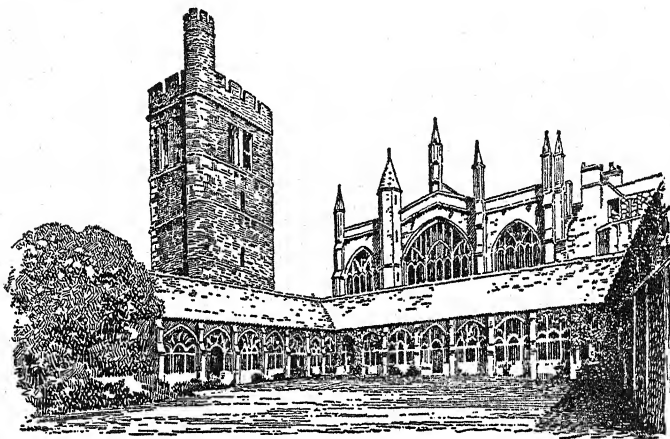
Such schools had been created or restored by Charlemagne. The teaching, which lay entirely in the hands of **Common** the clergy, was elementary in character. Pupils **schools** learned enough Latin grammar to read religious books, if not always to understand them, and enough music to follow the services of the Church. They also studied arithmetic by means of the awkward Roman notation and geometry in Euclid's propositions without the demonstrations, received a smattering of astronomy, and sometimes gained a little knowledge of such subjects as geography, law, and philosophy. Besides these monastic and cathedral schools, others were maintained by the guilds and also by private benefactors. Boys who had no regular schooling often received instruction from the parish priest. Illiteracy was common enough in medieval times, but the mass of the people were by no means entirely uneducated.

Between 1150 and 1500 at least eighty universities were established in western Europe. Some speedily became extinct, but there are still about fifty European institutions **Rise of** of learning which date from the Middle Ages. **universities** They arose, as it were, spontaneously. Western Europe in the eleventh and twelfth centuries felt the thrill of a great intellectual revival. It was stimulated by intercourse with the highly cultivated Arabs in Spain, Sicily, and the East, and with the Greek scholars of Constantinople during the crusades. The desire for instruction became so general that the church schools could not satisfy it. Other schools were then opened in the cities, and to them flocked eager learners from every quarter.

How easily a university might grow up about the personality of some eminent teacher is shown by the career of Abelard. The eldest son of a noble family in Brittany, Abelard would naturally have entered upon a military **Peter** career, but he chose instead the life of a scholar **Abelard,** and the contests of debate. **1079-1142** When still a young man he went to Paris and attended the lectures given by a master of the cathedral school of Notre Dame. At the early age of twenty-two Abelard himself set up as a lecturer. Few teachers have ever attracted so large and so devoted a following. His

classroom under the shadow of the great cathedral was filled with a crowd of youths and men drawn from all countries.

The fame of Abelard led to an increase of masters and students at Paris and so paved the way for the establishment of the university there, later in the twelfth century. Paris soon became such a center of learning, particularly in theology and philosophy, that a medieval writer referred to it



VIEW OF NEW COLLEGE, OXFORD

New College, despite its name, is one of the oldest of the Oxford collegiate foundations. It was established in 1379 by William of Wykeham. The illustration shows the chapel, the cloisters, consecrated in 1400, and the detached tower, a tall, massive structure on the line of the city wall.

as "the mill where the world's corn is ground, and the hearth where its bread is baked." The university of Paris, in the time of its greatest prosperity, had over five thousand students. It furnished the model for the English university of Oxford, as well as for the learned institutions of Scotland, Denmark, Sweden, and Germany.

The institutions of learning in southern Europe were modeled, more or less, upon the university of Bologna. At this Italian city, in the middle of the twelfth century, a celebrated teacher named Imerius gathered about him thousands of pupils for the study of the Justinian code. The

university developed out of his law school. Bologna was the center from which the Roman system of jurisprudence made its way into France, Germany, and other Continental countries. From Bologna, also, came the monk Gratian, who drew up the accepted text-book of canon law, as followed in all Church courts.¹ What Roman law was to the Empire canon law was to the Papacy.

The word "university"² meant at first simply a union or association. In the Middle Ages all artisans were organized in guilds,³ and when masters and pupils associated themselves for teaching and study they naturally copied the guild form. This was the more necessary since the student body included many foreigners, who found protection against annoyances only as members of a guild.

A university consisted of masters (the professors), who had the right to teach, and students, both elementary and advanced, who corresponded to apprentices and journeymen. After passing part of his examination, a student became a "bachelor of arts" and might teach certain elementary subjects to those beneath him. Upon the completion of the full course — usually six years in length — the bachelor took his final examinations and, if successful, received the coveted degree of "master of arts." Many students, of course, never took a degree at all.

A university of the Middle Ages did not need an expensive collection of libraries, laboratories, and museums. Its only necessary equipment consisted of lecture rooms for the professors. Not even benches or chairs were required, for students often sat on the straw-strewn floors. The high price of manuscripts compelled professors to give all instruction by lectures. This method of teaching has been retained in modern universities, because even the printed book is a poor substitute for a scholar's inspiring words.

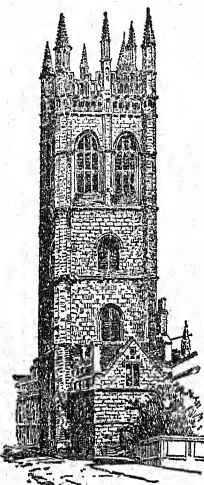
Since the universities were under the protection of the Church, it was natural that those who attended them should possess some of the privileges of clergymen. Students did not pay

¹ See page 141.

² Latin *universitas*.

³ See page 231.

taxes or serve as soldiers. They also enjoyed the right of trial in their own courts. This was an especially valuable privilege, for medieval scholars were constantly getting into trouble with the city authorities. The sober annals



TOWER OF MAGDALEN
COLLEGE, OXFORD

Magdalen (pronounced *Maudlin*) is perhaps the most beautiful college in Oxford. The bell tower stands on High Street, the principal thoroughfare of Oxford, and adjoins Magdalen Bridge, built across the Cherwell. Begun in 1492; completed in 1505. From its summit a Latin hymn is sung every year on the morning of May Day. This graceful tower has been several times imitated in American collegiate structures.

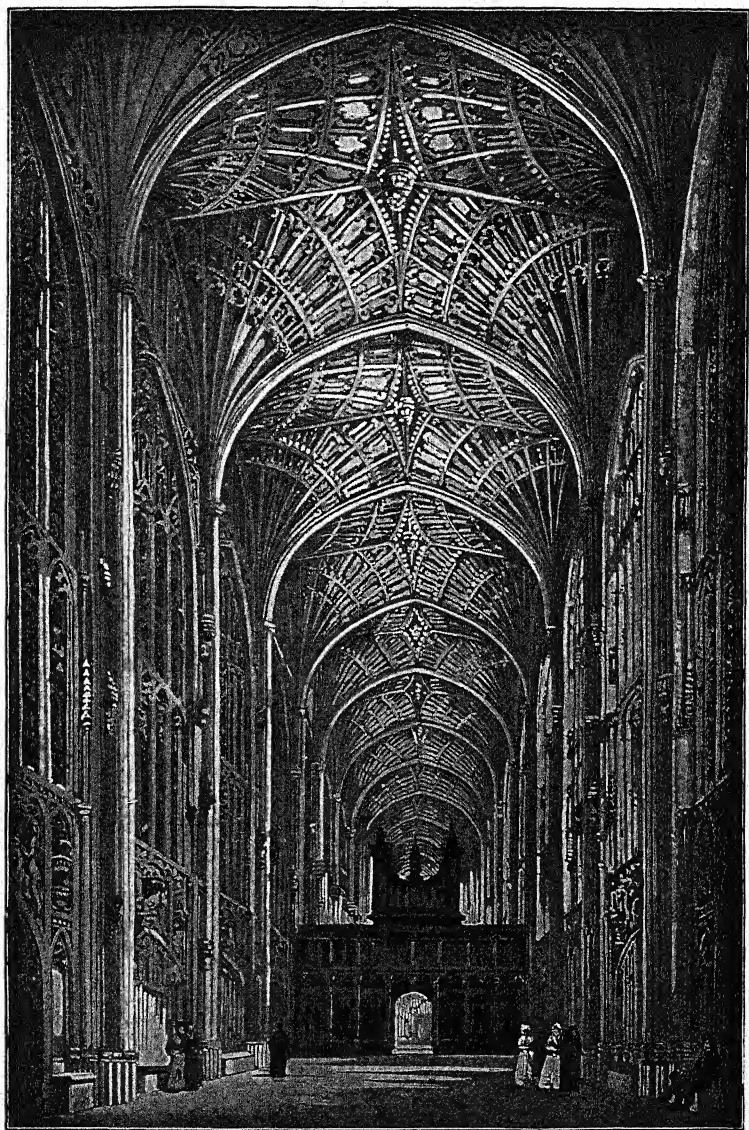
of many a university are relieved by tales of truly Homeric conflicts between Town and Gown. When the students were dissatisfied with their treatment in one place, it was always easy for them to go to another university. Sometimes masters and scholars made off in a body. Oxford appears to have owed its existence to a large migration of English students from Paris; Cambridge arose as the result of a migration from Oxford; and the German university of Leipzig sprang from that of Prague in Bohemia.

The members of a university usually lived in a number of colleges. These

Colleges seem to have been at first little more than lodging-houses, where poor students were cared for at the expense of some benefactor. In time, however, as the colleges increased in wealth, through the gifts made to them, they became centers of instruction under the direction of masters. At Oxford and Cambridge, where the collegiate system has been retained to the present time, each college possesses its separate buildings and enjoys the privilege of self-government.

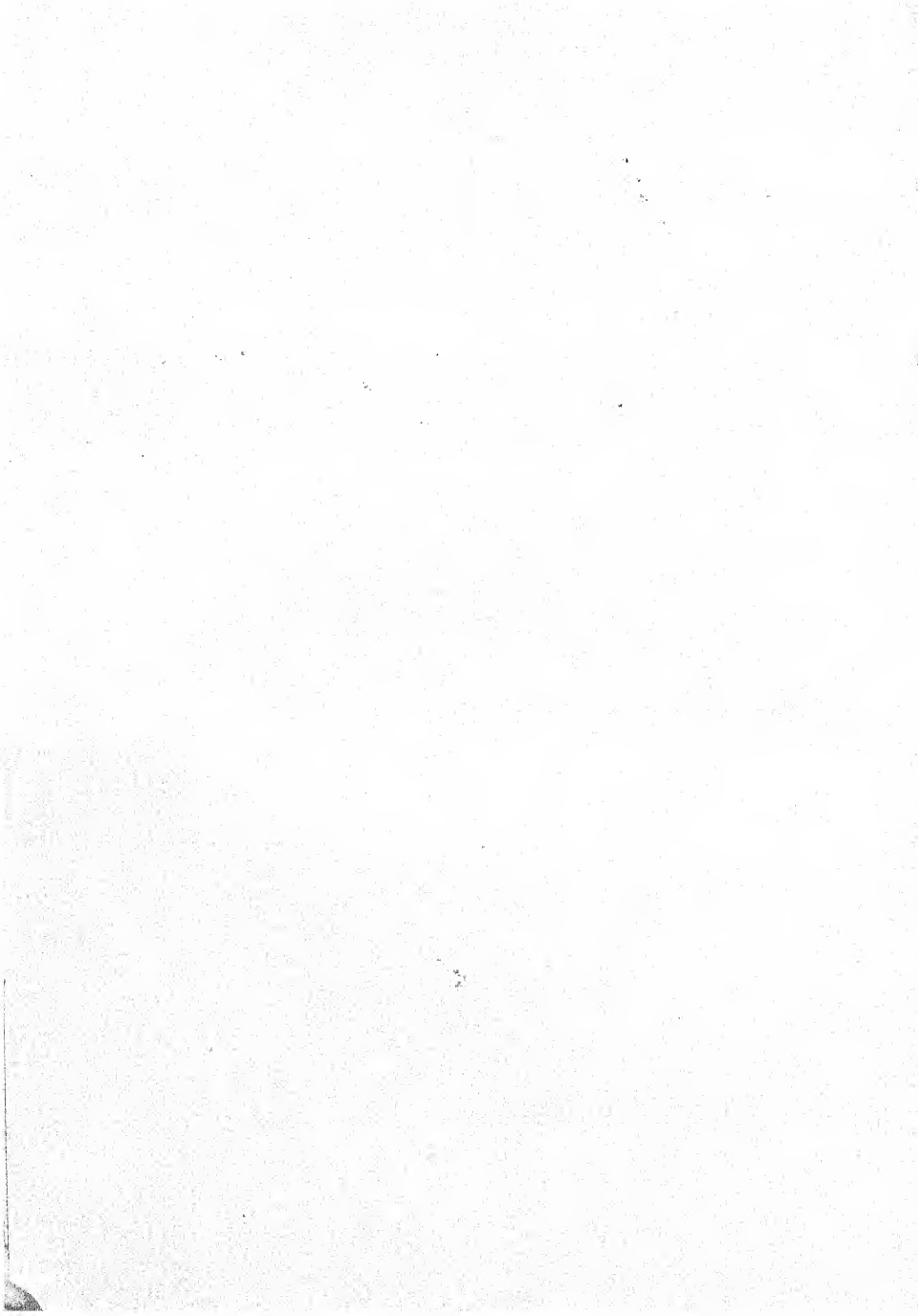
The studies in a medieval university were grouped under the four faculties of arts, theology, law, and medicine. The first-named faculty taught the "seven liberal arts," that is, grammar, rhetoric, logic, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music.

Faculties



INTERIOR OF KING'S COLLEGE CHAPEL, CAMBRIDGE

The chief architectural ornament of King's College, founded by King Henry VI, is the chapel in the Gothic perpendicular style. This building was begun in 1446 A.D., but was not completed until nearly seventy years later. The finest features of the interior are the fan-vaulting which extends throughout the chapel, the stained-glass windows, and the wooden organ screen.



These subjects were a legacy from Roman education. Theology, law, and medicine then, as now, were professional studies, taken up after the completion of the Arts course. Owing to the constant movement of students from one university to another, each institution tended to specialize in one or more fields of learning. Thus, Paris came to be noted for theology, Montpellier, Padua, and Salerno for medicine, and Orléans, Bologna, and Salamanca for law.

102. Scholasticism

Theology formed the chief subject of instruction in most medieval universities. Nearly all the celebrated scholars of the age were theologians. They sought to arrange the doctrines of the Church in systematic and reasonable form, in order to answer those great questions concerning the nature of God and of the soul which have always occupied the human mind. For this purpose it was necessary to call in the aid of philosophy. The union of theology and philosophy produced what is known as scholasticism.¹

The philosophy on which the scholastics relied was chiefly that of Aristotle. Christian Europe read him at first in Latin translations from the Arabic, but versions were later made from Greek copies found in Constantinople and elsewhere in the East. This revival of Aristotle, though it broadened men's minds by acquainting them with the ideas of the greatest of Greek thinkers; had serious drawbacks. It discouraged rather than favored the search for fresh truth. Many scholastics were satisfied to appeal to Aristotle's authority, rather than take the trouble of finding out things for themselves. The story is told of a medieval student who, having detected spots in the sun, announced his discovery to a learned man. "My son," said the latter, "I have read Aristotle many times, and I assure you there is nothing of the kind mentioned by him. Be certain that the spots which you have seen are in your eyes and not in the sun."

¹ The method of the school (Latin *schola*).

There were many famous scholastics, or "schoolmen," but easily the foremost among them was the Italian monk, Thomas Aquinas. He taught at Paris, Cologne, Rome, and Bologna, and became so celebrated for learning as to be known as the "Angelic Doctor." Though Aquinas died at an early age, he left behind him no less than eighteen folio volumes. His *Summa Theologiæ* ("Compendium of Theology"), as the name indicates, gathered up all that the Middle Ages believed of the relations between God and man. The Roman Church has placed him among her saints and still recommends the study of his writings as the foundation of all sound theology.

St. Thomas
Aquinas,
1227-1274

Enough has been said to show that the method of study in medieval universities was not that which generally obtains to-day. There was almost no original research. Law students memorized the Justinian code. Medical students learned anatomy and physiology from old Greek books, instead of in the dissecting room. Theologians and philosophers went to the Bible, the Church Fathers, or Aristotle for the solution of all problems. They often debated the most subtle questions, for instance, "Can God ever know more than He knows that He knows?" Mental gymnastics of this sort furnished a good training in logic, but added nothing to the sum of human knowledge. Scholasticism, accordingly, fell into disrepute, in proportion as men began to substitute scientific observation and experiment for speculation.

The
scholastic
method

103. Science and Magic

Not all medieval learning took the form of scholasticism. The twelfth and thirteenth centuries were marked by a healthy interest in science. Long encyclopedias, written in Latin, collected all available information about the natural world. The study of physics made conspicuous progress, partly as a result of Arab influence. Various scientific inventions, including magnifying lenses (for eyeglasses) and clocks, were worked out. The mariner's compass, perhaps derived from the Arabs, also came into general use.

Scientific
inventions

We may take the Englishman, Roger Bacon, as a representative of this scientific interest. He studied at Paris, where his attainments secured for him the title of the "Wonderful Doctor," and lectured at Oxford. At a period when Aristotle's influence was unbounded, Bacon turned away from scholastic philosophy to mathematics and the sciences. No great discoveries were made by him, but

Roger Bacon,
about 1214-
1294

it is interesting to read a passage in one of his works where some modern inventions are distinctly foreseen. In time, he wrote, ships will be moved without rowers, and carriages will be propelled without animals to draw them. Machines for flying will also be constructed, "wherein a man sits revolving some engine by which artificial wings are made to beat the air like a flying bird." Even in Bacon's day it would appear that men were trying to make steamboats, automobiles, and airplanes.



THE PHOENIX

From a book published in 1579.

The discovery of gunpowder, a compound of saltpeter, charcoal, and sulphur, has often been attributed to Bacon, probably incorrectly. Bacon and other men of his time seem to have been familiar with the composition of gunpowder, but they regarded it as merely a sort of fireworks, producing a sudden and brilliant flame. They little suspected that in a confined space the expansive power of its gases could be used to hurl projectiles. Gunpowder was occasionally manufactured during the fourteenth century, but for a long time it made more noise than it did harm. Small brass cannon, throwing stone balls, began at length to displace the medieval siege weapons, and still later muskets took the place of the longbow, the cross-bow, and the pike. The revolution in the art of warfare introduced by gunpowder had vast importance. It destroyed the usefulness of the castle and enabled the peasant to fight the mailed knight on equal terms. Gunpowder, accord-

Gunpowder

ingly, must be included among the forces which brought about the downfall of feudalism.

The study of chemistry also engaged the attention of medieval investigators. It was, however, much mixed up with alchemy, **Chemistry and alchemy** a false science which the Middle Ages had received from the Arabs and they in turn from the Greeks. The alchemists believed that minerals possessed a real life of their own and that they were continually developing in the ground toward the state of gold, the perfect metal. It was necessary, therefore, to discover the "philosopher's stone," which would turn all metals into gold. The alchemists never found it, but they learned a good deal about the various metals and discovered a number of compounds and colors. In this way alchemy contributed to the advance of chemistry.

Astronomy in the Middle Ages was the most advanced of any natural science, though the telescope and the Copernican theory **Astronomy and astrology** were as yet in the future. Astronomy, the wise mother, had a foolish daughter, astrology, the origin of which can be traced back to Babylonia. Medieval students no longer regarded the stars as divine, but they believed that the natural world and the lives of men were controlled by celestial influences. Hence astrologers professed to predict the fate of a person from the position of the planets at the time of his birth. Astrological rules were also drawn from the signs of the zodiac. A child born under the sign of the Lion will be courageous; one born under the Crab will not go forward well in life; one born under the Waterman will probably be drowned, and so forth. Such fancies seem absurd enough, but in the Middle Ages educated people entertained them.

Alchemy and astrology were not the only instances of medieval credulity. The most improbable stories found ready acceptance. **Medieval credulity** Roger Bacon, for instance, thought that "flying dragons" still existed in Europe and that eating their flesh lengthened human life. Works on natural history soberly described the lizard-like salamander, which dwelt in fire, and the phoenix, a bird which, after living for five hundred years, burned itself to death and then rose

again full grown from the ashes. Various plants and minerals were credited with marvelous powers. Thus, the nasturtium, used as a liniment, would keep one's hair from falling out, and the sapphire, when powdered and mixed with milk, would heal ulcers and cure headache. Such quaint beliefs linger to-day among uneducated people, even in civilized lands.

Magicians of every sort flourished in the Middle Ages. Oneiromancers¹ took omens from dreams.

Magicians
Palmists read

fortunes in the lines and irregularities of the hand.

Necromancers² professed to reveal the future by pretended communications with departed spirits.

Other magicians made talismans or lucky objects to be worn on the person, mirrors in which the images



MAGICIAN RESCUED FROM THE DEVIL

Miniature in a thirteenth-century manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. The Devil, attempting to seize a magician who had formed a pact with him, is prevented by a lay brother.

of the dead or the absent were reflected, and various powders which, when mixed with food or drink, would inspire hatred or affection in the one consuming them. Indeed, it would be easy to draw up a long list of the devices by which practitioners of magic made a living at the expense of ignorant and superstitious people.

104. Popular Superstitions

Many medieval superstitions are preserved in folk tales, or "fairy stories." Every child now reads these tales in books, but until the nineteenth century very few of them had been collected and written down.³ They lived on the lips of the people, being told by mothers and nurses

Folk tales

¹ Greek *oneiros*, "dream."

² Greek *nekros*, "corpse."

³ Charles Perrault's *Tales of Passed Times* appeared at Paris in 1697. It included the now-familiar stories of "Bluebeard," "Cinderella," "Sleeping Beauty," and "Little Red Riding Hood." In 1812 the brothers Grimm published their *Household Tales*, a collection of stories current in Germany.

to children and by young and old about the firesides during the long winter evenings. Story-telling formed one of the chief amusements of the Middle Ages.

The fairies who appear so commonly in folk tales are known by such different names as bogies, brownies, goblins, pixies, kobolds (in Germany), and trolls (in Denmark).

Fairies

The Celts, especially, had a lively faith in fairies, and it was from Wales, Scotland, and Ireland that many stories about them became current in Europe after the tenth century. Some students have explained the belief in fairies as due to memories of an ancient pygmy people dwelling in underground homes. But most of these supernatural beings seem to be the descendants of the spirits which in savage fancy haunt the world.

A comparison of European folk tales shows that fairies have certain characteristics in common. They live in palaces under-

Character- istics of fairies

neath the ground, from which they emerge at twilight to dance in mystic circles. They are ruled by kings and queens and are possessed of great wealth. Though usually invisible, they may sometimes be seen, especially by people who have the faculty of perceiving spirits. To mortals the fairies are generally hostile, leading wanderers astray, often blighting crops and cattle, and shooting arrows which carry disease and death. They are constantly on the watch to carry off human beings to their realm. A prisoner must be released at the end of a certain time, unless he tastes fairy food, in which event he can never return. Children in cradles are frequently snatched away by the fairies, who leave, instead, imps of their own called "changelings." A changeling may always be recognized by its peevishness and backwardness in learning to walk and speak. If well treated, the fairies will sometimes show their gratitude by bestowing on their favorites health, wealth, and long life. Lucky the child who can count on a "fairy god-mother."

Stories of giants are common in folk tales. Giants are often represented as not only big but also stupid, and as easily overcome by keen-witted human foes like "Jack the Giant-killer."

It may be that traditions of prehistoric peoples have sometimes given birth to accounts of giants. Another source of stories concerning them has been the discovery of huge fossil bones, such as those of the mammoth or mastodon, which were formerly supposed to be bones of gigantic men. The ogres, who sometimes figure in folk tales, are giants with a taste for human flesh. They recall the cannibals of the savage world.



THE WITCHES' SABBATH

Werewolves were persons who, by natural gift or magic art, were thought to have the power of turning themselves for a time into wild beasts (generally wolves or bears). In this animal shape they ravaged flocks and devoured young children. A werewolf was said to sleep only two nights in the month and to spend the rest of the time roaming the woods and fields. Trials of persons accused of being werewolves were held in France as late as the end of the sixteenth century. Even now the belief is found in backward parts of Europe.

The medieval superstition of the evil eye endowed certain persons with the power of bewitching, injuring, or killing others by a single glance. Children and domestic animals were thought to be particularly susceptible to the effects of "fascination." In order to guard against it, charms of various sorts, including texts from the Bible, were carried about. The belief in the evil eye came into Europe from pagan antiquity. It survived the Middle Ages and lingers yet among uneducated people.

The belief in witchcraft, which prevailed in ancient times, was also strongly held during the Middle Ages. Witches were supposed to have sold themselves to the Devil, receiving in return the power to work magic. They could change themselves or others into animals, they had charms against the hurt of weapons, they could raise storms and destroy crops, and they could convey thorns, pins, and other objects into their victims' bodies, thus causing sickness and death. At night they rode through the air on broomsticks and assembled in some lonely place for feasts, dances, and wild revels. The Devil himself attended these "Witches' Sabbaths" and taught his followers their diabolic arts. There were various tests for the discovery of witches, the most usual being the ordeal by water.¹

The numerous trials and executions for witchcraft form a dark page in history. Thousands of harmless old men and women were put to death on the charge of being leagued with the Devil. Even the most intelligent and humane people believed in the reality of witchcraft and found a justification for its punishment in the Scriptural command, "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live."² The witch epidemic which broke out in America during the seventeenth century, reaching its height at Salem, Massachusetts, was simply a reflection of the European fear and hatred of witches.

The Middle Ages inherited from antiquity the observance of unlucky days. These went under the name of "Egyptian days," so called because it was held that on one of them the

¹ See page 119.

² *Exodus*, xxii, 18.

plagues had been sent to devastate the land of Egypt and on another Pharaoh and his host had been swallowed up in the Red Sea. At least twenty-four days in the year were regarded as very unlucky. At such times one ought not to buy or sell, to build a house, to plant a field, to travel or, in fact, to undertake anything at all important. After the sixteenth century the belief in unlucky days declined, but there still exists a prejudice against fishermen starting out to fish, or seamen to take a voyage, or landmen a journey, or domestic servants to enter a new place, on a Friday. Unlucky days

105. Popular Amusements and Festivals

It is pleasant to turn from the superstitions of the Middle Ages to the games, sports, and festivals which helped to make life agreeable alike for rich and poor, for nobles and peasants. Some indoor games are of eastern Indoor games

origin. Chess, for instance, arose in India as a war game.

On each side a king and his general, with chariots, cavalry, elephants, and infantry, met in battle array. These survive in the rooks, knights, bishops, and pawns of the modern game. Checkers is a sort of simplified chess, in which the pieces are



CHess PIECES OF CHARLEMAGNE

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

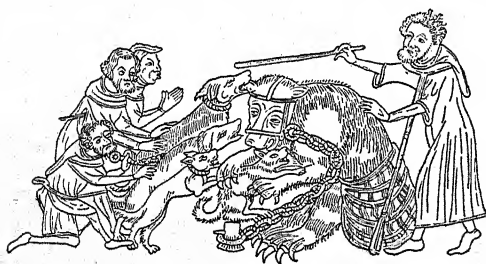
The figures are carved in ivory.

all pawns, till they get across the board and become kings. Playing cards are another Oriental invention. They were introduced into Europe in the fourteenth century, either by the Arabs or the gypsies. Their first use seems to have been for telling fortunes.

Many outdoor games are derived from those played in medieval times. How one kind of game may become the parent of

many others is seen in the case of the ball-play. The ancients tossed and caught balls as children do now. They also had a game in which each side tried to secure the ball and throw it over the adversary's goal line. This game lasted on into the Middle Ages, and from it football has descended. The ancients seem never to have used a stick or bat in their ball-play. The Persians, however, began to play ball on horseback, using a long mallet for the purpose, and introduced their new sport throughout Asia. Under the Tibetan name of *pulu* ("ball") it found its way into Europe. When once the mallet had been invented for use on horseback, it could be easily used on foot, and so polo gave rise to the various games in which balls are hit with bats, including tennis, hockey, golf, cricket, and croquet.

The difference between our ideas of what constitutes "sport" and those of our ancestors is shown by the popularity of baiting. In the twelfth century bulls, bears, and even horses were baited. Cock-fighting formed



BEAR BAITING

From the Luttrell Psalter.

another common amusement. It was not till the nineteenth century that an English society for the prevention of cruelty to animals succeeded in getting a law passed which forbade

these cruel sports. Most other European countries have now followed England's example.

No account of life in the Middle Ages can well omit some reference to the celebration of festivals. For the peasant and artisan they provided relief from physical exertion, and for all classes of society the pageants, processions, sports, feasts, and merry-makings which accompanied them furnished welcome diversion. Medieval festivals included

not only those of the Christian Year,¹ but also others which had come down from pre-Christian times.

Many festivals not of Christian origin were derived from the ceremonies with which the heathen peoples of Europe had been accustomed to mark the changes of the seasons. **Seasonal festivities**
Thus, April Fool's Day formed a relic of festivities

held at the vernal equinox. May Day, another festival of spring, honored the spirits of trees and of all budding vegetation. The persons who acted as May kings and May queens represented these spirits. According to the original custom a new May tree was cut down in the forest every year, but later a permanent May pole was set up on the village common. On Midsummer Eve (June 23), which marked the summer solstice, came the fire festival, when people built bonfires and leaped over them, walked in procession with torches round the fields, and rolled burning wheels down the hillsides. These curious rites may have been

once connected with sun worship. Hallow Eve, so called from being the eve of All Saints' Day (November 1), also seems to have been a survival of a heathen celebration. On this night witches and fairies were supposed to assemble. Hallow Eve does not appear to have been a season for



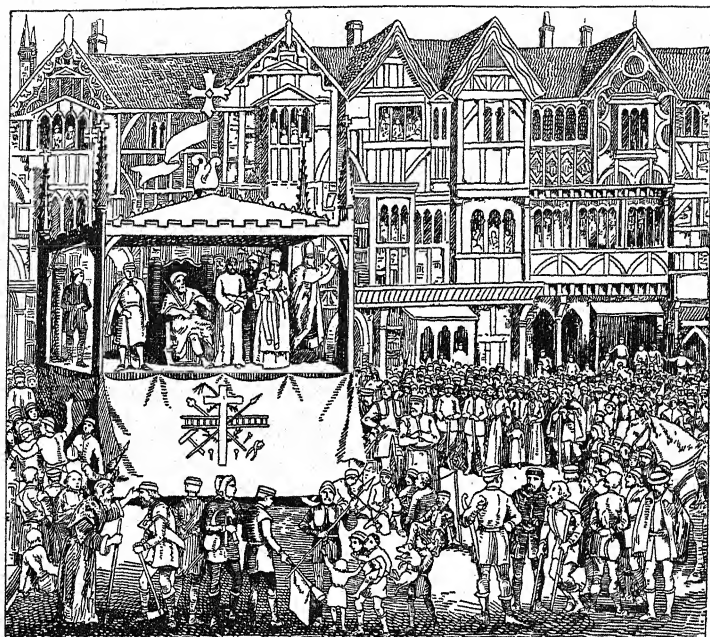
MUMMERS

From a manuscript now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.
It was written and illuminated in the reign of Edward III.

pranks and jokes, as in its present degenerate form. Even the festival of Christmas, coming at the winter solstice, kept some

¹ See page 48.

heathen features, such as the use of mistletoe with which Celtic priests once decked the altars of their gods. The Christmas tree, however, is not a relic of heathenism.



A MIRACLE PLAY AT COVENTRY, ENGLAND

The rude platform on wheels, which served as a stage, was drawn by apprentices to the market place. Each guild had its own stage.

Young and old took part in the dances which accompanied village festivals. Very popular in medieval England was the **The Morris dance**. The name, a corruption of Moorish, refers to its origin in Spain. The Morris dance was especially associated with May Day and was danced round a May pole to a lively and capering step. The performers represented Robin Hood, Maid Marian, his wife, Tom the Piper, and other traditional characters. On their garments they wore bells tuned to different notes, so as to sound in harmony.

Mumming had a particular association with Christmas. Mummers were bands of men and women who disguised themselves in masks and skins of animals and then serenaded people outside their houses. Often the mummers performed little dramas, in which Father Christmas, Old King Cole, and St. George were familiar figures. Mumming

Besides these village amusements, many plays of a religious character came into vogue during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The earliest were the miracle plays. They presented in dramatic form scenes from the Bible and stories of the saints or martyrs. The actors at first were priests, and the stage was the church itself or the churchyard. This religious setting did not prevent the introduction of clowns and buffoons. After a time the miracle play passed from the clergy to the guilds. All the guilds of a town usually gave an exhibition once a year. Each guild presented a single scene in the story. An exhibition might last for several days and have as many as fifty scenes, beginning at Creation and ending with Doomsday.¹ Miracle plays

The miracle plays were followed by the "moralities." They dealt with the struggle between good and evil, rather than with religious history. Characters such as Charity, Faith, Prudence, Riches, Confession, and Death appeared and enacted a story intended to teach moral lessons. Out of the rude "morality" and its predecessor, the miracle play, has grown the drama of modern times. Morality plays

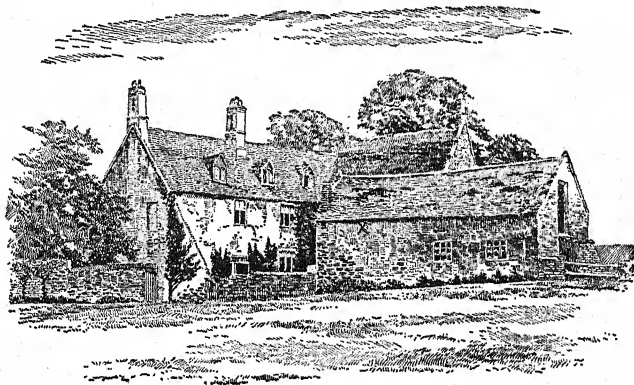
106. Manners and Customs

A previous chapter² described some features of domestic life in castle and village during the age of feudalism. In England, where the Norman kings discouraged castle building, the manor house formed the ordinary residence of the nobility. Even in Continental Europe many castles were gradually made over into manor houses after the Dwellings

¹ The Passion Play at Ober-Ammergau in Germany is the modern representative of this medieval religious drama.

² Chapter vi.

cessation of feudal warfare. A manor house, however, was only less bare and inconvenient than a castle. It was still poorly lighted, ill-ventilated, and in winter scarcely warmed by the open wood fires. Among the improvements of the fourteenth century were the building of a fireplace at one or both ends of the manor hall, instead of in the center, and the substitution of glass windows for wooden shutters or oiled paper.



SULGRAVE MANOR

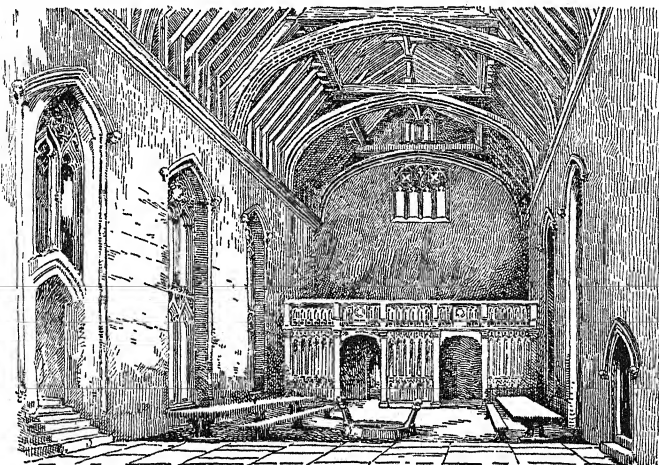
Sulgrave, in Northamptonshire, was the ancestral home of the Washington family. The manor house, built by Lawrence Washington about the middle of the sixteenth century, bears the family coat-of-arms on the porch. This historic dwelling has been purchased by an English committee for preservation as a memorial of the friendship and blood-relationship between England and the United States.

People in the Middle Ages, even the well-to-do, got along with little furniture. The great hall of a manor house contained a long dining table, with benches used at meals, and a few stools. The family beds often occupied curtained recesses in the walls, but guests might have to sleep on the floor of the manor hall. Servants often slept in the stables. Few persons could afford rugs to cover the floor; the poor had to put up with rushes. Utensils were not numerous, and articles of glass and silver were practically unknown, except in the houses of the rich.

The pictures in old manuscripts give us a good idea of medieval dress. Naturally it varied with time and place, according

to the social position of the wearer. Sometimes laws were passed, without much result, to regulate the quality, shape, and cost of the costumes to be worn by different orders of society. The moralists of the age were shocked when tightly fitting garments, which showed the outlines of the body, became fashionable. The inconvenience of putting them

Costume



INTERIOR OF AN ENGLISH MANOR HOUSE

Shows the great hall of a manor house at Penshurst, Kent. The screen with the minstrels' gallery over it is seen at the end of the hall, and in the center, the brazier for fire. Built about 1340.

on led to the use of buttons and buttonholes. Women's head-dresses were often of extraordinary height and shape. Not less remarkable were the pointed shoes worn by men. The points finally got so long that they hindered walking, unless tied to the knees by a ribbon.

The medieval noble of the twelfth century as a rule went clean shaven. To wear a beard was regarded as a sign of effeminacy in a man. The Bayeux Tapestry,¹ for instance, shows the Normans mostly clean-shaven, while the English wear only moustaches. The introduction of long beards

Beards

¹ See the illustration, page 107.

seems to have been due to contact with the East during the crusading period.

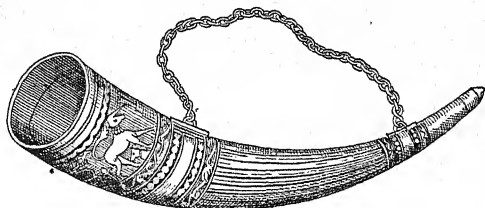
Regular bathing was not by any means neglected during the later Middle Ages. In the country districts river, lake, or pool met the needs of people used to outdoor life. The Baths and bathing hot air and vapor baths of the Byzantines were adopted by the Moslems and later, through the Moors and crusaders, were made known to western Europe. After the beginning of the thirteenth century few large cities lacked public bathing places.



COSTUMES OF LADIES DURING THE LATER MIDDLE AGES

Medieval cookbooks show that people of means had all sorts of elaborate and expensive dishes. Dinner at a nobleman's house might include as many as ten or twelve courses, mostly meats and game. Such things as hedgehogs, peacocks, sparrows, and porpoises, which would hardly tempt the modern palate, were relished. Much use was made of spices in preparing meats and gravies, and also for flavoring wines. Over-eating was a common vice in the Middle Ages, but their open-air life and constant exercise enabled men and women to digest the huge quantities of food they consumed.

People in medieval times had no knives or forks and consequently ate with their fingers. Daggers also were employed to convey food to the mouth. Forks date from the Table end of the thirteenth century, but were adopted etiquette only slowly. As late as the sixteenth century German preachers condemned their use, for, said they, the Lord would not have given us fingers if he had wanted us to rely on forks. Napkins are another table convenience unknown in the Middle Ages.



ANGLO-SAXON DRINKING HORN

Horn of Ulphus (Wulf) in the cathedral of York.

In the absence of tea and coffee, ale and beer formed the drink of the common people. The upper classes regaled themselves on costly wines. Drunkenness was as common and as little reprobated as gluttony. The Drinking monotony of life in medieval Europe, when the nobles had little to do but hunt and fight, may partly account for the prevailing inebriety. But doubtless in large measure it was a Teutonic characteristic. The Northmen were hard drinkers, and of the ancient Germans a Roman writer states that "to pass an entire day and night in drinking disgraces no one."¹ This habit of intoxication survived in medieval Germany, and the Anglo-Saxons and Danes introduced it into England.

Studies

1. Look up on the map between pages 62-63 the following places where Gothic cathedrals are found: Canterbury, York, Salisbury, Reims, Amiens, Chartres, Cologne, Strassburg, Burgos, Toledo, and Milan. 2. Look up on the map facing page 342 the location of the following medieval universities: Oxford, Mont-

¹ Tacitus, *Germania*, 22.

pellier, Paris, Orléans, Cologne, Leipzig, Prague, Naples, and Salamanca. 3. Explain the following terms: scholasticism; canon law; alchemy; troubadours; Provençal language; transept; choir; flying buttress; werewolf; and mumming. 4. Who were St. Thomas Aquinas, Abelard, Gratian, Irnerius, and Roger Bacon? 5. Show how Latin served as an international language in the Middle Ages. Name two artificial languages which have been invented as a substitute for Latin. 6. What is meant by saying that "French is a mere *patois* of Latin"? 7. In what parts of the world is English now the prevailing speech? 8. Why has Siegfried, the hero of the *Nibelungenlied*, been called the "Achilles of Teutonic legend"? 9. What productions of medieval literature reflect aristocratic and democratic ideals, respectively? 10. Distinguish between the Romanesque and Gothic styles of architecture. What is the origin of each term? 11. Contrast a Gothic cathedral with a Greek temple, particularly in regard to size, height, support of the roof, windows, and decorative features. 12. Why is there some excuse for describing a Gothic building as "a wall of glass with a roof of stone"? 13. Do you see any resemblance in structural features between a Gothic cathedral and a modern "sky-scraper"? 14. Mention some likenesses between medieval and modern universities. 15. Mention some important subjects of instruction in modern universities which were not treated in those of the Middle Ages. 16. Why has scholasticism been called "a sort of Aristotelian Christianity"? 17. Look up the original meaning of the words "jovial," "saturnine," "mercurial," "disastrous," "contemplate," and "consider." 18. Show the indebtedness of chemistry to alchemy and of astronomy to astrology. 19. Mention some common folk tales which illustrate medieval superstitions. 20. Why was Friday regarded as a specially unlucky day? 21. Enumerate the most important contributions to civilization made during the Middle Ages.

CHAPTER XIII

THE RENAISSANCE¹

107. Meaning of the Renaissance

THE French word Renaissance means Rebirth or Revival. It is a convenient term for all the changes in society, law, and government, in science, philosophy, and religion, and in literature and art which gradually transformed medieval civilization into that of modern times. The Renaissance, just because of its transitional character, cannot be exactly dated. In general, it covers the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Some Renaissance movements, however, started before 1300. For instance, the study of Roman law, as a substitute for Germanic custom, was well advanced in the twelfth century. The commercial development of the crusading era began during the same period. Other Renaissance movements, again, extended beyond 1500. Among these were the expansion of geographical knowledge, resulting from the discovery of the New World, and the revolt against the Papacy, known as the Protestant Reformation. The Middle Ages, in fact, came to an end at different times in different fields of human activity.

Limits
of the
Renaissance

The name Renaissance applied, at first, only to the rebirth or revival of men's interest in the literature and art of classical antiquity. Italy was the original home of this Renaissance. There it first appeared, there it found widest acceptance, and there it reached its highest development. From Italy the Renaissance gradually spread beyond the Alps, until it had made the round of western Europe.

Original
home of the
Renaissance

Italy was a land particularly favorable to the growth of

¹ Webster, *Readings in Medieval and Modern History*, chapter xix, "A Scholar of the Renaissance"; chapter xx, "Renaissance Artists."

learning and the arts. In northern Italy the great cities of **Italian cities of the Renaissance** Milan, Pisa, Genoa, Florence, Venice, and many others had early succeeded in throwing off their feudal burdens and had become independent, self-governing communities. Democracy flourished in them, as in the old Greek city-states. Noble birth counted for little; a man of ability and ambition might rise to any place. The fierce party conflicts within their walls stimulated mental activity and helped to make life full, varied, and intense. Their widespread trade and thriving manufactures made them prosperous. Wealth brought leisure, bred a taste for luxury and the refinements of life, and gave means for the gratification of that taste. People wanted to have about them beautiful pictures, statuary, furniture, palaces, and churches; and they rewarded richly the artists who could produce such things. It is not without significance that the birthplace of the Italian Renaissance was democratic, industrial, and wealthy Florence.¹

Italy enjoyed another advantage over the other European countries in its nearness to Rome. **Influence of the classic tradition** Roman civilization, as expressed in literature, art, and law, was felt by all Italians. Wherever they looked, they were reminded of the great past which once had been theirs. Nor was the inheritance of Greece wholly lost. Greek traders and the descendants of Greek colonists in Italy still used their ancient language; all through the medieval centuries there were Italians who studied Greek. The classic tradition survived in Italy and defied oblivion.

In the Middle Ages Italy formed a meeting place of several civilizations. Byzantine influence was felt both in the north and in the south. **Byzantine, Arabic, and Norman influence** The conquest of Sicily by the Arabs made the Italians familiar with the science, art, and poetry of this cultivated people. After the Normans had established themselves in southern Italy and Sicily, they in turn developed a brilliant civilization. From all these sources flowed streams of cultural influence which united in the Renaissance.

¹ See pages 239-240.

108. Revival of Learning in Italy

The literature of Greece and Rome did not entirely disappear in western Europe after the Teutonic invasions. The monastery and cathedral schools of the Middle Ages had nourished devoted students of ancient books. The Benedictine monks labored zealously in copying the works of pagan as well as Christian authors. The rise of universities made it possible for the student to pursue a fairly extended course in Latin literature at more than one institution of learning. Greek literature, however, was little known in the West. The poems of Homer were read only in a Latin summary, and even Aristotle's writings were studied in Latin translations.

Reverence for the classics finds constant expression in the writings of the Italian poet Dante. He was a native of Florence, but

Dante
Alighieri,
1265-1321

passed many years of his life in exile. Dante's most famous work, the *Divine Comedy*, describes an imaginary visit to the other world. Vergil guides him through the realms of Hell and Purgatory until he meets his lady Beatrice, who conducts him through Paradise. The *Divine Comedy* gives in artistic verse an epitome of all that medieval men knew and hoped and felt: it is a mirror of the Middle Ages. At the same time it drew much of its inspiration from Græco-Roman sources. Homer, for Dante, is the "loftiest of poets"; and Aristotle is the "master of those who know."

Dante exerted a noteworthy influence on the Italian language. He wrote the *Divine Comedy*, not in Latin, but in the vernacular Italian as spoken in Florence. The popularity of this work helped to give currency to the Florentine dialect, and in time it became the literary language of Italy.

The classics
in the
Middle Ages



MASK OF DANTE

Dante and
the Italian
language

Petrarch, a younger contemporary of Dante, and like him a native of Florence, has been called the first modern scholar and man of letters. He devoted himself with tireless

**Petrarch,
1304-1374**

energy to classical studies. Writing to a friend, Petrarch declares that he has read Vergil, Horace, Livy, and Cicero, "not once, but a thousand times, not cursorily, but studiously and intently, bringing to them the best powers of



PETRARCH

From a miniature in the Laurentian Library, Florence.

my mind. I tasted in the morning and digested at night. I quaffed as a boy, to ruminate as an old man. These works have become so familiar to me that they cling not to my memory merely, but to the very marrow of my bones."

Petrarch himself composed many Latin works and did much to spread a

**Petrarch
as a Latin
revivalist**

knowledge of Latin authors. He traveled widely in Italy, France, and other countries, searching everywhere for ancient manuscripts. When he found in one place two lost orations of Cicero and in another place a col-

lection of Cicero's letters, he was transported with delight. He kept copyists in his house, at times as many as four, busily making transcripts of the manuscripts that he had discovered or borrowed. Petrarch knew almost no Greek. His copy of Homer, it is said, he often kissed, though he could not read it.

Petrarch's friend and disciple, Boccaccio, was the first to bring to Italy manuscripts of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. Having

3) **Boccaccio,
1313-1375**

learned some Greek, he wrote out a translation of those epic poems. But Boccaccio's fame to-day rests on the *Decameron*. It is a collection of one hundred stories written in Italian. They are supposed to be told by a merry company of men and women, who, during a plague at Florence, have retired to a villa in the country. The *Decameron* is one of the first important works in Italian prose. Many

English writers, notably Chaucer in his *Canterbury Tales*, have gone to it for ideas and plots. The modern short story may be said to date from Boccaccio.

The renewed interest in Latin literature, due to Petrarch, Boccaccio, and others, was followed in the fifteenth century by the revival of Greek literature. In 1396 Chrysoloras, a scholar from Constantinople, began to lecture on Greek in the university of Florence.

Study of
Greek in
Italy

He afterwards taught in other Italian cities and further aided the growth of Hellenic studies by preparing a Greek grammar — the first book of its kind. From this time, and especially after the fall of Constantinople in 1453, many learned Greeks came to Italy, transplanting in the West the culture of the East. "Greece had not perished, but had emigrated to Italy."

The classics opened up a new world of thought and fancy to the scholars of the fifteenth century. They were delighted by the fresh, original, and human ideas which they discovered in the pages of Homer, Plato, Cicero, Horace, and Tacitus. Their enthusiasm for the classics came to be known as humanism,¹ or culture. The Greek and Latin languages and literatures were henceforth the "humanities," as distinguished from scholastic philosophy and theology.

Humanism

From Florence, as from a second Athens, humanism spread throughout Italy. At Milan and Venice, at Rome and Naples, men fell to poring over the classics. A special feature of the age was the recovery of ancient manuscripts from monasteries and cathedrals, where they had often lain neglected and blackened with the dust of centuries. Libraries were established for their safe-keeping, professorships of the ancient languages were endowed, and scholars were given opportunities to pursue researches. Even the popes shared in this zeal for humanism. One of them founded the Vatican Library at Rome, which has the most valuable collection of manuscripts in the world. At Florence the wealthy family of the Medici vied with the popes in the patronage of classical literature.

Spread of
humanism
in Italy

¹ Latin *humanitas*, from *homo*, "man."

109. Paper and Printing

The revival of learning was greatly hastened when books printed on paper took the place of manuscripts laboriously copied by hand. The Chinese at a remote period made paper from some fibrous material, but the Arabs seem to have been the first to make it out of flax and rags.



AN EARLY PRINTING PRESS

Enlarged from the printer's mark of I. B. Ascensius. Used on the title pages of books printed by him between 1507-1535.

The manufacture of paper in Europe was established by the Moors in Spain. The Arab occupation of Sicily introduced the art into Italy. Paper found a ready sale in Europe, because papyrus and parchment, which the ancients had used as writing materials, were both expensive and bulky. Men now had a material moderate in price, durable, and one that would easily receive the impression of movable type.

The first step in the development of printing was the use of engraved blocks. Single letters, separate

words, and sometimes entire pages of text were cut in hard wood or metal. When inked and applied to paper, they left a clear impression. The second step was to cast the letters in separate pieces of metal, all of the same height and thickness. These could then be arranged in any desired way for printing.

Movable type had been used for centuries by the Chinese, Japanese, and Koreans in the East, and in Europe several printers have been credited with their invention. A German,

Development
of movable
type

Johann Gutenberg of Mainz, set up the first printing press with movable type about 1450, and from it issued the first printed book. This was a Latin translation of the Bible. Gutenberg

Printing met an especially warm welcome in Italy, where people felt so keen a desire for reading and instruction. By the end of the fifteenth century Venice alone had more than two hundred printing presses. Here Aldus and Caxton
Aldus Manutius maintained a famous establishment for printing Greek and Latin classics. In 1476 the English printer,

Tenne beganne agayne the bataylle of the one parte/ And of the other Eneas ascryed to theym and sayd. Lordes why doo ye fyghte/ Ye knowe well that the couenaunte ys deuysed and made/ That Turnus and I shall fyghte for you alle/

Tenne beganne agayne the bataylle of the one parte/ And of the other Eneas ascryed to theym and sayd. Lordes why doo ye fyghte/ Ye knowe well that the couenaunte ys deuysed and made/ That Turnus and I shall fyghte for you alle/

FACSIMILE OF PART OF CAXTON'S "ÆNEID" (REDUCED)

With the same passage in modern type.

William Caxton, set up his wooden presses within the precincts of Westminster Abbey. We owe to him editions of Chaucer's poems, Sir Thomas Malory's *Morte d'Arthur*,¹ *Æsop's Fables*, and many other works.

The books printed in the fifteenth century go by the name of *incunabula*.² Of the seven or eight million volumes which appeared before 1500, about thirty thousand are believed to be still in existence. Many of these earliest books were printed in heavy, "black letter" type, an imitation of the characters used in monkish manuscripts. It is still retained for most books printed in Germany. The clearer and neater "Roman" characters, resembling the letters employed for ancient Roman inscriptions, came into Incunabula

¹ See page 251. ² A Latin word meaning "cradle" or "birthplace," and so the beginning of anything.

use in southern Europe and England. The Aldine press at Venice originated "italic" type, said to be modeled after Petrarch's handwriting, to enable the printer to crowd more words on a page. Aldus Manutius also has the credit for the introduction of punctuation marks. In ancient writings words were run together successively, without any indication of pause or break in the sentence.

It is easy to see that printed books could be multiplied far more rapidly than manuscripts copied by hand. They could also be far more accurate than manuscripts, for an entire edition might be printed from the same type, thus eliminating mistakes in the different copies. Furthermore, the invention of printing destroyed the monopoly of learning possessed by the universities and people of wealth. Books were now the possession of the many, not the luxury of the few. Any one who could read had opened to him the gateway of knowledge; he became a citizen, henceforth, of the republic of letters. Printing, which made possible popular education, public libraries, and ultimately cheap newspapers, ranks with gunpowder as an emancipating force.

110. Revival of Art in Italy

Gothic architecture, with its pointed arches, flying buttresses, and traceried windows, never struck deep roots in Italy. The architects of the Renaissance went back to Greek temples and Roman domed buildings for their models, just as the humanists went back to Greek and Latin literature. Long rows of Ionic or Corinthian columns, spanned by round arches, became again the prevailing architectural style. Perhaps the most important feature of Renaissance architecture was the use of the dome, instead of the vault, for the roofs of churches. The majestic cupola of St. Peter's at Rome, which is modeled after the Pantheon, has become the parent of many domed structures in the Old and the New World.¹ Architects, however, did not limit themselves

¹ For instance, the Invalides in Paris, St. Paul's in London, and the Capitol at Washington.

to churches. The magnificent palaces of Florence, as well as some of those in Venice, are monuments of the Renaissance era. Henceforth architecture became more and more a secular art.

The development of architecture naturally stimulated the other arts. Italian sculptors began to copy the ancient bas-reliefs and statues preserved in Rome and other cities. At this time glazed terra cotta came to be used by sculptors. Another Renaissance art was the casting of bronze doors, with panels which represented Bible scenes.

Sculpture

The greatest of Renaissance sculptors was Michelangelo. Though a Florentine by birth, he lived for most of his life in Rome. A colossal statue of David, who looks like a Greek athlete, and another of Moses, seated and holding the tables of the law, are among his best-known works. Michelangelo also won fame in architecture and painting. The dome of St. Peter's was finished after his designs. Having been commissioned by one of the popes to decorate the ceiling of the Sistine chapel¹ in the Vatican, he painted a series of scenes which presented the Biblical story from the Creation to the Flood. These frescoes are unequalled for sublimity and power. On the end wall of the same chapel Michelangelo produced his fresco of the "Last Judgment," one of the most famous paintings in the world.

**Michelangelo,
1475-1564**

The early Italian painters contented themselves, at first, with imitating Byzantine mosaics and enamels.² Their work exhibited little knowledge of human anatomy: faces might be lifelike, but bodies were too slender and out of proportion. The figures of men and women were posed in stiff and conventional attitudes. The perspective also was false: objects which the painter wished to represent in the background were as near as those which he wished to represent in the foreground. In the fourteenth century, however, Italian painting abandoned the Byzantine style; achieved beauty of form, design, and color to an extent hitherto unknown; and became at length the supreme art of the Renaissance.

**Rise of
Italian
painting**

¹ In this chapel the election of a new pope takes place.

² See page 39.

Italian painting began in the service of the Church and always remained religious in character. Artists usually chose subjects from the Bible or the lives of the saints. They did not trouble themselves to secure correctness of costume, but painted ancient Jews, Greeks, and Romans in the garb of Italian gentlemen. Many of their pictures were frescoes, that is, the colors were mixed with water and applied to the plaster walls of churches and palaces. After the process of mixing oils with the colors was discovered, pictures on wood or canvas (easel paintings) became common. Italian painters excelled in portraiture. They were less successful with landscapes.

Among the "old masters" of Italian painting four, besides Michelangelo, stand out with special prominence. Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519) was architect, sculptor, musician, and engineer, as well as painter. His finest work, the "Last Supper," a fresco painting at Milan, is much damaged, but fortunately good copies of it exist. Paris has the best of his easel pictures — the "Mona Lisa." Leonardo spent four years on it and then declared that he could not finish it to his satisfaction. Leonardo's contemporary, Raphael (1483-1520), died before he was forty, but not before he had produced the "Sistine Madonna," now at Dresden, the "Transfiguration," in the Vatican Gallery at Rome, and many other famous compositions. Another artist, the Venetian Titian (1477? -1576), painted portraits unsurpassed for glowing color. His "Assumption of the Virgin" ranks among the greatest pictures in the world. Lastly must be noted the exquisite paintings of Correggio (1494-1534), among them the "Holy Night" and the "Marriage of St. Catherine."

Another modern art, that of music, arose in Italy during the Renaissance. In the sixteenth century the three-stringed rebeck received a fourth string and became the violin, the most expressive of all musical instruments. A forerunner of the pianoforte also appeared in the harpsichord. A papal organist and choir-master, Palestrina (1526-1594), was the first of the great composers. He gave



GHIBERTI'S BRONZE DOORS AT FLORENCE

The second or northern pair of bronze doors of the baptistery at Florence. Completed by Lorenzo Ghiberti in 1452 A.D., after twenty-seven years of labor. The ten panels represent scenes from Old Testament history. Michelangelo pronounced these magnificent creations worthy to be the gates of paradise.



ASSUMPTION OF THE VIRGIN — TITIAN



SISTINE MADONNA — RAPHAEL



THE LAST SUPPER — LEONARDO DA VINCI



MARRIAGE OF ST. CATHERINE
CORREGGIO



MONA LISA GIOCONDA
LEONARDO DA VINCI

music its fitting place in worship by composing melodious hymns and masses still sung in Roman Catholic churches. The oratorio, a religious drama set to music but without action, scenery, or costume, had its beginning at this time. The opera, however, was little developed until the eighteenth century.

111. Revival of Learning and Art beyond Italy

About the middle of the fifteenth century fire from the Italian altar was carried across the Alps, and a revival of learning began in northern lands. Italy had led the way by recovering the long-buried treasures of the classics and by providing means for their study. Scholars in Germany, France, and England, who now had the aid of the printing press, continued the intellectual movement and gave it widespread currency.

Spread of
humanism in
Europe

The foremost humanist of the age was Desiderius Erasmus. Though a native of Rotterdam in Holland, he lived for a time in Germany, France, England, and Italy, and died at Basel in Switzerland. His travels and extensive correspondence brought him in contact with most of the leading scholars of the day. Erasmus wrote many Latin works which were read and enjoyed by educated men. He might be called the first really popular author in Europe. Like Petrarch, he did much to encourage the humanistic movement by his precepts and his example. "When I have money," said this devotee of the classics, "I will first buy Greek books and then clothes."

Desiderius
Erasmus,
1466 (?)–1536

Erasmus performed his most important service as a Biblical critic. In 1516 he published the New Testament in the original Greek, with a Latin translation and a dedication to the pope. The only accessible edition of the New Testament up to this time was the old Latin version known as the Vulgate, which St. Jerome had made near the close of the fourth century. The work of Erasmus led to a better understanding of the New Testament and also prepared the way for translations of the Scriptures into the vernacular tongues. "I long that the husbandman should sing portions of them to

The Greek
Testament

himself as he follows the plough," wrote Erasmus, "that the weaver should hum them to the tune of his shuttle, and that the traveler should beguile with their stories the weariness of his journey." Another edition of the Greek New Testament

was issued at Alcalá in Spain by Cardinal Jimenes, six years after the appearance of the text by Erasmus.

Italian architects found a cordial reception in France, Spain, the Netherlands, and other countries, where

they introduced Renaissance styles of building and ornamentation. The celebrated palace of the Louvre in Paris, which is used to-day as an art gallery and museum, dates from the sixteenth century. At this time the French nobles began to replace their somber feudal dwellings by elegant country houses. Renaissance



DESIDERIUS ERASMUS

Louvre, Paris

A portrait by the German artist, Hans Holbein the Younger (1497-1543). Probably an excellent likeness of Erasmus.

sance sculpture also spread beyond Italy throughout Europe. Painters in northern countries at first followed Italian models, but afterwards produced masterpieces of their own.

112. The Renaissance in Literature

The renewed interest in classical studies for a while retarded the development of national languages and literatures in Europe. To humanists only Latin and Greek seemed worthy of notice. Petrarch, for instance, composed in Italian beautiful sonnets which are still much admired, but he himself expected to gain literary immortality through his Latin works. Another Italian humanist went so far as to call Dante "a poet for bakers and cobblers,"

**Humanism
and the
vernacular**

and the *Divine Comedy* was indeed translated into Latin a few years after the author's death.

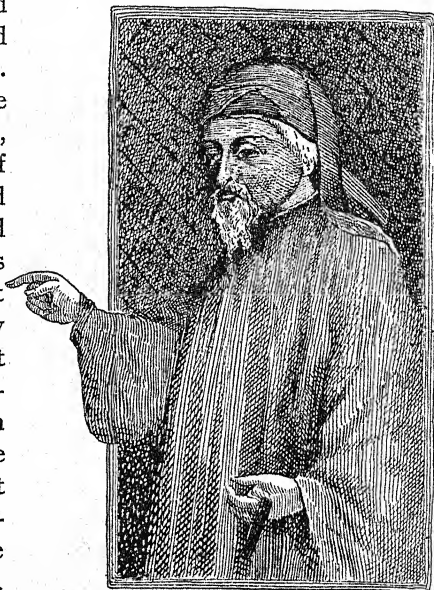
But a return to the vernacular was bound to come. The common people understood little Latin, and Greek not at all. Yet they had learned to read and they now had the printing press. Before long many books composed in Italian, Spanish, French, English, and other national languages made their appearance. This revival of the vernacular meant that henceforth European literature would be more creative and original than was possible when writers merely imitated or translated the classics. The models provided by Greece and Rome still continued, however, to furnish inspiration to men of letters.

The Florentine historian and diplomat, Machiavelli, by his book, *The Prince*, did much to found the modern science of politics. Machiavelli, as a patriotic Italian, felt keen distress at the divided condition of Italy, where numerous petty states were constantly at war. In *The Prince* he tried to show how a strong, despotic ruler might set up a national state in the peninsula. He thought that such a ruler ought not to be bound by the ordinary rules of morality. He must often act "against faith, against charity, against humanity, and against religion." The end would justify the means. Success was everything; morality, nothing. This dangerous doctrine has received the name of "Machiavellism."

Spain during the sixteenth century gave to the world in Cervantes the only Spanish writer who has achieved a great reputation outside his own country. Cervantes's masterpiece, *Don Quixote*, seems to have been intended as a burlesque upon the romances of chivalry once so popular in Europe. The hero, Don Quixote, attended by his shrewd and faithful squire, Sancho Panza, rides forth to perform deeds of knight-errantry, but meets, instead, the most absurd adventures. The work is a vivid picture of Spanish life. Nobles, priests, monks, traders, farmers, innkeepers, muleteers, barbers, beggars — all these pass before our eyes as in a panorama. *Don Quixote* immediately became popular,

and it is even more read now than it was three centuries ago.

The Flemish writer, Froissart, deserves notice as a historian and as one of the founders of French prose. His **Froissart, 1337 (?)–1410** *Chronicles* present an account of the fourteenth century, when the age of feudalism was fast drawing to an end. He admired chivalry and painted it in glowing colors. He liked to describe tournaments, battles, sieges, and feats of arms. Kings and nobles, knights and squires, are the actors on his stage. Froissart traveled in many countries and got much of his information at first hand from those who had made history. Out of what he learned he composed a picturesque and romantic story, which still captivates the imagination.



GEOFFREY CHAUCER

From an old manuscript in the British Museum, London. The only existing portrait of Chaucer.

A very different sort of writer was the Frenchman, Montaigne. He lives to-day as **Montaigne, 1533–1592** the author of one hundred and seven essays, very delightful in style and full of wit and wisdom. Montaigne popularized the essay, a form of literature in which he has had many imitators.

Geoffrey Chaucer, who has been called the “morning star” of **Chaucer, 1340 (?)–1400** the English Renaissance, was a story-teller in verse. His *Canterbury Tales* are supposed to be told by a company of pilgrims, as they journey from London

to Canterbury. Chaucer describes freshly and with unfailing good spirits the life of the middle and upper classes. He does not reveal, any more than his contemporary Froissart, the labor and sorrows of the down-trodden peasantry. But Chaucer was a true poet, and his name stands high in England's long roll of men of letters.



SHAKESPEARE'S BIRTHPLACE, STRATFORD-ON-AVON

The house in which Shakespeare was born has been much altered in exterior appearance since the poet's day. The timber framework, the floors, most of the interior walls, and the cellars remain, however, substantially unchanged. The illustration shows the appearance of the house before the extensive restoration made in 1857.

This survey of the national authors of the Renaissance may fitly close with William Shakespeare, whose genius transcended geographical boundaries and made him a citizen **Shakespeare, 1564-1616** of all the world. His life is known to us only in barest outline. Born at Stratford-on-Avon, of humble parentage, he attended the village grammar school, where he learned "small Latin and less Greek," went to London as a youth, and became an actor and a playwright. He prospered, made money both from his acting and the sale of his plays, and bought himself a country home at Stratford. Here he died at the early age of fifty-two, and here his grave may still be seen in the village church. During his residence in London he wrote, in whole or in part, thirty-six or thirty-seven dramas, both trage-

dies and comedies. They were not collected and published until several years after his death. Shakespeare's plays were read and praised by his contemporaries, but it has remained for modern men to see in him one who ranks with Homer, Vergil, Dante, and Goethe among the great poets of the world.

Renaissance poets and prose writers revealed themselves in their books. The sculptors and painters of the Renaissance also worked out their own ideas and emotions in their masterpieces. This personal note affords a sharp contrast to the anonymity of the Middle Ages. We do not know the authors of the *Song of Roland*, the *Nibelungenlied*, and *Reynard the Fox*, any more than we know the builders of the Gothic cathedrals. Medieval literature subordinated the individual; that of the Renaissance expressed the sense of individuality and man's interest in himself. It was truly "humanistic."

113. The Renaissance in Education

The universities of the Middle Ages emphasized scholastic philosophy, though in some institutions law and medicine also received much attention. Greek, of course, was not taught, the vernacular languages of Europe were not studied, and neither science nor history enjoyed the esteem of learned men. The Renaissance brought about a partial change in this curriculum. The classical languages and literatures, after some opposition, gained an entrance into university courses and displaced scholastic philosophy as the chief subject of instruction. From the universities the study of the "humanities" descended to the lower schools.

An Italian humanist, Vittorino da Feltre, was the pioneer of Renaissance education. In his private school at Mantua, the "House of Delight," as it was called, Vittorino aimed to develop at the same time the body, mind, and character of his pupils, so as to fit them to "serve God in Church and State." Accordingly, he gave much attention to religious instruction and also set a high value on athletics. The sixty or seventy young men under his

Personality in
Renaissance
literature

Humanism
and educa-
tion

Vittorino da
Feltre, 1378-
1446

care were taught to hunt and fish, to run and jump, to wrestle and fence, to walk gracefully, and above all things to be temperate. For intellectual training he depended on the Latin classics, as the best means of introducing students to the literature, art, and philosophy of ancient times. Vittorino's name is not widely known to-day; he left no writings, preferring, as he said, to live in the lives of his pupils; but there is scarcely a modern teacher who does not consciously or unconsciously follow his methods. More than any one else, he is responsible for the educational system which has prevailed in Europe almost to the present day.



BOYS' SPORTS

An illustration in an old English edition (1659) of Comenius's *Orbis Pictus* (Illustrated World). This was the first picture book ever made for children, and for a century it remained the most popular school text in Europe.

A Moravian bishop named Comenius, who gave his long life almost wholly to teaching, stands for a reaction against humanistic education. He proposed that the vernacular tongues, as well as the classics, should be made subjects of study. For this purpose he prepared a reading book, which was translated into a dozen European languages, and even into Arabic, Persian, and Turkish. Comenius also believed that the curriculum should include the study of geography, world history, and government, and the practice of the manual arts. He was one of the first to advocate the teaching of science. Perhaps his most notable idea was that of a national system of education, reaching from primary grades to the university. "Not only," he writes, "are the children of the rich and noble to be drawn to school, but all alike, rich and poor, boys and

Comenius,
1592-1671

girls, in great towns and small, down to the country villages." The influence of this Slavic teacher is more and more felt in modern systems of education.

114. The Scientific Renaissance

The Middle Ages were not by any means ignorant of science, but its study naturally received a great impetus when the Renaissance brought before educated men all that the Greeks and Romans had done in mathematics, physics, astronomy, medicine, and other subjects. The invention of printing also fostered the scientific revival by making it easy to spread knowledge abroad in every land. The pioneers of Renaissance science were Italians, but students in France, England, Germany, and other countries soon took up the work of enlightenment.

The names of some Renaissance scientists stand as landmarks in the history of thought. The first place must be given to Copernicus, the founder of modern astronomy. He was a Pole, but lived many years in Italy. Patient study and calculation led him to the conclusion that the earth turns upon its own axis, and, together with the planets, revolves around the sun. The book in which he announced this conclusion did not appear until the very end of his life. A copy of it reached him on his deathbed.

Humanism
and
science

Copernicus,
1473-1543

Astronomers before Copernicus generally accepted the doctrine, formulated by Ptolemy in the second century, that the earth was the center of the universe. Some students had indeed suggested that the earth and planets might rotate about a central sun, but Copernicus first gave scientific reasons for such a belief. His new theory met much opposition, not only in the universities, which clung to the time-honored Ptolemaic system, but also among theologians, who thought that it contradicted statements in the Bible. Moreover, people could not easily reconcile themselves to the idea that the earth is only one member of the solar system, that it is, in fact, only one of many worlds.

The Coper-
nican theory

2) An Italian scientist, Galileo, made one of the first telescopes

— it was about as powerful as an opera glass — and turned it on the heavenly bodies with wonderful results. He ^{Galileo,} found the sun moving unmistakably on its axis, ¹⁵⁶⁴⁻¹⁶⁴² Venus showing phases according to her position in relation to the sun, Jupiter accompanied by revolving moons, or satellites, and the Milky Way composed of a multitude of separate stars. Galileo rightly believed that these discoveries confirmed the theory of Copernicus.

Another man of genius, the German Kepler, worked out the mathematical laws which govern the movements of the planets. He made it clear that the planets revolve around ^{Kepler,} the sun in elliptical instead of circular orbits. ¹⁵⁷¹⁻¹⁶³⁰ Kepler's investigations afterwards led to the discovery of the principle of gravitation.

Two other scientists did epochal work in a field far removed from astronomy. Vesalius, a Fleming, who studied in Italian medical schools, gave to the world the first careful description of the human body based on actual dissection. He was thus the founder of human ^{Vesalius,} anatomy. ^{1514-1564,} Harvey, an Englishman, after observing living animals, announced the discovery of the circulation of the blood. ^{and Harvey,} He thereby founded human physiology. ¹⁵⁷⁸⁻¹⁶⁵⁷

Copernicus, Galileo, Kepler, Vesalius, Harvey, and their fellow workers built up the scientific method. Students in the Middle Ages had mostly been satisfied to accept ^{The} what Aristotle and other philosophers had said, ^{scientific} without trying to verify their statements. ^{method} Kepler, for instance, was the first to disprove the Aristotelian idea that, since all perfect motion is circular, therefore the heavenly bodies must move in circular orbits. Similarly, it was necessary to wait many centuries before Harvey showed Aristotle's error in supposing that the blood arose in the liver, went thence to the heart, and by the veins was conducted over the body. The new scientific method rested on observation and experiment. As Lord Bacon,¹ one of Shakespeare's contemporaries and a

¹ Not to be confused with his countryman, Roger Bacon, who lived in the thirteenth century. See page 263.

severe critic of the old scholasticism, declared, "All depends on keeping the eye steadily fixed upon the facts of nature, and so receiving their images simply as they are, for God forbid that we should give out a dream of our own imagination for a pattern of the world." Modern science, to which we owe so much, is a product of the Renaissance.

115. The Economic Renaissance

The Renaissance thus far has been studied as an intellectual and artistic movement, which did much to liberate the human mind and brought the Middle Ages to an end in art, in literature, and in science. It is necessary, however, to consider the Renaissance era from another point of view. During this time an economic change of vast significance was taking place in rural life all over western Europe. We refer to the decline and ultimate extinction of medieval serfdom.

Serfdom imposed a burden only less heavy than the slavery which it had displaced. The serf, as has been shown,¹ might not leave the manor on which he was born, he might not sell his holding of land, and, finally, he had to give up a large part of his time to work without pay for the lord of the manor. This system of forced labor was at once unprofitable to the lord and irksome to his serfs. After the revival of trade and industry in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries had brought more money into circulation,² the lord discovered how much better it was to hire men to work for him, as he needed them, instead of depending on serfs who shirked their tasks as far as possible. The latter, in turn, were glad to pay the lord a fixed sum for the use of land, since now they could devote themselves entirely to its cultivation. Eventually, the manorial lord developed into the modern landlord, the proprietor of the soil, while the peasants became tenant-farmers, who paid rent for their holdings.

The emancipation of the peasantry was hastened, strangely enough, as the result of perhaps the most terrible calamity that has ever afflicted mankind. About the middle of the fourteenth century a pestilence of Asiatic

¹ See page 134.

² See page 235.

origin, now known to have been the bubonic plague, reached the West. The "Black Death," so called because among its symptoms were dark patches all over the body, moved steadily across Europe. The way for its ravages had been prepared by the unhealthful conditions of ventilation and drainage in towns and cities. After attacking Greece, Sicily, Italy, Spain, France, and Germany, the plague entered England in 1349 and within less than two years swept away probably half the population of that country. The mortality elsewhere was enormous, one estimate, perhaps excessive, setting it as high as twenty-five millions for all Europe.

The pestilence in England, as in other countries, caused a great scarcity of labor. For want of hands to bring in the harvest, crops rotted on the ground, while sheep and cattle, with no one to care for them, strayed through the deserted fields. The free peasants who survived demanded and received higher wages. Even the serfs, whose labor was now more valued, found themselves in a better position. The lord of a manor, in order to keep his laborers, would often allow them to substitute money payments for personal services. When the serfs secured no concessions, they frequently took to flight and hired themselves to the highest bidder.

Effects of
the "Black
Death"

The governing classes of England, who at this time were mainly landowners, believed that the peasantry was taking an unfair advantage of the situation. So in 1351 Parliament passed a law fixing the maximum wage in different occupations and punishing with imprisonment those who refused to accept work when it was offered to them. The fact that Parliament had to reenact this law thirteen times within the next century shows that it did not succeed in preventing a general rise of wages.

First Statute
of Laborers,
1351

A few years after the first Statute of Laborers the restlessness and discontent among the masses led to a serious outbreak. It was one of the few attempts at violent revolution which the English working people have made. One of the inspirers of the rebellion was a wandering priest named John Ball. He

went about preaching that all goods should be held in common and the distinction between lords and serfs wiped away. "When Adam delfed and Eve span, who was then the gentleman?" asked John Ball. Up-
 risings occurred in nearly every part of England, but the one in Kent had most importance. The rioters marched on London and presented their demands to the youthful king, Richard II. He promised to abolish serfdom and to give them

The
Peasants'
Rebellion,
1381

a free pardon. As soon, however, as Richard had gathered an army, he put down the revolt by force and hanged John Ball and about a hundred of his followers.

The rebellion in England may be compared with the far more terrible Jacquerie¹ in France, a few years earlier. The

The French peasants, who suffered from
 Jacquerie, 1358



RICHARD II

After an engraving based on the original in Westminster Abbey. Probably the oldest authentic portrait in England.

any reasonable purpose; it was an outburst of blind passion. The nobles avenged themselves by slaughtering the peasants in great numbers.

Nevertheless the emancipation of the peasantry went steadily on throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Serfdom by 1500 had virtually disappeared in Italy, in most parts of France, and in England. Some less

Extinction
of serfdom

¹ From *Jacques*, a common French name for a peasant.

avored countries retained serfdom much longer. Prussian, Austrian, and Russian serfs did not receive their freedom until the nineteenth century.

The extinction of serfdom was, of course, a forward step in human freedom, but the lot of the English and Continental peasantry long remained wretched. The poem *Condition of Piers Plowman*, written in the time of Chaucer, the peasantry shows the misery of the age and reveals a very different picture than that of the holiday-making, merry England seen in the *Canterbury Tales*. One hundred and fifty years later, the English humanist, Sir Thomas More, a friend of Erasmus, published his *Utopia* as a protest against social abuses. *Utopia*, or "Nowhere," is an imaginary country, whose inhabitants choose their own rulers, hold all property in common, and work only nine hours a day. In *Utopia* a public system of education prevails, cruel punishments are unknown, and every one enjoys complete freedom to worship God. This remarkable book, though it pictures an ideal commonwealth, really anticipates many social reforms of the present time.

Studies

1. Prepare a chronological chart showing the leading men of letters, artists, scientists, and educators mentioned in this chapter.
2. For what were the following persons noted: Chrysoloras; Vittorino da Feltre; Gutenberg; Boccaccio; Machiavelli; Harvey; and Galileo?
3. How did the words "machievellism" and "utopian" get their present meanings?
4. Distinguish and define the three terms, "Renaissance," "Revival of Learning," and "Humanism."
5. "Next to the discovery of the New World, the recovery of the ancient world is the second landmark that divides us from the Middle Ages and marks the transition to modern life." Comment on this statement.
6. Why did the Renaissance begin as "an Italian event"?
7. "City-states have always proved favorable to culture." Illustrate this remark.
8. Why was the revival of Greek more important in the history of civilization than the revival of Latin?
9. Show that printing was an "emancipating force."
10. With what paintings by the "old masters" are you familiar?
11. How does the opera differ from the oratorio?
12. Why has Froissart been styled the "French Herodotus"?
13. How many of Shakespeare's plays can you name? How many have you read?
14. Can you mention any of Shakespeare's plays which are founded on Italian stories or whose scenes are laid in Italy?
15. Why did the classical scholar come to be regarded as the only educated man?
16. In what respects is the American system of education a realization of the ideals of Comenius?
17. Did the medieval interest in astrology retard or further astronomical research?
18. How did the discoveries of Galileo and Kepler confirm the Copernican theory?
19. What is meant by the "emancipation of the peasantry"?

CHAPTER XIV

GEOGRAPHICAL DISCOVERY AND COLONIZATION IN THE FIFTEENTH AND SIXTEENTH CENTURIES¹

116. Medieval Geography

THERE was also a geographical Renaissance. The revival of exploration brought about the discovery of ocean routes to the Far East and the Americas. In consequence, commerce was vastly stimulated, and two continents, hitherto unknown, were opened up to civilization. The geographical Renaissance, which gave man a New World, thus cooperated with the other movements of the age in bringing about the transition from medieval to modern times.

The Greeks and Romans had become familiar with a large part of Europe and Asia, but much of their learning was either forgotten or perverted during the early Middle Ages. Even the wonderful discoveries of the Northmen in the North Atlantic gradually faded from memory. The Arabs, whose conquests and commerce extended over so much of the Orient, far surpassed the Christian peoples of Europe in knowledge of the world.

The alliance of medieval geography with theology had some curious results. Map makers, relying on a passage in the Old Testament,² usually placed Jerusalem in the center of the world. A Scriptural reference to the "four corners of the earth"³ was sometimes thought to imply the existence of a rectangular world. From classical sources came stories of monstrous men, one-eyed, headless, or dog-headed, who were supposed to inhabit remote regions. Equally monstrous animals, such as the unicorn and dragon, kept

¹ Webster, *Readings in Medieval and Modern History*, chapter xxi, "The Travels of Marco Polo"; chapter xxii, "The Aborigines of the New World."

² *Ezekiel*, v, 5.

³ *Isaiah*, x, 12.

them company. Sailors' "yarns" must have been responsible for the belief that the ocean boiled at the equator and that in the Atlantic — the "Sea of Darkness" — lurked serpents huge enough to sink ships. To the real dangers of travel by land and water people thus added imaginary terrors.

The crusades first extended geographical knowledge by fostering pilgrimages and missions in Oriental lands. Opening up With the pilgrims and missionaries went nu- of Asia merous merchants, who brought back to Europe the wealth of the East. The result, by 1300, was to open up countries beyond the Euphrates which had remained sealed to Europe for centuries. This discovery of the interior of Asia had only less importance than that of the New World two hundred years later.



GEOGRAPHICAL MONSTERS

From an early edition of Sir John Mandeville's *Travels*. Shakespeare (*Othello*, I, iii, 144-145) refers to

"The Anthropophagi, and men whose heads
Do grow beneath their shoulders."

What specially drew explorers eastward was the belief that somewhere in the center of Asia existed a great Christian kingdom which, if allied to European Christendom, might attack the Moslems from the rear. Legend of According Prester John to one form of the story, the kingdom consisted of the Ten Tribes of Israel, who had been converted to Christianity by Nestorian missionaries.¹ Over them reigned a priest-king named Prester (or Presbyter) John. The popes made several attempts to communicate with this mythical ruler. In the thirteenth century, however, Franciscan friars did penetrate to the heart of Asia. They returned to Europe with marvelous tales of the wealth and splendor of the East under the Mongol emperors.

The most famous of all medieval travelers were Nicolo and

¹ See page 50.

Maffeo Polo, and Nicolo's son, Marco. These Venetian merchants made an adventurous journey through the heart of Asia to the court of Kublai Khan at Peking.¹ The Mongol ruler, who seems to have been anxious to introduce Christianity and European culture among his people, received them in a friendly manner, and they amassed much wealth by trade. Marco entered the khan's service and went on several expeditions to distant parts of the Mongol realm. Many years passed before Kublai would allow his useful guests to return to Europe. They sailed at length from Zaitun, a Chinese seaport, skirted the coast of southeastern Asia and India, and then proceeded overland to the Mediterranean. When the travelers reached Venice after an absence of twenty-four years, their relatives were slow to recognize in them the long-lost Polos.²

The story of the Polos, as written down at Marco's dictation, became one of the most popular works of the Middle Ages.

Marco Polo's book In this book people read of far Cathay (China), with its wealth, its huge cities, and swarming population, of mysterious and secluded Tibet, of Burma, Siam, and Cochin-China, with their palaces and pagodas, of the East Indies, famed for spices, of Ceylon, abounding in pearls, and of India, little known since the days of Alexander the Great. Even Cipango (Japan) Marco described from hearsay as an island whose inhabitants were white, civilized, and so rich in gold that the royal palace was roofed and paved with that metal. The accounts of these countries naturally made Europeans more eager than ever to reach the East.

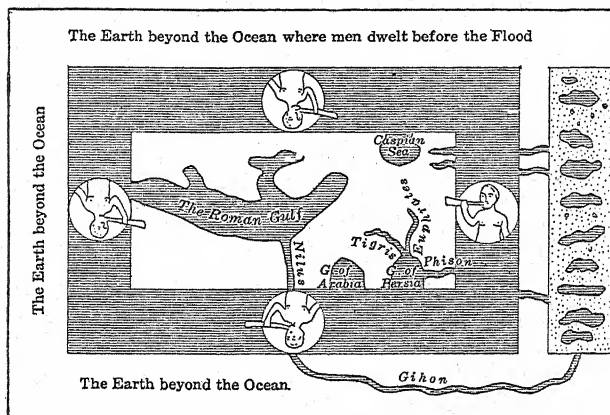
117. Aids to Exploration

The new knowledge concerning the land routes of Asia was accompanied by much progress in the art of ocean navigation.

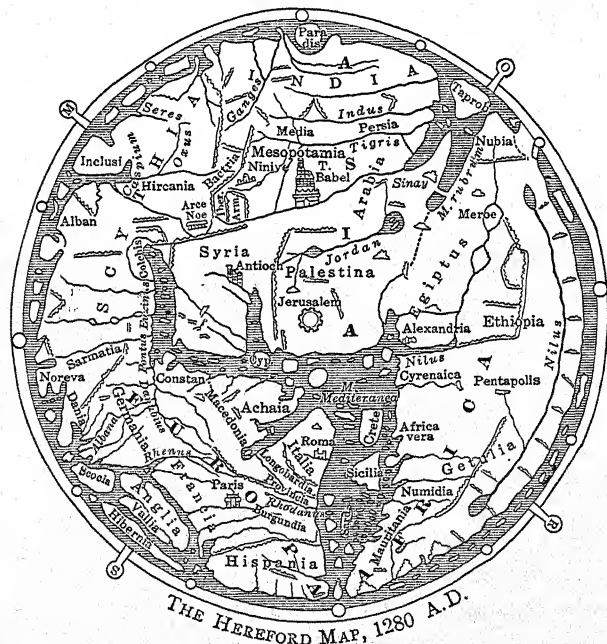
The compass The most important invention was that of the mariner's compass to guide explorers across the waters of the world. The Chinese appear to have discovered

¹ See page 183.

² For Marco Polo's route see the map between pages 234-235.



THE WORLD ACCORDING TO COSMAS INDICOPLEUSTES, 535 A.D.



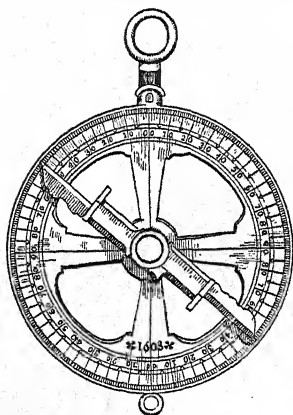
GEOGRAPHICAL KNOWLEDGE DURING THE MIDDLE AGES

The Cosmas map exhibits the earth as a rectangle, surrounded by an ocean with four deep gulfs. The rivers flowing from the lakes of Paradise are also shown. The Hereford map exhibits the earth as a circular disk, with the ocean surrounding it. Paradise lies on the extreme east; Jerusalem occupies the center; and below it comes the Mediterranean.

that a needle, when rubbed with a lodestone, has the mysterious power of pointing to the north. The Arabs may have introduced this rude form of the compass among Mediterranean sailors. The instrument, improved by being balanced on a pivot so that it would not be affected by choppy seas, seems to have been generally used by Europeans as early as the thirteenth century. It greatly aided sailors by enabling them to find their bearings in murky weather and on starless nights. The compass, however, was not indispensable; without its

help the Northmen had made their distant expeditions in the Atlantic.

The astrolabe, which the Greeks had invented and used for astronomical purposes, also came into Europe through the Arabs. It was employed to calculate latitudes by observation of the height of the sun above the horizon. Other instruments that found a place on shipboard were the hour-glass, minute-glass, and sun-dial. A rude form of the log was used as a means of estimating the speed of a



AN ASTROLABE

vessel, and so of finding roughly the longitude.

The charting of coasts became a science during the last centuries of the Middle Ages. A sailor might rely on the "handy maps" (*portolani*), which outlined with some approach to accuracy the bays, islands, and headlands of the Mediterranean and adjacent waters.

Manuals were prepared to give information about the tides, currents, and other features of sea routes. The increase in size of ships made navigation safer and permitted the storage of bulky cargoes. For long voyages the sailing vessel replaced the medieval galley rowed by oars. As the result of all these improvements, navigators no longer found it necessary to keep close to shore, but could push out into the ocean.

Many motives prompted exploration. Scientific curiosity, bred of the Renaissance spirit of free inquiry, led men to set forth on voyages of discovery. The crusading spirit, which had not died out in Europe, thrilled at the thought of spreading Christianity among heathen peoples. And in this age, as in all epochs of exploration, adventurers sought in distant lands opportunities to acquire wealth and fame and power.

Motives for
exploration

- ③ Commerce formed perhaps the most powerful motive for exploration. Eastern spices — cinnamon, pepper, cloves, nutmeg, and ginger — were used more freely in medieval times than now, when people lived on salt meat during the winter and salt fish during Lent. Even wine, ale, and medicines had a seasoning of spices. When John Ball¹ wished to contrast the easy life of the lords with the peasants' hard lot, he said, "They have wines, spices, and fine bread, while we have only rye and the refuse of the straw."² Besides spices, all kinds of precious stones, drugs, perfumes, gums, dyes, and fragrant woods came from the East. Since the time of the crusades these luxuries, after having been brought overland or by water to Mediterranean ports, had been distributed by Venetian and Genoese merchants throughout Europe.³ Two other European peoples — the Portuguese and Spaniards — now appeared as competitors for this Oriental trade. Their efforts to break through the monopoly enjoyed by the Italian cities led to the discovery of the sea routes to the Indies. The Portuguese were first in the field.

The
commercial
motive

118. To the Indies Eastward: Prince Henry and Da Gama

Few names rank higher in the history of the fifteenth century than that of Prince Henry, commonly called the Navigator, because of his services to the cause of exploration. The son of a Portuguese king, he devoted himself during more than forty years to organizing scientific discovery. Under his direction better maps were made, the astrolabe was improved, the compass was

Prince
Henry the
Navigator,
1394-1460

¹ See page 299.

² Froissart, *Chronicles*, ii, 73.

³ See page 235.

placed on vessels, and seamen were instructed in all the nautical learning of the time. The problem which Prince Henry studied and which Portuguese sailors finally solved was the finding of a maritime route around Africa to the Indies.



PORTUGUESE EXPLORATION OF THE AFRICAN COAST

The expeditions sent out by Prince Henry began by rediscovering the Madeira and Azores Islands, first visited by Europeans in the fourteenth century. Then the Portuguese turned southward along the uncharted African coast. In 1445 they got as far as Cape Verde, or "Green Cape," so called because of its luxuriant vegetation. The discovery was important, for it disposed of the idea that the Sahara desert extended indefinitely to the south. Later voyages brought the Portuguese to Sierra Leone, then to the great bend in the African coast formed by the Gulf of Guinea, then across the equator, and at length to the mouth of the Congo. In 1487 Bartholomew Diaz rounded the southern extremity of Africa. The story goes that

Exploration
of the
African
coast

he named it the Cape of Storms, and that the king of Portugal, recognizing its importance as a stage on the route to the East, rechristened it the Cape of Good Hope.

A daring mariner, Vasco da Gama, opened the sea-gates to the Indies. With four tiny ships he set sail from Lisbon in July, 1497, and after leaving the Cape Verde Islands made a wide sweep into the South Atlantic. Five months passed before Africa was seen again.

Da Gama's
voyage,
1497-1499.

Having doubled the Cape of Good Hope in safety, Da Gama skirted the eastern shore of Africa and then secured the services of a Moslem pilot to guide him across the Indian Ocean. In May, 1498, he reached Calicut, an important commercial city on the southwest coast of India. When Da Gama returned to Lisbon, after an absence of over two years, he brought back a cargo which repaid sixty times the cost of the expedition. The Portuguese king received him with high honor and created him Admiral of the Indies.



VASCO DE GAMA

From a manuscript in the British Museum.

The story of Da Gama's memorable voyage was sung by the Portuguese poet, Camoens, in the

Camoens,
1524-1580,
and the
Lusiads

Lusiads. It is the most successful of all modern epics. The popularity of the *Lusiads* has done much to keep alive the sense of nationality among the Portuguese, and even to-day it forms a bond of union between Portugal and her daughter-nation across the Atlantic — Brazil.

The discovery of an ocean passage to the East came at the right moment. Just at this time the Ottoman Turks, by their conquests in Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt, were beginning to

block up the old trade routes. The Ottoman advance struck a mortal blow at the prosperity of the Italian cities, which had so long monopolized Oriental trade. But the misfortune of Venice and Genoa was the opportunity of Portugal.

Significance
of the mari-
time route

119. The Portuguese Colonial Empire

After Da Gama's voyage the Portuguese made haste to appropriate the wealth of the Indies. Fleet after fleet was sent out to establish trading stations upon the coasts of Africa and Asia. The great viceroy, Albuquerque, captured the city of Goa and made it the center of the Portuguese dominions in India. Goa still belongs to Portugal. Albuquerque also seized Malacca, at the end of the Malay Peninsula, and Ormuz, at the entrance to the Persian Gulf. The possession of these strategic points enabled the Portuguese to control the commerce of the Indian Ocean. They also established trading relations with China, through the port of Macao, and with Japan, which was accidentally discovered in 1542. By the middle of the sixteenth century they had acquired almost complete ascendancy throughout southern Asia and the adjacent islands.¹

The Portuguese came to the East as the successors of the Arabs, who for centuries had carried on an extensive trade in the Indian Ocean. Having dispossessed the Arabs, the Portuguese took care to shut out all European competitors. Only their own merchants were allowed to bring goods from the Indies to Europe by the Cape route. Lisbon, the capital, formed the chief depot for spices and other eastern commodities. The French, English, and Dutch came there to buy them and took the place of Italian merchants in distributing them throughout Europe.

Portuguese
trade
monopoly

The triumph of Portugal was short-lived. This small

¹ The Portuguese colonial empire included many trading posts in Africa, Ormuz, the west coast of India, Ceylon, Malacca, and various possessions in the Malay Archipelago (Sumatra, Java, Celebes, the Moluccas, or Spice Islands, and New Guinea). The Portuguese also colonized Brazil, which one of their mariners discovered in 1500.

country, with a population of not more than a million, lacked the strength to defend her claims to a monopoly of the Oriental trade. During the seventeenth century the French and English broke the power of the Portuguese in India, while the Dutch drove them from Ceylon and the East Indies. Though the Portuguese soon lost most of their possessions, they deserve a tribute of admiration for the energy, enthusiasm, and real heroism with which they built up the first of modern colonial empires.

Collapse
of the
Portuguese
power

120. To the Indies Westward: Columbus and Magellan

Six years before Vasco da Gama cast anchor in the harbor of Calicut, another intrepid sailor, seeking the Indies by a western route, accidentally discovered America. It does not detract from the glory of Columbus to show that the way for his discovery had been long in preparation. In the first place, the theory that the earth is round had been familiar to the Greeks and Romans, and to some learned men even in the darkest period of the Middle Ages. By the opening of the thirteenth century it must have been commonly known, for Roger Bacon¹ refers to it, and Dante, in the *Divine Comedy*,² plans his Inferno on the supposition of a spherical world. The awakening of interest in Greek science, as a result of the Renaissance, naturally called renewed attention to the statements by ancient geographers. Eratosthenes, for instance, had clearly recognized the possibility of reaching India by sailing westward on the same parallel of latitude. After the revival of Ptolemy's works in the fifteenth century, scholars very generally accepted the globular theory; and they even went so far as to calculate the circumference of the earth.

The
globular
theory

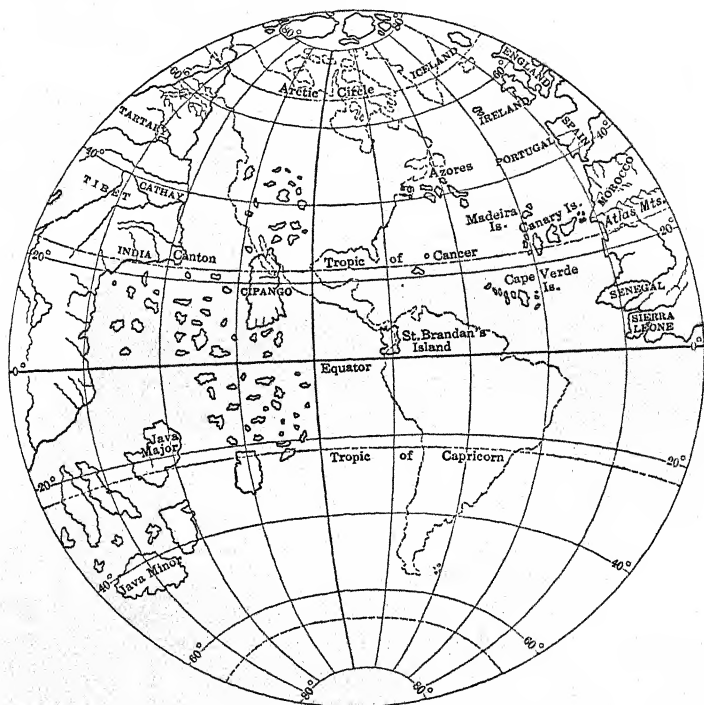
In the second place, men had long believed that west of Europe, beyond the strait of Gibraltar, lay mysterious lands. This notion first appears in the writings of the Greek philosopher, Plato, who repeats an old tradition concerning Atlantis. According to Plato, Atlantis

Myth of
Atlantis

¹ See page 263.

² See page 281.

had been an island continental in size, but more than nine thousand years before his time it had sunk beneath the sea. Medieval writers accepted this account as true and found support for it in traditions of other western islands, such as



BEHAIM'S GLOBE

The outlines of North America and South America do not appear on the original globe.

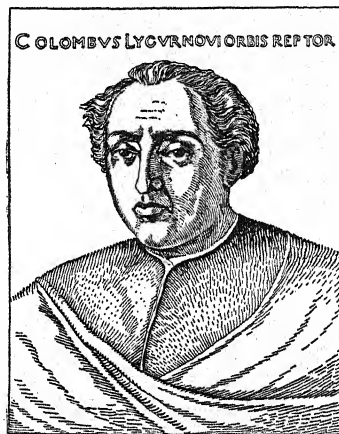
the Isles of the Blest, where Greek heroes went after death, and the Welsh Avalon, whither King Arthur,¹ after his last battle, was borne to heal his wounds. A widespread legend of the Middle Ages also described the visit made by St. Brandan, an Irish monk, to the "promised land of the Saints," an earthly paradise far out in the Atlantic. St. Brandan's Island was

¹ See page 251.

marked on early maps, and voyages in search of it were sometimes undertaken.

The ideas of European geographers in the period just preceding the discovery of America are represented on a map, or rather a globe, which dates from 1492. It ^{Behaim's} was made by a German navigator, Martin Behaim, ^{globe} for his native city of Nuremberg, where it is still preserved. Behaim shows the mythical island of St. Brandan, lying in mid-ocean, and beyond it Cipango, the East Indies, and Cathay. It is clear that he greatly underestimated the distance westward between Europe and Asia. The error was natural enough, for Ptolemy had reckoned the earth's circumference to be about one-sixth less than it is, and Marco Polo had given an exaggerated idea of the distance to which Asia extended on the east. When Columbus set out on his voyage, he firmly believed that a journey of four thousand miles would bring him to Cipango.

Christopher Columbus was a native of Genoa, where his father followed the humble trade of a weaver. He seems to have obtained some knowledge of astronomy and ^{Columbus,} geography as a student in the university of Pavia, ^{1446 (?) - 1506} but at an early age he became a sailor. Columbus knew the Mediterranean by heart; he once went to the Guinea coast; and he may have visited Iceland. He settled at Lisbon as a map maker and married a daughter of one of Prince Henry's sea-captains. As Columbus pored over his maps and charts and talked with seamen about their voyages, the idea came to him that much of the world remained undiscovered and that



CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS

Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid

No one of the many portraits of Columbus that have come down to us is surely authentic.

the distant East could be reached by a shorter route than the one which led around Africa.

Columbus was a well-read man, and in Aristotle, Ptolemy, and other ancient authorities he found apparent confirmation of his grand idea. Columbus also owned a printed copy of Marco Polo's book, and from his comments, written on the margin, we know how interested he was in Polo's statements referring to Cathay and Cipango.

Researches
of
Columbus



ISABELLA

Palacio Real, Madrid

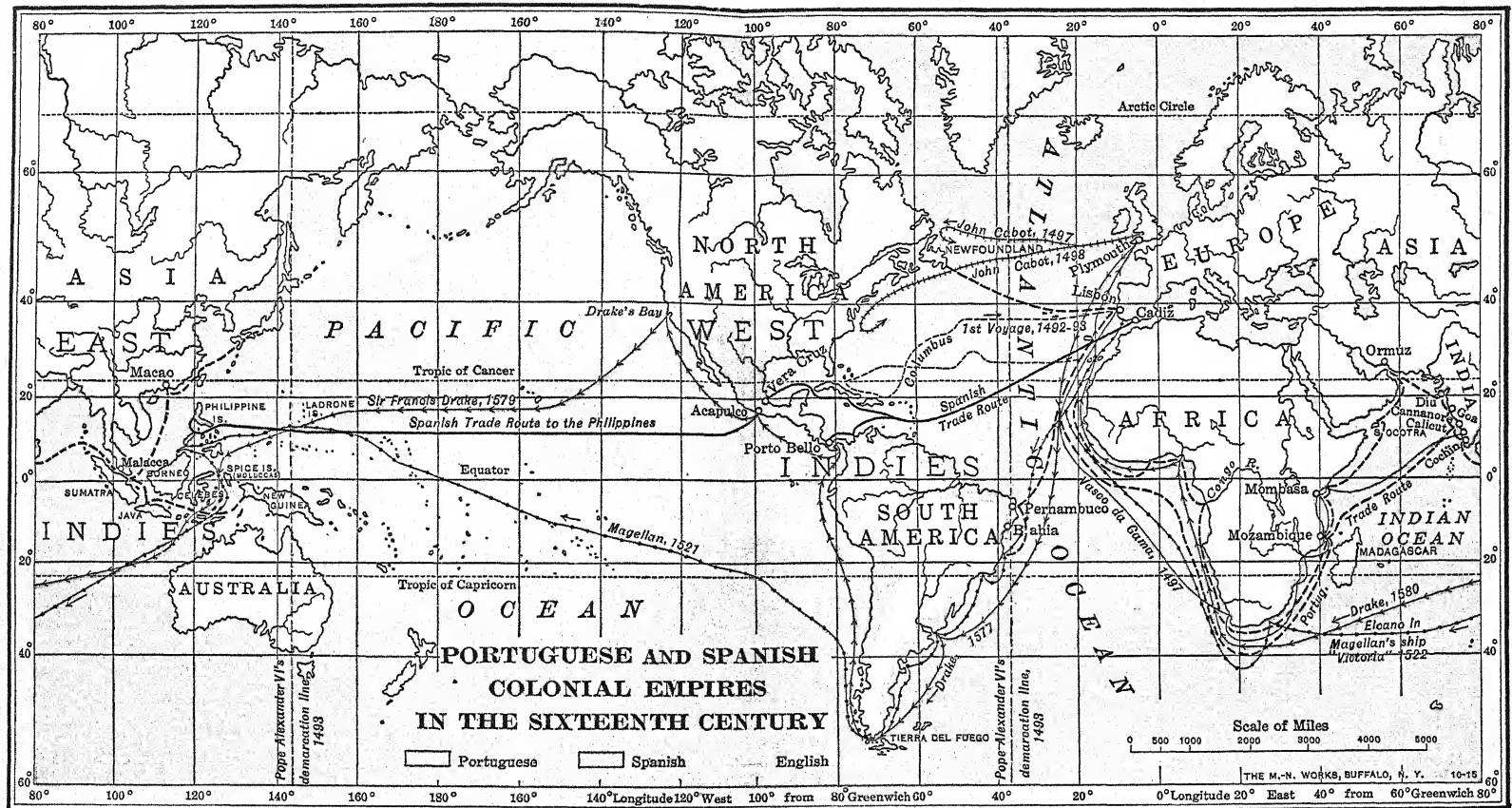
Furthermore, Columbus brought together all the information he could get about the fabled islands of the Atlantic. If he ever went to Iceland, some vague traditions may have reached him there of Norse voyages to Greenland and Vinland. Such hints and rumors strengthened his purpose to sail toward the setting sun in quest of the Indies.

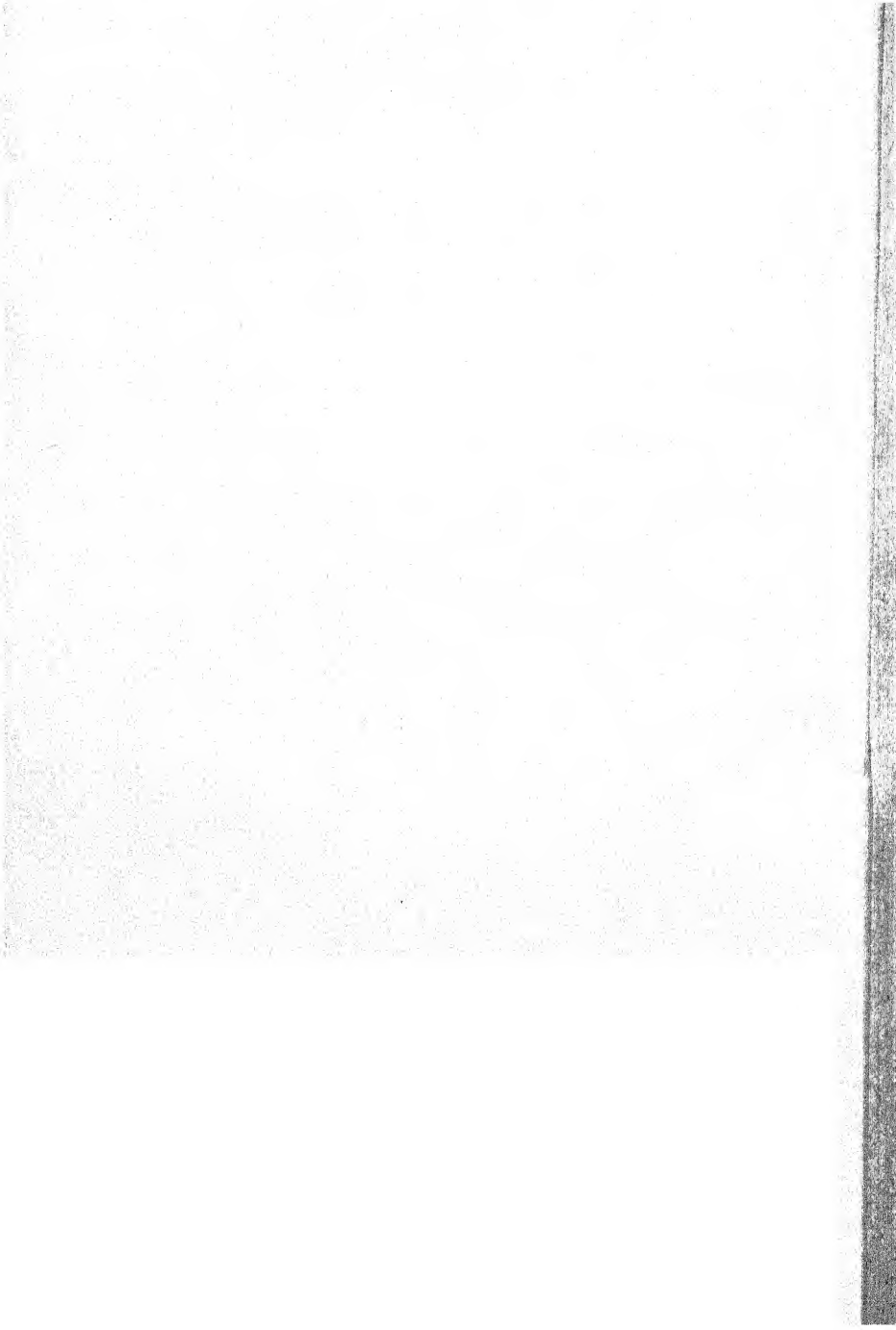
All know the story. How Columbus first laid his plan before the king of Portugal, only to meet with rebuffs;

how he then went to Spain and after many discouragements found a patron in Queen Isabella; how with three small ships he set out from Palos, August 3, 1492; how after leaving the Canaries he sailed week after week over an unknown sea; and how at last, on the early morning of October 12, he sighted in the moonlight the glittering coral strand of one of the Bahama Islands.¹ It was the outpost of the New World.

Columbus made three other voyages to the New World, in the course of which he explored the Caribbean Sea, the mouth

¹ Named San Salvador by Columbus and usually identified with Watling Island. See the map on page 321.





of the Orinoco River, and the eastern coast of Central America. He lived and died in the belief that he had actually reached the mainland of Asia and the realms of the Great Khan of Cathay. The name West Indies still remains as a testimony to this error.

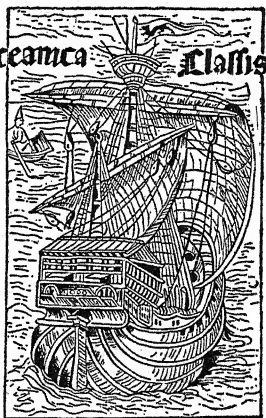
Subsequent
voyages of
Columbus

The New World was named for a Florentine navigator, Amerigo Vespucci.¹ While in the Spanish service, he made several western voyages and printed an account of his discovery of the mainland of America in 1497. Scholars now generally reject his statements, but they found acceptance at the time, and it was soon suggested that the new continent should be called America, "because Americus discovered it." The name applied at first only to South America, but eventually it spread over the whole New World.

Naming of
America

Shortly after the return of Columbus from his first voyage, Pope Alexander VI, in response to a request by Ferdinand and Isabella, issued a bull granting these sovereigns exclusive rights over the newly discovered lands. In order

The demar-
cation line,
1493



CARAVEL OF THE FIFTEENTH
CENTURY

that the Spanish possessions should be clearly marked off from those of the Portuguese, the pope laid down an imaginary line of demarcation in the Atlantic, three hundred miles west of the Azores. All new discoveries west of the line were to belong to Spain; all those east of it, to Portugal.² But this arrangement, which excluded France, England, and other European countries from the New World, could not be long maintained.

¹ In Latin, Americus Vesputius.

² In 1494 the demarcation line was shifted about eight hundred miles farther to the west. Six years later, when the Portuguese discovered Brazil, that country was found to lie within their sphere of influence.

The demarcation line had a good deal to do in bringing about the first voyage around the globe. So far no one had yet realized the dream of Columbus to reach the lands of spice and silk by sailing westward. Ferdinand Magellan, 1480 (?)–1521 nand Magellan, formerly one of Albuquerque's lieutenants but now in the service of Spain, believed that the Spice Islands lay within the Spanish sphere of influence and that an all-Spanish route to them through some strait at the southern end of South America, could be found.

loa
Ame
rico

Nunc vero & hec partes sunt latius illustratae / & alia quarra pars per Americū Vesputium (vt insequentibus audietur) inuenta est: quā non video cur quis iure vetet ab Americo inuentore sagacis ingenij viro Amerigen quasi Americi terram / siue Americam dicendam: cum & Europa & Asia a mulieribus sua sortita sint nomina. Eius sitū & gentis mores ex his binis Americi navigationibus quę sequuntur liquide intelligi datur.

THE NAME "AMERICA"

Facsimile of the passage in the *Cosmographia Introductio* (1507), by Martin Waldseemüller, in which the name "America" is proposed for the New World.

The Spanish ruler, Charles V, grandson of the Isabella who had supported Columbus, looked with favor upon Magellan's ideas and provided a fleet of five vessels for the undertaking. After exploring the east coast of South America, Magellan came at length to the strait which now bears his name. He sailed boldly through this strait into an ocean called by him the Pacific, because of its peaceful aspect. Magellan's sailors begged him to return, for food was getting scarce, but the navigator replied that he would go on, "if he had to eat the leather off the rigging." He did go on, for ninety-eight days, until he reached the Ladrone Islands.¹ By a curious chance, in all this long voyage across the Pacific, Magellan came upon

¹ Also known as the Mariannes. Magellan called them the Ladrones (Spanish *ladrón*, a robber), because of the thievish habits of the natives.

only two islands, both of them uninhabited. He then proceeded to the Philippines, where he was killed in a fight with the natives. His men, however, managed to reach the Spice Islands, the goal of the journey. Afterwards a single ship, the *Victoria*, carried back to Spain the few sailors who had survived the hardships of a journey lasting nearly three years.

Magellan's voyage forms a landmark in the history of geography. It proved that America, at least on the south, had no connection with Asia; it showed the enormous extent of the Pacific Ocean; and it led to the discovery of many large islands in the East Indies.

Importance
of Magellan's
voyage



FERDINAND MAGELLAN

From a portrait formerly in the
Versailles Gallery, Paris.

Henceforth men knew of a certainty that the earth is round and in the distance covered by Magellan they had a rough estimate of its size. The circumnavigation of the globe ranks with the discovery of America among the most significant events in history. Magellan stands beside Da Gama and Columbus in the company of great explorers.

121. The Indians

The natives of America, whom Columbus called Indians, resemble Asiatics in some physical features, such as the reddish-brown complexion, the hair, uniformly black and lank, the high cheek-bones, and the short stature of many tribes. On the other hand, the large, aquiline nose, the straight eyes, never oblique, and the tall stature of some tribes are European traits. It seems safe to conclude that the American aborigines, whatever their origin, became thoroughly fused into a composite race during long centuries of isolation from the rest of mankind.

The
American
aborigines

The Indians, because of their isolation, had to work out by themselves many arts, inventions, and discoveries. They spoke over a thousand languages and dialects; and not one has yet been traced outside of America. Their implements consisted of polished stone, occasionally of unsmelted copper, and in Mexico and Peru, of bronze. They

**Indian
culture**



AZTEC SACRIFICIAL KNIFE

British Museum, London

Length, twelve inches. The blade is of yellow, opalescent chalcedony, beautifully chipped and polished. The handle is of light-colored wood carved in the form of a man masked with a bird skin. Brilliant mosaic settings of turquoise, malachite, and shell embellish the figure.

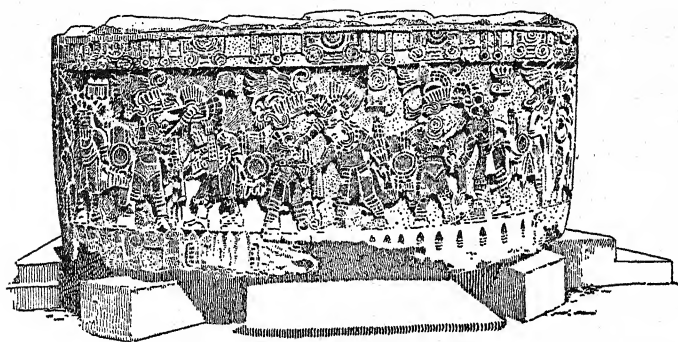
cultivated Indian corn, or maize, but lacked the other great cereals. They domesticated the dog and the llama of the Andes. They lived in clans and tribes, ruled by headmen or

chiefs. Their religion probably did not involve a belief in a single "Great Spirit," as is so often said, but rather recognized in all nature the abode of spiritual powers, mysterious and wonderful, whom man ought to conciliate by prayers and sacrifices. In short, most of the American Indians were not savages but barbarians.

Indian culture attained its highest development in Mexico and Central America, especially among the Mayas of Yucatan, Guatemala, and Honduras. The remains of their cities — the Ninevehs and Babylons of the New World — lie buried in the tropical jungle, where Europeans first saw them four hundred years ago. The temples, shrines, altars, and statues in these ancient cities show that the Mayas had made much progress in the fine arts. They knew enough astronomy to frame a solar calendar of 365 days, and enough mathematics to employ numbers exceeding a million. The writing of the Mayas had reached the rebus stage and promised to become alphabetic. When their hieroglyphics have been fully deciphered, we shall learn more about this gifted people.

**The
Mayas**

Several centuries before the arrival of Europeans in America, the so-called Aztecs came down from the north and established themselves on the Mexican plateau. Here they formed a confederacy of many tribes, ruled over by a sort of king, whose capital was Tenochtitlan, on the site of the present city of Mexico. The Aztecs appear to have borrowed much of their art, science, and knowledge of writing from their Maya neighbors. They built houses and temples of stone or sun-dried brick, constructed aqueducts, roads,



AZTEC SACRIFICIAL STONE

Now in the National Museum in the City of Mexico.

bridges, and irrigation ditches, excelled in the dyeing, weaving, and spinning of cotton, and made most beautiful ornaments of silver and gold. They worshiped numerous gods, to which the priests offered prisoners of war as human sacrifices. In spite of these bloody rites, the Aztecs were a kind-hearted, honest people, respectful of the rights of property, brave in battle, and obedient to their native rulers.

The lofty table-lands of the Andes were also the seat of an advanced Indian culture. At the time of the Spanish conquest the greater part of what is now Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, and northern Chile had come under the sway of the Incas, the "people of the sun." The Inca power centered in the Peruvian city of Cuzco and on the shores

of Lake Titicaca, which lies twelve thousand feet above sea-level. In this region of magnificent scenery the traveler views with astonishment the ruins of vast edifices, apparently never completed, which were raised either by the Incas or the Indians whom they conquered and displaced. The Incas displayed great skill in the manual arts; they were expert goldsmiths, silversmiths, and potters; while as cultivators and engineers they surpassed their European conquerors.

122. Spanish Explorations and Conquests in America

The discoverers of the New World were naturally the pioneers in its exploration. The first object of the Spaniards had been **Objects of** trade with the Indies, and for a number of years, **the Spaniards** until Magellan's voyage, they sought vainly for a passage through the mainland to the Spice Islands. When, however, the Spaniards learned that America was rich in deposits of gold and silver, these metals formed the principal object of their explorations.

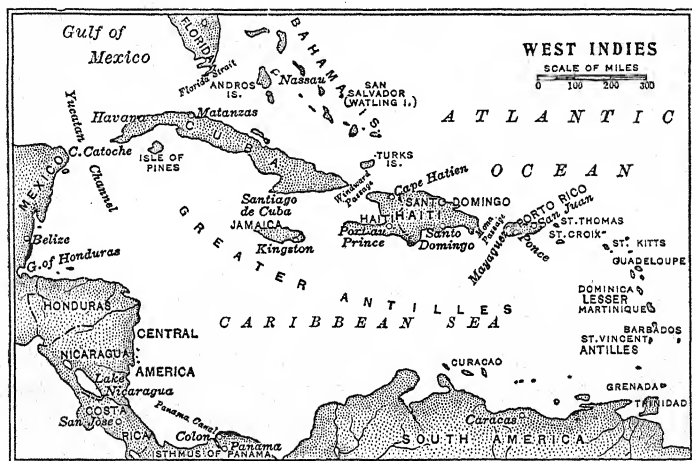
The Spaniards at first had confined their settlements to the Greater Antilles in the West Indies,¹ but after the gold of these islands was exhausted, they began to penetrate the **Ponce de León and Balboa, 1513** mainland. In 1513 Ponce de León, who had been with Columbus on his second voyage, discovered the country which he named Florida. It became the first Spanish possession in North America. In the same year Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, from the isthmus of Panama, sighted the Pacific. He entered its waters, sword in hand, and took formal possession in the name of the king of Spain.

The overthrow of the Aztec power was accomplished by **Hernando Cortés**, with the aid of Indian allies. Many large towns and half a thousand villages, together with immense quantities of treasure, fell into the hands of the conquerors. Henceforth Mexico, or **Conquest of Mexico, 1519-1521, and Peru, 1531-1537** "New Spain," became the most important Spanish possession in America. Francisco Pizarro, who invaded Peru

¹ Cuba, Hispaniola (now divided between the republics of Haiti and Santo Domingo), Porto Rico, and Jamaica.

with a handful of soldiers, succeeded in overthrowing the Incas. Pizarro founded in Peru the city of Lima. It replaced Cuzco as the capital of the country and formed the seat of the Spanish government in South America.

The Spaniards, during the earlier part of the sixteenth century, heard much of a fabled king whom they called El Dorado.¹ This king, it was said, used to smear himself with gold dust at an annual religious ceremony. In time the idea arose that somewhere in South America existed



a fabled country marvelously rich in precious metals and gems. These stories stirred the imagination of the Spaniards, who fitted out many expeditions to find the gilded man and his gilded realm. The quest for El Dorado opened up the valleys of the Amazon and Orinoco and the extensive forest region east of the Andes. Spanish explorers also tried to find El Dorado in North America. De Soto's expedition led to the discovery of the Mississippi in 1541, and Coronado's search for the "Seven Cities of Cibola" not only added greatly to geographical knowledge of the Southwest, but also resulted in the extension of Spanish dominion over this part of the American

¹ Spanish for the "gilded one."

continent. About 1605 the Spaniards founded Santa Fé and made it the capital of their government in New Mexico.

123. The Spanish Colonial Empire

The wonderful exploits of the *conquistadores* (conquerors) laid the foundations of the Spanish colonial empire. This included Florida, New Mexico, California, Mexico, Central America, the West Indies, and all South America except Brazil.¹ The rule of Spain over these dominions lasted nearly three hundred years. During this time she gave her language, her government, and her religion to half the New World.

The Spaniards brought few women with them and hence had to find their wives among the Indians. Intermarriage of the two peoples early became common. The result was the mixed race which one still finds throughout the greater part of Spanish America. In this race the Indian strain predominates, because almost everywhere the aborigines were far more numerous than the white settlers.

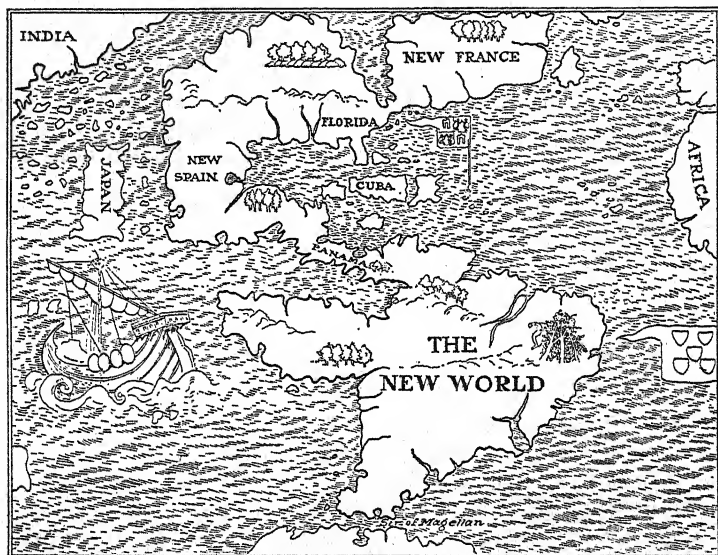
The Spaniards treated the Indians of the West Indies most harshly and forced them to work in gold mines and on sugar plantations. The hard labor, to which the Indians were unaccustomed, broke down their health, and almost the entire native population disappeared within a few years after the coming of the whites. This terrible tragedy was not repeated on the mainland, for the Spanish government stepped in to preserve the aborigines from destruction. It prohibited their enslavement and gave them the protection of humane laws. Though these laws were not always well enforced, the Indians of Mexico and Peru prospered under Spanish rule and often engaged in agriculture, trade, and industry.

The Spaniards succeeded in winning many of the Indians to

¹ The Philippines, discovered by Magellan in 1521, also belonged to Spain, though by the demarcation line these islands lay within the Portuguese sphere of influence.

Christianity. Devoted monks penetrated deep into the wilderness and brought to the aborigines, not only the Christian religion, but also European civilization. In many places the natives were gathered into permanent villages, or "missions," each one with its church and

Conversion
of the
Indians



MÜNSTER'S MAP OF THE NEW WORLD (1540 A.D.)

school. Converts who learned to read and write sometimes became priests or entered the monastic orders. The monks also took much interest in the material welfare of the Indians and taught them how to farm, how to build houses, and how to spin and weave and cook by better methods than their own.

The most familiar examples of the Spanish missions are those in the state of California. During the last quarter of the eighteenth century Franciscan friars erected many mission stations along the Pacific coast from San Diego to San Francisco. The stations were connected by the "King's Road,"¹ which still remains the principal

The Cali-
fornia
missions

¹ In Spanish *El Camino Real*.

highway of the state. Some of the mission buildings now lie in ruins and others have entirely disappeared. But such a well-preserved structure as the mission of Santa Barbara recalls a Benedictine monastery, with its shady cloisters, secluded courtyard, and timbered roof covered with red tiles. It is a bit of the Old World transplanted to the New.

The civilizing work of Spain in the New World is sometimes forgotten. Here were the earliest American hospitals and asylums, for the use of Indians and negroes as well as of Spaniards. Here were the earliest American schools and colleges. Twelve institutions of higher learning, all modeled upon the university of Salamanca, arose in Spanish America during the colonial period. Eight of these came into existence before the foundation of Harvard University, the oldest in the United States. The pioneer printing press in the Western Hemisphere was set up at Mexico City in 1535; no printing press reached the English colonies till more than one hundred years later. To the valuable books by Spanish scholars we owe much of our knowledge of the Mayas, Aztecs, and other Indian tribes. The first American newspaper was published at Mexico City in 1693. The fine arts also flourished in the Spanish colonies, and architects of the United States have now begun to copy the beautiful churches and public buildings of Mexico and Peru.

The government of Spain administered its colonial dominions in the spirit of monopoly. As far as possible it excluded French, English, and other foreigners from trading with Spanish America. It also discouraged ship-building, manufacturing, and even the cultivation of the vine and the olive, lest the colonists should compete with home industries. The colonies were regarded only as a workshop for the production of the precious metals and raw materials. This unwise policy partly accounts for the economic backwardness of Mexico, Peru, and other Spanish-American countries. Frequent revolutions during the past century also retarded their progress. It is only within recent times that their rich natural resources have begun to be utilized.

Spanish-
American
civilization

Spanish
colonial
policy

124. English and French Explorations in America

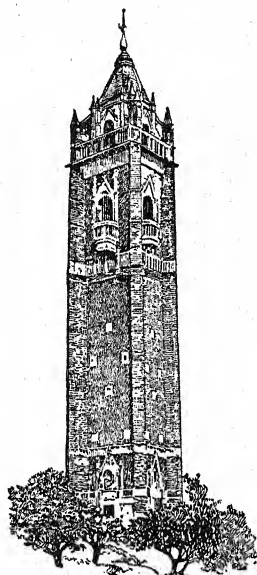
The English based their claim to the right to colonize North America on the discoveries of John Cabot, an Italian mariner in the service of the Tudor king, Henry VII. In 1497 **The Cabot voyages, 1497-1498** Cabot sailed from Bristol across the northern Atlantic and made land somewhere between Labrador and Nova Scotia. The following year he seems to have undertaken a second voyage and to have explored the coast of North America nearly as far as Florida. Cabot, like Columbus, believed that he had reached Cathay and the dominions of the Great Khan. Because Cabot found neither gold nor opportunities for profitable trade, his expeditions were considered a failure, and for a long time the English took no further interest in exploring the New World.

The discovery by Magellan of a strait leading into the Pacific aroused hope that a similar passage, beyond the regions controlled by Spain, might

Cartier's voyages, 1534-1542

exist in North America. In 1534 the French king, Francis I, sent Jacques Cartier to look for it. Cartier found the gulf and river which he named after St. Lawrence, and also tried to establish a settlement near where Quebec now stands. The venture was not successful, and the French did not undertake the colonization of Canada until the first decade of the seventeenth century.

English sailors also sought a road to India by the so-called Northwest Passage. It was soon found to be an impracticable

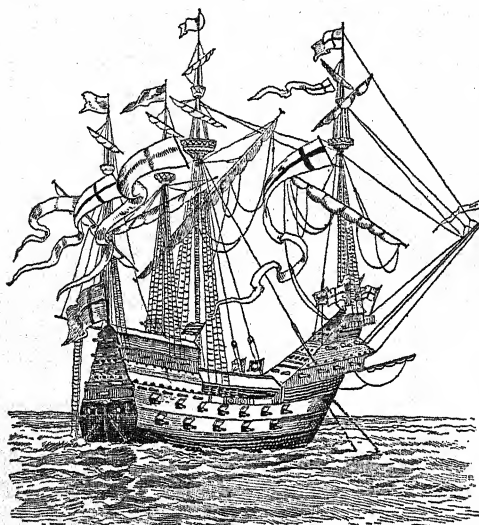


CABOT MEMORIAL TOWER

Erected at Bristol, England, in memory of John Cabot and his sons. The foundation stone was laid on June 24, 1897, the four-hundredth anniversary of John Cabot's first sight of the continent of North America.

route, for during half the year the seas were frozen and during the other half they were filled with icebergs. However, the search for the Northwest Passage added much to geographical knowledge. The names Frobisher Bay, Davis Strait, and Baffin Land still preserve the memory of the navigators who first explored the channels leading into the Arctic Ocean.

When the English realized how little profit was to be gained



ENGLISH BATTLESHIP OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

The *Great Harry*, built by Henry VIII. After an old print.

by voyages to the cold and desolate north, they turned southward to warmer waters. Here, of course, they came upon the Spaniards, who had no disposition to share The English with "sea dogs" for-

eigners the profitable trade of the New World. Though England and Spain were not at war, the English "sea dogs," as they called themselves, did not scruple to ravage the Spanish colonies and to capture the huge, clumsy treasure-ships carrying gold and silver to Spain. The most famous of the "sea dogs," Sir Francis Drake, was the first Englishman to sail round the world (1577-1580).

Four years after Drake had completed his voyage, another English seaman, Sir Walter Raleigh, sent out an expedition to find a good site for a settlement in North America. The explorers reached the coast

The Raleigh colonies, 1584-1590

of North Carolina and returned with glowing accounts of the country, which was named Virginia, in honor of Elizabeth, the "Virgin Queen." But Raleigh's colonies in Virginia failed miserably, and the English made no further attempt to settle there until the reign of James I, early in the seventeenth century.

125. The Old World and the New

The New World contained two virgin continents, very rich in natural resources and capable of extensive colonization. The native peoples, comparatively few in number and barbarian in culture, could not offer much resistance to the explorers, missionaries, traders, and colonists from the Old World. The Spanish and Portuguese in the sixteenth century, followed by the French, English, and Dutch in the seventeenth century, repopled America and brought to it European civilization. Europe expanded into a Greater Europe beyond the ocean.

In the Middle Ages the Mediterranean and the Baltic had been the principal highways of commerce. The discovery of America, followed immediately by the opening of the Cape route to the Indies, shifted commercial activity from these inclosed seas to the Atlantic Ocean. Venice, Genoa, Hamburg, Lübeck, and Bruges gradually gave way, as trading centers, to Lisbon and Cadiz, Bordeaux and Cherbourg, Antwerp and Amsterdam, London and Liverpool. One may say, therefore, that the year 1492 inaugurated the Atlantic period of European history. The time may come, perhaps even now it is dawning, when the Pacific will assume almost as much importance as the Atlantic in the commerce of the world.

The discovery of America revealed to Europeans a new source of the precious metals. The Spaniards soon secured large quantities of gold by plundering the Indians of Mexico and Peru of their stored-up wealth. The output of silver much exceeded that of gold as soon as the Spaniards began to work the wonderfully rich silver mines of Potosí in Bolivia. It is estimated that, by the end of the sixteenth century, the American

Expansion
of Europe

Shifting of
trade routes

Increased
production
of the
precious
metals

mines had produced at least three times as much gold and silver as had been current in Europe at the beginning of the century.

The Spaniards could not keep this new treasure. Having few industries themselves, they were obliged to send it out, as fast as they received it, in payment for their imports of European goods. Spain acted as a huge sieve through which the gold and silver of America entered all the countries of Europe.

Money, now more plentiful, purchased far less than in former times; in other words, the prices of all commodities rose, wages advanced, and manufacturers and traders had additional capital to use in their undertakings. The Middle Ages had suffered from the lack of sufficient money with which to do business;¹ from the beginning of modern times the world has been better supplied with the indispensable medium of exchange.

But America was much more than a treasury of the precious metals. Many commodities, hitherto unknown, soon found their way from the New World to the Old. Among these were maize, the potato, which, when cultivated in Europe, became the "bread of the poor," chocolate and cocoa made from the seeds of the cacao tree, Peruvian bark, or quinine, so useful in malarial fevers, cochineal, the dye-woods of Brazil, and the mahogany of the West Indies. America also sent large supplies of cane-sugar, molasses, fish, whale-oil, and furs. The use of tobacco, which Columbus first observed among the Indians, spread rapidly over Europe and thence extended to Africa and Asia. These new American products became common articles of consumption and so raised the standard of living in European countries.

To the economic effects of the discoveries must be added their effects on politics. The Atlantic Ocean now formed, not only the commercial, but also the political center of the world. The Atlantic-facing countries, first Portugal and Spain, then Holland, France, and England, became the great powers of Europe. Their trade

Consequences of the enlarged money supply

New commodities imported

Political effects of the discoveries

¹ See page 235.

rivalries and contests for colonial possessions have been potent causes of European wars for the last four hundred years.

The sixteenth century in Europe was the age of that revolt against the Roman Church called the Protestant Reformation. During this period, however, the Church won her victories over the American aborigines. What she lost of territory, wealth, and influence in Europe was more than offset by what she gained in America.

Effects of
the discov-
eries upon
religion

Furthermore, the region now occupied by the United States furnished in the seventeenth century an asylum from religious persecution, as was proved when Puritans settled in New England, Roman Catholics in Maryland, and Quakers in Pennsylvania. The vacant spaces of America offered plenty of room for all who would worship God in their own way. The New World became a refuge from the intolerance of the Old.

Studies

1. On an outline map indicate those parts of the world known in the time of Columbus (before 1492).
2. On an outline map indicate the voyages of discovery of Vasco da Gama, Columbus (first voyage), John Cabot, and Magellan.
3. What particular discoveries were made by Cartier, Drake, Balboa, De Soto, Ponce de León, and Coronado?
4. Why has Marco Polo been called the "Columbus of the East Indies"?
5. On the map, between pages 234-235 trace Marco Polo's route.
6. "Cape Verde not only juts out into the Atlantic, but stands forth as a promontory in human history." Comment on this statement.
7. How did Vasco da Gama complete the work of Prince Henry the Navigator?
8. Show that Lisbon in the sixteenth century was the commercial successor of Venice.
9. "Had Columbus perished in mid-ocean, it is doubtful whether America would have remained long undiscovered." Comment on this statement.
10. Why did no one suggest that the New World be called after Columbus?
11. Show that Magellan achieved what Columbus planned.
12. Why did Balboa call the Pacific the "South Sea"?
13. Why is Roman law followed in all Spanish-American countries?
14. In what parts of the world is Spanish still the common language?
15. Why did the Germans fail to take part in the work of discovery and colonization?
16. Show that the three words "gospel, glory, and gold" sum up the principal motives of European colonization in the sixteenth century.
17. Compare the motives which led to the colonization of the New World with those which led to Greek colonization.
18. "The struggle for the Spice Islands of the East is the key that unlocks the mysteries of the European political contests of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries." Comment on this statement.
19. "The opening of the Atlantic to continuous exploration is the most momentous step in the history of man's occupation of the earth."⁵ Does this statement seem to be justified?

CHAPTER XV

THE REFORMATION AND THE RELIGIOUS WARS, 1517-1648¹

126. Decline of the Papacy

THE Papacy, victorious in the long struggle with the Holy Roman Empire, reached during the thirteenth century the height of its temporal power. The popes at this time were the greatest sovereigns in Europe. They ruled a large part of Italy, had great influence in the affairs of France, England, Spain, and other countries, and in Germany named and deposed emperors. From their capital at Rome they sent forth legates to every European court and issued laws binding on western Christendom.

The Papacy
in the
thirteenth
century

The universal dominion of the Church proved useful and even necessary in feudal times, when kings were weak and nobles were strong. The Church of the early Middle Ages served as the chief unifying force in Europe. When, however, the kings had repressed feudalism, they took steps to extend their authority over the Church as well. They tried, therefore, to restrict the privileges of ecclesiastical courts, to impose taxes on the clergy as on their own subjects, and to dictate the appointment of bishops and abbots to office. This policy naturally led to much friction between popes and kings, between Church and State.

Friction
between
Church and
State

The Papacy put forth its most extensive claims under Boniface VIII. The character of these claims is shown by two bulls

¹ Webster, *Readings in Medieval and Modern History*, chapter xxiii, "Martin Luther and the Beginning of the Reformation"; chapter xxiv, "England in the Age of Elizabeth."

which he issued. The first forbade all laymen, under penalty of excommunication, to collect taxes on Church lands, and all clergymen to pay them. The second announced in unmistakable terms both the spiritual and the temporal supremacy of the popes.

Pontificate
of Boniface
VIII, 1294-
1303

"Submission to the Roman pontiff," declared Boniface, "is altogether necessary to salvation for every human creature."

Boniface had employed the exalted language of Gregory VII in dealing with Henry IV, but he found an opponent in a monarch more resolute and resourceful than any Holy Roman Emperor. This was Philip the Fair,¹ king of France. Philip answered the first bull by

Boniface
and Philip
the Fair

refusing to allow any gold and silver to be exported from France to Italy. The pope, thus deprived of valuable revenues, gave way and acknowledged that the French ruler had a limited right to tax the clergy. Another dispute soon arose, however, as the result of Philip's imprisonment and trial of an obnoxious papal legate. Angered by this action, Boniface prepared to excommunicate the king and depose him from the throne. Philip retaliated by calling together the Estates-General and asking their support for the preservation of the "ancient liberty of France." The nobles, the clergy, and the Third Estate rallied around Philip, accused the pope of heresy and tyranny, and declared that the French king was subject to God alone.

The last act of the drama was soon played. Philip sent his emissaries into Italy to arrest the pope and bring him to trial before a general council in France. At Anagni, near Rome, a band of hireling soldiers stormed the

Anagni,
1303

papal palace and made Boniface a prisoner. The citizens of Anagni soon freed him, but the shock of the humiliation broke the old man's spirit and he died soon afterwards. The poet Dante, in the *Divine Comedy*, speaks with awe of the outrage: "Christ had been again crucified among robbers; and the vinegar and gall had been again pressed to his lips."² The historian sees in this event the end of the temporal power of the Papacy.

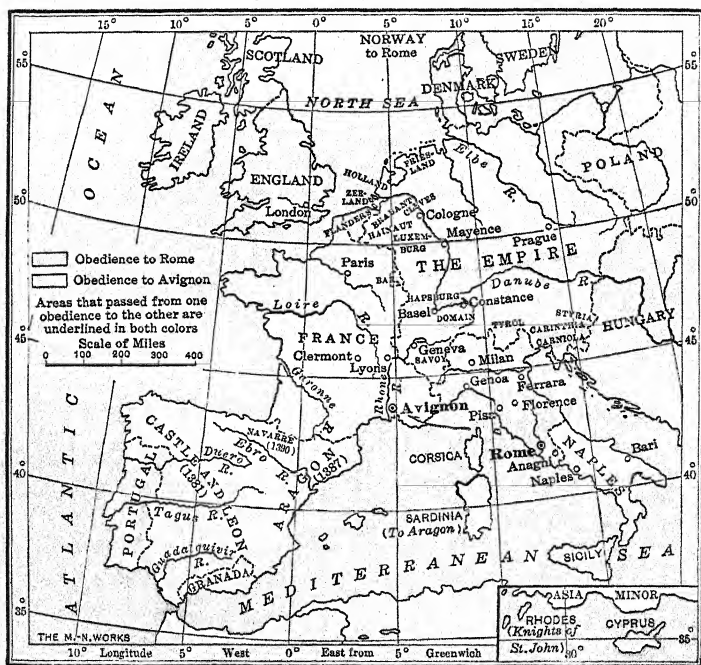
¹ See page 210.

² *Purgatorio*, xx, 88-90.

Soon after the death of Boniface, Philip succeeded in having the archbishop of Bordeaux chosen as head of the Church.

The
"Babylonian
Captivity,"
1309-1377

The new pope removed the papal court to Avignon, a town just outside the French frontier of those days. The popes lived in Avignon for nearly seventy years. This period is usually described as the "Babylonian Captivity" of the Church, a name which recalls the exile of the Jews from their native land. The



long absence of the popes from Rome lessened their power, and the suspicion that they were the mere vassals of the French crown seriously impaired the respect in which they had been held.

Following the "Babylonian Captivity" came the "Great Schism." Shortly after the return of the papal court to Rome,

an Italian was elected pope as Urban VI. The cardinals in the French interest refused to accept him, declared his election void, and named Clement VII as pope. Clement withdrew to Avignon, while Urban remained in Rome. Western Christendom could not decide which one to obey. Some countries declared for Urban, while other countries accepted Clement. The spectacle of two rival popes, each holding himself out as the only true successor of St. Peter, continued for nearly forty years and injured the Papacy more than anything else that had happened to it.

The "Great Schism,"
1378-1417

The schism in western Christendom was finally healed at the Council of Constance. There were three "phantom popes" at this time, but they were all deposed in favor of a new pontiff, Martin V. The Catholic world now had a single head, but it was not easy to revive the former loyalty to him as God's vicar on earth.

Council of
Constance,
1414-1418

The Papacy became henceforth more and more an Italian power. The popes no longer strove to be the leaders in European politics and gave their chief attention to the States of the Church. A number of the popes took much interest in the Renaissance movement and became its enthusiastic patrons. They kept up splendid courts, collected manuscripts, paintings, and statues, and erected magnificent palaces and churches in Rome. Some European peoples, especially in Germany, looked askance at such luxury and begrudged the heavy taxes which were necessary to support it. This feeling against the papacy also helped to provoke the Reformation.

The
Renaissance
popes

The worldliness of some of the popes was too often reflected in the lives of the lesser clergy. Throughout the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries the Church encountered much criticism from reformers. Thus the famous humanist, Erasmus, wrote his *Praise of Folly* to expose the vices and temporal ambitions of bishops and monks, the foolish speculations of theologians, and the excessive reliance which common people had on pilgrimages,

Complaints
against the
clergy

festivals, relics, and other aids to devotion. So great was the demand for this work that it went through twenty-seven large editions during the author's lifetime. Erasmus and others like him were loyal sons of the Church, but they believed that they could best serve her interests by effecting her reform. Some men went further, however, and demanded wholesale changes in Catholic belief and worship. These men were the heretics.

127. Heresies and Heretics

During the first centuries of our era, when the Christians had formed a forbidden sect, they claimed toleration on the ground that religious belief is voluntary and not something which can be enforced by law. This view changed after Christianity triumphed in the Roman Empire and enjoyed the support, instead of the opposition, of the government. The Church, backed by the State, no longer advocated freedom of conscience, but began to persecute people who held heretical beliefs.¹

It is difficult for those who live in an age of religious toleration to understand the horror which heresy inspired in the Middle Ages. A heretic was a traitor to the Church, for he denied the doctrines believed to be essential to salvation. It seemed a Christian duty to compel the heretic to recant, lest he imperil his eternal welfare. If he persisted in his impious course, then the earth ought to be rid of one who was a source of danger to the faithful and an enemy of the Almighty.

Although executions for heresy had occurred as early as the fourth century, for a long time milder penalties were usually inflicted. The heretic might be exiled, or imprisoned, or deprived of his property and his rights as a citizen. The death penalty was seldom invoked by the Church before the thirteenth century. Since ecclesiastical law forbade the Church to shed blood, the State stepped in to seize the heretic and put him to death, most often by fire. We must remember that in medieval times cruel punishments were

¹ See page 47.

imposed for even slight offenses, and hence men saw nothing wrong in inflicting the worst of punishments for what was regarded as the worst of crimes.

In spite of all measures of repression, heretics were not uncommon during the later Middle Ages. Some heretical movements spread over entire communities. The most ^{The} important was that of the Albigenses, so called ^{Albigenses} from the town of Albi in southern France, where many of them lived. Their doctrines are not well known, but they seem to have believed in the existence of two gods—one good (whose son was Christ), the other evil (whose son was Satan). The Albigenses even set up a rival church, with its priests, bishops, and councils.

The failure of attempts to convert the Albigenses by peaceful means led the pope, Innocent III,¹ to preach a crusade against them. Those who entered upon it were promised the usual privileges of crusaders.² A series of bloody wars now followed, in the course of which thousands of men, women, and children perished. ^{Crusade against the Albigenses, 1209-1229} But the Albigensian sect did not entirely disappear for more than a century, and then only after numberless trials and executions for heresy.

The followers of Peter Waldo, who lived in the twelfth century, made no effort to set up a new religion in Europe. They objected, however, to certain practices of the ^{The} Church, such as masses for the dead and the ^{Waldenses} invocation of saints. They also condemned the luxury of the clergy and urged that Christians should live like the Apostles, charitable and poor. For the Waldenses the Bible was a sufficient guide to the religious life, and so they translated parts of the Scriptures and allowed every one to preach, without distinction of age, or rank, or sex. The Waldenses spread through many European countries, but being poor and lowly men they did not exert much influence as reformers. The sect survived severe persecution and now forms a branch of the Protestant Church in Italy.

¹ See page 157.

² See page 164.

Beliefs very similar to those of the Waldenses were entertained by John Wycliffe,¹ master of an Oxford college and a popular preacher. He, too, appealed from the authority of the Church to the authority of the Bible. With the assistance of two friends Wycliffe produced the first English translation of the Scriptures. Man-

John
Wycliffe,
1320-1384



JOHN WYCLIFFE

A small woodcut from a book published in 1548. The oldest known picture of Wycliffe and possibly reproduced from a contemporary sketch of him. He is represented preaching or lecturing from a stone pulpit.

uscript copies of the work had a large circulation, until the government suppressed it. Wycliffe was not molested in life, but the Council of Constance denounced his teaching and ordered that his bones should be dug up, burned, and cast into a stream.

Wycliffe had organized bands of "poor priests" to spread the simple truths of the Bible through all England. They went out, staff in hand and clad in long, russet gowns, and preached to the common people in the English language, wherever an audience could be found.

The Lollards, as Wycliffe's followers were known, not only attacked many beliefs and practices of the Church, but also demanded social reforms. For instance, they declared that all wars were sinful and were but plundering and murdering the poor to win glory for kings. The Lollards had to endure much persecution for heresy. Nevertheless their work lived on and sowed in England and Scotland the seeds of the Reformation.

¹ Or Wyclif.

The doctrines of Wycliffe found favor with Anne of Bohemia, wife of King Richard II,¹ and through her they reached that country. Here they attracted the attention of **John Huss,** **1373 (?)–1415** John Huss,² a distinguished scholar in the university of Prague. Wycliffe's writings confirmed Huss in his criticism of many doctrines of the Church. He attacked the clergy in sermons and pamphlets and also objected to the supremacy of the pope. The sentence of excommunication pronounced against him did not shake his reforming zeal. Huss was finally cited to appear before the Council of Constance, then in session. Relying on the safe conduct given him by the German emperor, he appeared before the council, only to be declared guilty of teaching "many things evil, scandalous, seditious, and dangerously heretical." The emperor then violated the safe conduct—no promise made to a heretic was considered binding—and allowed Huss to be burnt outside the walls of Constance.

The flames which burned Huss set all Bohemia afire. The Bohemians, a Slavic people, regarded him as a national hero and made his martyrdom an excuse for rebelling **The Hussite wars** against the Holy Roman Empire. The Hussite wars, which followed, thus formed a political rather than a religious struggle. The Bohemians did not gain freedom, and their country until recently remained a Hapsburg possession. But the sense of nationalism continued to exist there, and Bohemia in our time has become an independent state.

128. Martin Luther and the Beginning of the Reformation in Germany, 1517–1522

Though there were many reformers before the Reformation, the beginning of that movement is rightly associated with the name of Martin Luther. He was the son of a **Martin Luther,** **1483–1546** German peasant, who, by industry and frugality, had won a small competence. Thanks to his father's self-sacrifice, Luther enjoyed a good education in scholastic philosophy at the university of Erfurt. Having

¹ See page 300.

² Or Hus.

338 The Reformation and the Religious Wars

taken the degrees of bachelor and master of arts, Luther began to study law, but an acute sense of his sinfulness and a desire to save his soul soon drove him into a monastery. There he read the Bible and the writings of the Church Fathers and found at last the peace of mind he sought. A few years later Luther paid a visit to Rome, which opened his eyes to the worldliness



MARTIN LUTHER

A portrait by Lucas Cranach the Elder of Luther in 1526. Now in the possession of Richard von Kaufmann, Berlin.

and general laxity of life in the capital of the Papacy. He returned to Germany and became a professor of theology in the university of Wittenberg, newly founded by Frederick the Wise, elector of Saxony. Luther's sermons and lectures attracted large audiences; students began to flock to Wittenberg; and the elector grew proud of the rising young teacher who was making his university famous.

But Luther was soon to emerge from his academic

retirement and to become, quite unintentionally, a reformer.

Tetzel and indulgences In 1517 there came into the neighborhood of Wittenberg a Dominican friar named Tetzel, granting indulgences for the erection of the new St. Peter's at Rome.¹ An indulgence, according to the teaching of the Church, formed a remission of the temporal punishment, or penance,² due to sin, if the sinner had expressed his repentance and had promised to atone for his misdeeds. Indulgences were granted for participation in crusades, pilgrimages, and other good works. Later on they were granted for money, which was expected to be applied to some pious purpose. Many of the German

¹ See page 131.

² See page 139.

princes opposed this method of raising funds for the Church, because it took so much money out of their dominions. Huss and Erasmus had also condemned them on religious grounds.

Luther began his reforming career by an attack upon indulgences. He did not then deny their usefulness altogether, but pointed out that they lent themselves to grave abuses. Common people, who could not understand the Latin in which they were written, often thought that they wiped away the penalties of sin, even without true repentance. Luther set forth his criticisms in ninety-five theses or propositions, which he offered to defend against all opponents. In accordance with the custom of medieval scholars, Luther posted the theses on the door of the church at Wittenberg, where all might see them. They were composed in Latin, but were at once translated into German, printed, and spread broadcast over Germany. Their effect was so great that before long the granting of indulgences in that country almost ceased.

Posting of
the ninety-
five theses,
1517

Luther soon began to condemn the whole system of indulgences, as well as other beliefs and practices of the Church. He found that his views resembled those of Wycliffe and Huss, yet he refused to give them up as heretical. Instead, he wrote three bold pamphlets, in one of which he appealed to the "Christian nobility of the German nation" to rally together against Rome. The pope, at first, had paid little attention to the controversy about indulgences, declaring it "a mere squabble of monks," but he now issued a bull against Luther, ordering him to recant within sixty days or be excommunicated. The papal bull did not frighten Luther or withdraw from him popular support. He burnt it in the market square of Wittenberg, in the presence of a concourse of students and townsfolk. This dramatic answer to the pope deeply stirred all Germany.

Burning of
the papal
bull, 1520

The next scene of the Reformation was staged at Worms, at an important assembly, or Diet, of the Holy Roman Empire. The Diet summoned Luther to appear before it for examination, and the emperor, Charles V, gave him a safe conduct.

Luther's friends, remembering the treatment of Huss, advised him not to accept the summons, but he declared that he would enter Worms "in the face of the gates of hell and the powers of the air." In the great hall of the Diet Luther bravely faced the princes, nobles, and clergy of Germany. He refused to retract anything he had written, unless his statements could be shown to contradict the Bible. "It is neither right nor safe to act against conscience," Luther said. "God help me. Amen."

Only one thing remained to do with Luther. He was ordered to return to Wittenberg and there await the imperial edict

**Luther at
the Wart-
burg, 1521-
1522**

declaring him a heretic and outlaw. But the elector of Saxony, who feared for Luther's safety, had him carried off secretly to the castle of the Wartburg. Luther remained here for nearly a year, engaged upon a German translation of the New Testament. There had been many earlier translations into German, but Luther's was the first from the Greek original. His version, simple, forcible, and easy to understand, enjoyed wide popularity and helped to fix for Germans the form of their literary language. Luther afterwards completed a translation of the entire Bible, which the printing press multiplied in thousands of copies throughout Germany.

Though still under the ban of the empire, Luther left the Wartburg in 1522 and returned to Wittenberg. He lived

**Luther's
leadership**

there, unmolested, until his death, twenty-four years later. During this time he flooded the country with pamphlets, wrote innumerable letters, composed many fine hymns,¹ and prepared a catechism, "a right Bible," said he, "for the laity." Luther in this way became the guide and patron of the reformatory movement which he had started.

¹ His hymn *Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott* ("A mighty fortress is our God") has been called "the Marseillaise of the Reformation."

129. Charles V and the Spread of the German Reformation, 1519-1556

The young man who as Holy Roman Emperor presided at the Diet of Worms had assumed the imperial crown only two years previously. A namesake of Charlemagne, Charles V, held sway over dominions even more extensive than those which had belonged to the Frankish king. Through his mother, a daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella,¹ he inherited Spain, Naples, Sicily, Sardinia, and the Spanish possessions in the New World. Through his father, a son of the emperor Maximilian I, he received the Netherlands and the extensive possessions of the Hapsburgs in central Europe. Charles was thus the most powerful monarch of his time.

Charles, as a devout Roman Catholic, had no sympathy for the Reformation. At

**Charles V
and the
Lutherans**

Worms, on the day following Luther's refusal to recant, the emperor had expressed his determination to stake "all his dominions, his friends, his body and blood, his life and soul" upon the extinction of the Lutheran heresy. This might have been an easy task, had Charles undertaken it at once. But a revolt in Spain, wars with the French king, Francis I, and conflicts with the Ottoman Turks



CHARLES V
Pinakothek, Munich

A portrait of the emperor at the age of forty-eight, by the Venetian painter, Titian

¹ See page 217.

led to his long absence from Germany and kept him from proceeding effectively against the Lutherans, until it was too late.

The Reformation in Germany made a wide appeal. To patriotic Germans it seemed a revolt against a foreign power —

The the Italian Papacy. To men of pious mind it
"Reformed offered the attractions of a simple faith which
Religion" took the Bible as the rule of life. Worldly-minded princes saw in it an opportunity to despoil the Church of lands and revenues. Luther's teachings, accordingly, found acceptance among many people. Priests married, Luther himself setting the example, monks left their monasteries, and the "Reformed Religion" took the place of Roman Catholicism in most parts of northern and central Germany. South Germany, however, did not fall away from the pope and has remained Roman Catholic to the present time.

Though Germany had now divided into two religious parties, the legal position of Lutheranism remained for a long time in

The doubt. One Diet tried to shelve the question by
Protestants, allowing each German state to conduct its re-
1529 ligious affairs as it saw fit. But at another Diet, held in 1529, a majority of the assembled princes decided that the Edict of Worms against Luther and his followers should be enforced. The Lutheran princes at once issued a vigorous protest against such action. Because of this protest those who separated from the Roman Church came to be called Protestants.

It was not until the year of Luther's death that Charles V felt his hands free to suppress the rising tide of Protestantism.

Peace of The Lutheran princes by this time had formed a
Augsburg, league for mutual protection. Charles brought
1555 Spanish troops into Germany and tried to break

up the league by force. Civil war raged till 1555, when both sides agreed to the Peace of Augsburg. It was a compromise. The ruler of each state — Germany then contained over three hundred states — was to decide whether his subjects should be Lutherans or Catholics. The peace thus failed to establish religious toleration, since all Germans had to believe as their princes believed. However, it recognized Lutheranism as a

EUROPE

at the Beginning of
the Reformation, 1519 A.D.

Boundary of the
Holy Roman Empire

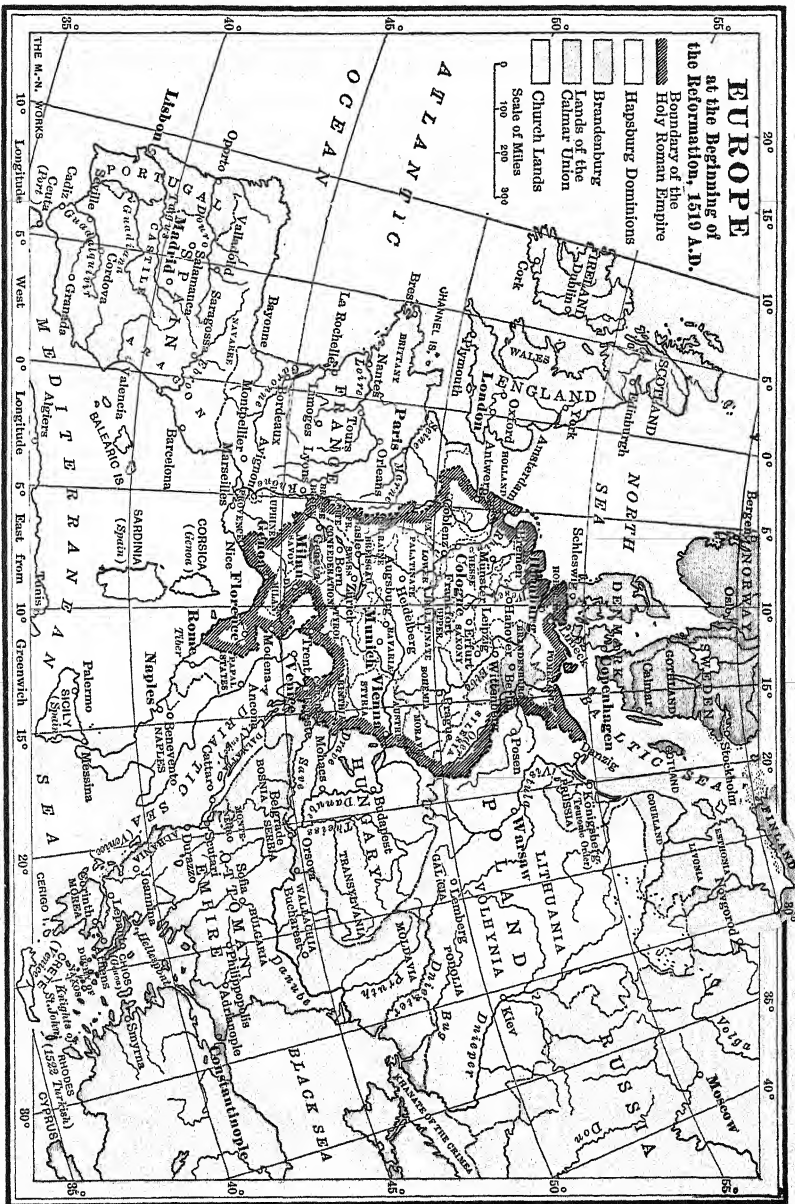
Hapsburg Dominions

Brandenburg

Lands of the
Catholic Union

Church Lands

Scale of Miles
0 100 200 300



legal religion and ended the attempts to crush the German Reformation.

Meanwhile, Luther's doctrines spread into Scandinavian lands. The rulers of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden closed the monasteries and compelled the Roman Catholic bishops to surrender ecclesiastical property to the crown. Lutheranism became henceforth the official religion of these three countries.¹

Lutheranism
in Scandi-
navia

130. The Reformation in Switzerland; Zwingli and Calvin

The Reformation in Switzerland began with the work of Zwingli. He was the contemporary, but not the disciple of Luther. From his pulpit in the cathedral of Zurich, Zwingli proclaimed the Scriptures as the sole guide of faith and denied the supremacy of the pope. Many of the Swiss cantons accepted his teaching and broke away from obedience to Rome. Civil war soon followed between Protestants and Roman Catholics, and Zwingli fell in the struggle. After his death the two parties made a peace which allowed each canton to determine its own religion. Switzerland has continued to this day to be part Roman Catholic and part Protestant.

Huldreich
Zwingli,
1484-1531

The Protestants in Switzerland soon found another leader in John Calvin, a Frenchman who settled in Geneva. His most

important work was the *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, which set forth in an orderly, logical manner the main principles of Protestant theology. Calvin also translated the Bible



JOHN CALVIN

After an old print

¹ In Finland, which formerly belonged to Sweden (see page 100), nearly all the inhabitants are Lutherans.

into French and wrote valuable commentaries on nearly all the Scriptural books.

Calvin at Geneva was sometimes called the Protestant pope. During his long residence there he governed the people with a rod of iron. There were no more festivals, no more theaters, no more dancing, music, and masquerades. All the citizens had to attend two sermons on Sun-



HENRY VIII

After a portrait by Hans Holbein the Younger

day and to yield at least a lip-assent to the reformer's doctrines. On a few occasions Calvin proceeded to terrible extremities, as when he caused the Spanish physician, Michael Servetus, to be burned to death, because of heretical views concerning the Trinity. Nevertheless, Geneva prospered under Calvin's rule and became a Christian commonwealth, sober and industrious. That city still reveres the memory of the man who founded her university and made

her, as it were, the sanctuary of the Reformation.

Calvin's influence was not confined to Geneva or even to Switzerland. The men whom he trained and on whom he set the stamp of his stern, earnest, God-fearing character spread Calvinism over a great part of Europe.

In Holland and Scotland it became the prevailing type of

Protestantism, and in France and England it deeply affected the national life. During the seventeenth century the Puritans carried Calvinism across the sea to New England, where it formed the dominant faith in colonial times.

131. The English Reformation, 1533-1558

The Reformation in Germany and Switzerland started as a national and popular movement; in England it began as the act of a despotic sovereign, Henry VIII. This second Tudor¹ was handsome, athletic, finely educated, and very able; but he was also selfish, sensual, and cruel. His father had created a strong monarchy in England by humbling both Parliament and the nobles. When Henry VIII came to the throne, the only serious obstacle in the way of royal absolutism was the Church of Rome.

Henry VIII,
king, 1509-
1547

Henry showed himself at first a devoted Roman Catholic. He took an amateur's interest in theology and wrote with his own royal pen a book attacking Luther. The pope rewarded him with the title of "Defender of the Faith," a title which English sovereigns still bear. Henry at this time did not question the authority of the Papacy. He even chose as his chief adviser, Cardinal Wolsey, the most conspicuous ecclesiastic in the kingdom.

Henry's
early
loyalty to
the Papacy

The Church, at the beginning of Henry's reign, was still strong in England. Probably most of the people were sincerely attached to it. Still, the labors of Wycliffe and the Lollards had weakened the hold of the Church upon the masses, while Erasmus and the Oxford scholars who worked with him, by their criticism of ecclesiastical abuses, had done much to undermine its influence with the intellectual classes. In England, as on the Continent, the worldliness of the Church prepared the way for the Reformation.

Preparation
for the
English
Reformation

The actual separation from Rome arose out of Henry's matrimonial difficulties. He had married a Spanish princess, Catherine of Aragon, the aunt of the emperor Charles V

¹ See page 214.

and widow of Henry's older brother. The marriage required a dispensation¹ from the pope, because canon law forbade a man to wed his brother's widow. After living happily with Catherine for eighteen years, Henry suddenly announced his conviction that the union was sinful. This, of course, formed simply a pretext for the divorce which Henry desired. Of his children by Catherine only a daughter survived, but Henry wished to have a son succeed him on the throne. Moreover, he had grown tired of Catherine and had fallen in love with Anne Boleyn, a pretty maid-in-waiting at the court.

Henry first tried to secure the pope's consent to the divorce. The pope did not like to set aside the dispensation granted by his predecessor, nor did he wish to offend the mighty emperor Charles V. Failing to get the papal sanction, Henry obtained his divorce from an English court presided over by Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury. Anne Boleyn was then proclaimed queen, in defiance of the papal bull of excommunication.

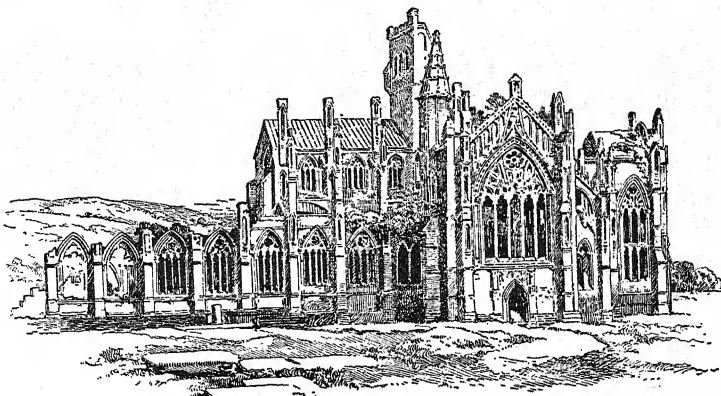
Henry's next step was to procure from his subservient Parliament a series of laws abolishing the pope's authority in England.

Of these, the most important was the Act of Supremacy. It declared the English king to be "the only supreme head on earth of the Church of England." At the same time a new treason act imposed the death penalty on any one who called the king a "heretic, schismatic, tyrant, infidel, or usurper." The great majority of the English people seem to have accepted this new legislation without much objection; those who refused to do so perished on the scaffold.

The suppression of the monasteries soon followed the separation from Rome. Henry declared to Parliament that they deserved to be abolished, because of the "slothful and ungodly lives" led by the inmates. In some instances this accusation may have been true, but the real reason for Henry's action was his desire to crush the

¹ See page 149.

monastic orders, which supported the pope, and to seize their extensive possessions. The beautiful monasteries were torn down, and the lands attached to them were sold for the benefit of the Crown or granted to Henry's favorites. The nobles who accepted this monastic wealth naturally became zealous advocates of Henry's anti-papal policy.



RUINS OF MELROSE ABBEY

The little town of Melrose in Scotland contains the ruins of a very beautiful monastery church built about the middle of the fifteenth century. The principal part of the present structure is the choir, with slender shafts, richly carved capitals, and windows of exquisite stone-tracery. The beautiful sculptures throughout the church were defaced at the time of the Reformation. The heart of Robert Bruce is interred near the site of the high altar.

Though Henry VIII had broken with the Papacy, he remained Roman Catholic in doctrine to the day of his death. Under his successor, Edward VI, the Reformation made rapid progress in England. The young king's guardian allowed reformers from the Continent to come to England, and the doctrines of Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin were freely preached there. All paintings, statuary, wood carvings, and stained glass were removed at this time from church edifices. The use of tapers, incense, and holy water was also discontinued. In order that religious services might be conducted in the language of the people, Archbishop Cranmer and his co-workers prepared

Progress
of the
Reformation
under
Edward VI,
1547-1553

348 The Reformation and the Religious Wars

the *Book of Common Prayer*. It consisted of translations into noble English of various parts of the old Latin service books. With some changes, it is still used in the Church of England and the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States.

The short reign of Mary Tudor, daughter of Catherine of Aragon, was marked by a temporary setback to the Protestant cause. The queen prevailed on Parliament to secure a reconciliation with Rome. She also married her Roman Catholic cousin, Philip of Spain, the son of Charles V. Mary now began a severe persecution of the Protestants. It gained for her the epithet of "Bloody," but it did not succeed in stamping out heresy. Many eminent reformers perished, among them Cranmer, the former archbishop. Mary died childless, after ruling about five years, and the crown passed to Anne Boleyn's daughter, Elizabeth. Under Elizabeth Anglicanism again replaced Roman Catholicism as the religion of England.

132. The Protestant Sects

The Reformation was practically completed before the close of the sixteenth century. In 1500 the Roman Church embraced all Europe west of Russia and the Balkan peninsula. By 1575 nearly half of its former subjects had renounced their allegiance. The greater part of Germany and Switzerland and all of Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Holland, England, and Scotland became independent of the Papacy. The unity of western Christendom, which had been preserved throughout the Middle Ages, thus disappeared and has not since been revived.

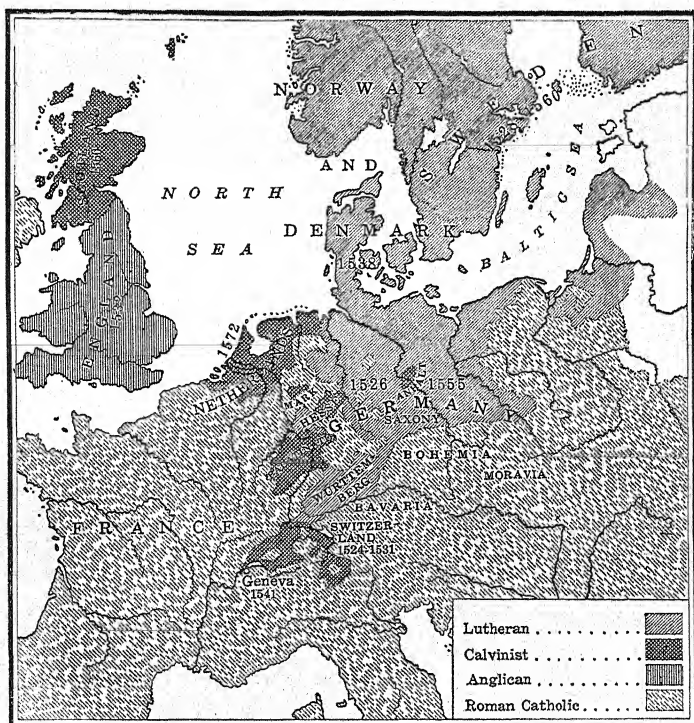
The reformers agreed in substituting for the authority of popes and church councils the authority of the Bible. They went back fifteen hundred years to the time of the Apostles and tried to restore what they believed to be apostolic Christianity. Hence they rejected such doctrines and practices as were supposed to have developed during the Middle Ages. These included belief in purgatory, veneration of relics, invocation of saints, devotion to the

The Catholic
reaction
under Mary
Tudor,
1553-1558

Extent of
Protestantism

Common
features of
Protestantism

Virgin, indulgences, pilgrimages, and the greater number of the sacraments. The Reformation also abolished the monastic system and priestly celibacy. The sharp distinction between clergy and laity disappeared; for priests married, lived among the people, and no longer formed a separate class. In general,



'EXTENT OF THE REFORMATION, 1524-1572 A.D.

Protestantism affirmed the ability of every man to find salvation without the aid of ecclesiastics. The Church was no longer the only "gate of heaven."

But the Protestant idea of authority led inevitably to differences of opinion among the reformers. There were various ways of interpreting that Bible to which they appealed as the rule of faith and conduct. Consequently, Protestantism split up into many sects

Divisions
among
Protestants

or denominations, and these have gone on multiplying to the present day. Nearly all, however, are offshoots from the three main varieties of Protestantism which appeared in the sixteenth century.

Lutheranism and Anglicanism presented some features in common. Both had a book of common prayer and both recognized

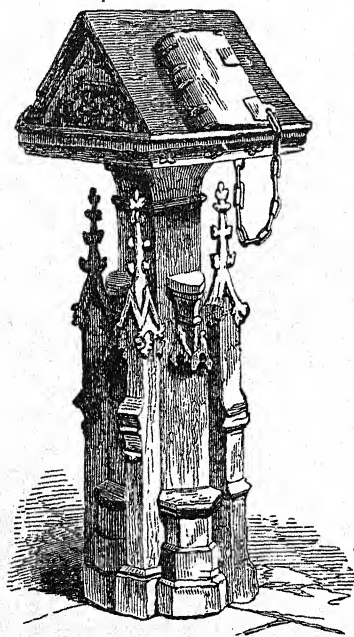
Lutheranism the sacraments
and of baptism and
Anglicanism the Eucharist.

The Church of England also kept the sacraments of confirmation and ordination. The Lutheran churches in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, as well as the Church of England, likewise retained the episcopate. Lutheranism in Prussia and Anglicanism were state-supported.

Calvinism departed much more widely from Roman

Calvinism Catholicism. It did away with

the episcopate and had only one order of clergy — the presbyters.¹ It provided for a very simple form of worship. In a Calvinistic church the service consisted of Bible



CHAINED BIBLE

In the Church of St. Crux, York

reading, a sermon, extemporaneous prayers, and hymns sung by the congregation. The Calvinists kept only two sacraments, baptism and the Eucharist. They regarded the first, however, as a simple undertaking to bring up the child in a Christian manner, and the second as merely a commemoration of the Last Supper.

¹ Churches governed by assemblies of presbyters were called Presbyterian; those which allowed each congregation to rule itself were called Congregational.

The break with Rome did not introduce religious liberty into Europe. Nothing was further from the minds of Luther, Calvin, and other reformers than the toleration of beliefs unlike their own. The early Protestant sects punished dissenters as zealously as the Roman Church punished heretics. Lutherans persecuted followers of Zwingli in Germany, Calvin put Servetus to death, and the English government, in the time of Henry VIII and Elizabeth, executed many Roman Catholics. Complete freedom of conscience and the right of private judgment in religion have been secured in most countries of Europe only within the last hundred years.

The
Reformation
and freedom
of thought

The Reformation, however, did deepen the moral life of European peoples. The faithful Protestant or Roman Catholic vied with his neighbor in trying to show that his particular belief made for better living than any other. The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in consequence, were more earnest and serious, if also more bigoted, than the centuries of the Renaissance.

The
Reformation
and morals

133. The Catholic Counter Reformation

The rapid spread of Protestantism soon brought about a Catholic Counter Reformation in those parts of Europe which remained faithful to Rome. The popes now turned from the cultivation of Renaissance art and literature to the defense of their threatened faith. They made needed changes in the papal court and appointed to ecclesiastical offices men distinguished for virtue and learning. This reform of the Papacy dates from the time of Paul III, who became pope in 1534. He opened the college of cardinals to Roman Catholic reformers, even offering a seat in it to Erasmus. Still more important was his support of the famous Society of Jesus, which had been established in the year of his accession to the papal throne.

The
reforming
popes

The founder of the new society was a Spanish nobleman, Ignatius Loyola. He had seen a good deal of service in the wars of Charles V against the French. While in a hospital

recovering from a wound, Loyola read devotional books, and these produced a profound change within him. He now donned a beggar's robe, practiced all the kinds of asceticism which his books described, and went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Still later he became a student of theology at Paris, where he met the six devout and



ST. IGNATIUS LOYOLA

After the painting by Sanchez de Coello in the House of the Society of Jesus at Madrid. No authentic portrait of Loyola has been preserved. Coello's picture was made with the aid of a wax cast of the saint's features taken after death.

talented men who became the first members of his society. They intended to work as missionaries among the Moslems, but, when this plan fell through, they visited Rome and placed their energy and enthusiasm at the disposal of the pope.

Loyola's military training deeply affected the character of the new order. The Jesuits, as their Protestant opponents styled them, were to form an army of spiritual soldiers, living under the strictest obedience to their head, or general. Like soldiers, again, they were to remain in the world and there fight manfully for the Church and against heretics. The society grew rapidly; before Loyola's death it

included over a thousand members; and in the seventeenth century it became the most influential of all the religious orders.¹ The activity of the Jesuits as preachers, confessors, teachers, and missionaries did much to roll back the rising tide of Protestantism in Europe.

The Jesuits gave special attention to education, for they realized the importance of winning over the young people to

¹ The pope suppressed the society in 1773, on the ground that it had outgrown its usefulness. It was revived in many European countries during the nineteenth century.

the Church. Their schools were so good that even Protestant children often attended them. The popularity of Jesuit teachers arose partly from the fact that they always tried to lead, not drive their pupils. Light punishments, short lessons, many holidays, and a liberal use of prizes and other distinctions formed some of the attractive features of their system of training. It is not surprising that the Jesuits became the instructors of the Roman Catholic world. They called their colleges the "fortresses of the faith."

The missions of the Jesuits were not less important than their schools. The Jesuits worked in Poland, Hungary, Bohemia, and other countries where Protestantism threatened to become dominant. Then they invaded all the lands which the great maritime discoveries of the preceding age had laid open to European enterprise. In India, China, the East Indies, Japan, the Philippines, Africa, and the two Americas their converts from heathenism were numbered by hundreds of thousands.

The most eminent of all Jesuit missionaries, St. Francis Xavier, had belonged to Loyola's original band. He was a little, blue-eyed man, an engaging preacher, an excellent organizer, and possessed of so attractive a personality that even the ruffians and pirates with whom he had to associate on his voyages became his friends. Xavier labored with such devotion and success in the Portuguese colonies of the Far East as to gain the title of "Apostle to the Indies." He also introduced Christianity in Japan, where it flourished until a persecuting emperor extinguished it with fire and sword.

Another agency in the Counter Reformation was the great Church Council summoned by Pope Paul III. The council met at Trent, on the borders of Germany and Italy. It continued, with intermissions, for nearly twenty years. The Protestants, though invited to participate, did not attend, and hence nothing could be done to bring them back within the Roman Catholic fold. This was the last general council of the Church for over three centuries.

Council of
Trent, 1545-
1563

2

The Council of Trent made no essential changes in Roman Catholic doctrines, which remained as St. Thomas Aquinas¹ and other theologians had set them forth in the Middle Ages. It declared that the tradition of the Church possessed equal authority with the Bible and reaffirmed the supremacy of the pope over Christendom. The council also passed decrees forbidding the sale of ecclesiastical offices and requiring bishops and other prelates to attend strictly to their duties. Since the Council of Trent the Roman Church has been distinctly a religious organization, instead of both a secular and a religious body, as was the Church in the Middle Ages.

The council, before adjourning, authorized the pope to draw up a list, or Index, of works which Roman Catholics might not read. This action did not form an innovation.

The Index The Church from an early day had condemned heretical writings. However, the invention of printing, by giving greater currency to new and dangerous ideas, seemed to increase the necessity for the regulation of thought. The "Index of Prohibited Books" still exists, and additions to the list are made from time to time. It was matched by the strict censorship of printing long maintained in Protestant countries.

Still another agency of the Counter Reformation consisted of the Inquisition. This was a system of church courts for the discovery and punishment of heretics. Such courts had been set up in the Middle Ages, for instance, to suppress the Albigensian heresy. After the Council of Trent they redoubled their activity, especially in Italy, the Netherlands, and Spain.

The Inquisition probably contributed to the disappearance of Protestantism in Italy. In the Netherlands, where it worked with great severity, it only aroused exasperation and hatred and helped to provoke a successful revolt of the Dutch people. The Spaniards, on the other hand, approved of the methods of the Inquisition and

¹ See page 262.

welcomed its extermination of heretics. The Spanish Inquisition was not abolished until the nineteenth century.

134. Spain under Philip II, 1556-1598

In 1555, the year of the Peace of Augsburg, Charles V determined to abdicate his many crowns and seek the repose of a monastery. The plan was duly carried into effect. His brother, Ferdinand I, succeeded to the title of Holy Roman Emperor and the Austrian territories, while his son, Philip II, received the Spanish possessions in Italy, Sicily, the Netherlands, and America. There were now two branches of the Hapsburg family — one in Austria and one in Spain.

Abdication
of Charles
V, 1555-
1556

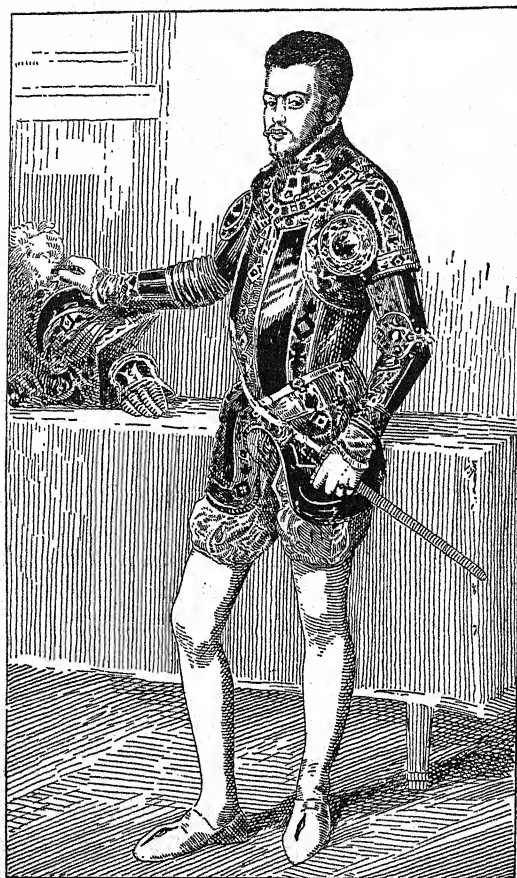
The new king of Spain was a man of unflagging energy, strong will, and deep attachment to the Roman Church. As a ruler he had two great ideals: to make Spain the foremost state in the world and to secure the triumph of Roman Catholicism over Protestantism. His efforts to realize these ideals largely determined European history during the second half of the sixteenth century.

Philip II

The Spanish monarch won renown by becoming the champion of Christendom against the Ottoman Turks. The Turks at this time had a strong navy, by means of which they captured Cyprus from the Venetians and ravaged Sicily and southern Italy. Grave danger existed that they would soon control all the Mediterranean. To stay their further progress one of the popes preached what was really the last crusade. The fleets of Genoa and Venice united with those of Spain, and under Don John of Austria, Philip's half-brother, totally defeated the Turkish squadron in the Gulf of Lepanto, off the western coast of Greece. The battle gave a blow to the sea-power of the Turks from which they never recovered and ended their aggressive warfare in the Mediterranean. Lepanto is one of the proud names in the history of Spain.

Battle of
Lepanto,
1571

Philip had inherited an extensive realm. He further widened it by the annexation of Portugal, thus completing the unification



PHILIP II

Prado Museum, Madrid

A portrait of Philip at the age of twenty-four, by the Venetian painter, Titian.

of the Spanish peninsula. The Portuguese colonies in Africa, Asia, and America also passed into Spanish hands. The union of Spain and Portugal under one crown never commanded any affection among the Portuguese, who were proud of their nationality and of their

**Annexation
of Portugal,
1581**

achievements as explorers and empire-builders. Portugal separated from Spain in 1640 and has since remained an independent state.



THE ESCORIAL

This remarkable edifice, at once a convent, a church, a palace, and a royal mausoleum, is situated in a sterile and gloomy wilderness about twenty-seven miles from Madrid. It was begun by Philip II in 1563 and was completed twenty-one years later. The Escorial is dedicated to St. Lawrence, that saint's day (August 10, 1557) being the day when the Spanish king won a great victory over the French at the battle of St. Quentin. The huge dimensions of the Escorial may be inferred from the fact that it includes eighty-six staircases, eighty-nine fountains, fifteen cloisters, 1,200 doors, 2,600 windows, and miles of corridors. The building material is a granite-like stone obtained in the neighborhood. The Escorial contains a library of rare books and manuscripts and a collection of valuable paintings. In the royal mausoleum under the altar of the church lie the remains of Charles V, Philip II, and many of their successors.

But the successes of Philip were more than offset by his failures. Though he had vast possessions, enormous revenues, mighty fleets, and armies reputed the best of the Philip's age, he could not dominate western Europe. His failures attempt to conquer England, a stronghold of Protestantism under Elizabeth, resulted in disaster. Not less disastrous was his life-long struggle with the Netherlands.

135. Revolt of the Netherlands

The seventeen provinces of the Netherlands occupied the flat, low country along the North Sea — the Holland, Belgium,

and northern France of the present day. They became Hapsburg possessions during the fifteenth century and thus formed a part of the Holy Roman Empire. As we have learned, Charles V received them as his inheritance, and he, in turn, transmitted them to Philip II.

The inhabitants of the Netherlands were not racially united. Celtic blood and Romance speech prevailed in the southern-most provinces, while farther north dwelt peoples of Teutonic extraction, who spoke Flemish and Dutch. Each province likewise kept its own government and customs. The prosperity which had marked the Flemish cities during the Middle Ages extended in the sixteenth century to the Dutch cities also. Rotterdam, Leyden, Utrecht, and Amsterdam profited by the geographical discoveries and became centers of extensive commerce with Asia and America. The rise of the Dutch power, in a country so exposed to destructive inundations of both sea and rivers, is a striking instance of what can be accomplished by a frugal, industrious population.

The Netherlands were too near Germany not to be affected by the Reformation. Lutheranism soon appeared there, only to encounter the hostility of Charles V, who introduced the terrors of the Inquisition. Many heretics were burned at the stake, or beheaded, or buried alive. But there is no seed like martyrs' blood. The number of Protestants swelled, rather than lessened, especially after Calvinism entered the Netherlands.

In spite of the cruel treatment of heretics by Charles V, both Flemings and Dutch remained loyal to the emperor, because he had been born and reared among them and always considered their country as his own. Philip II, a Spaniard by birth and sympathies, seemed to them, however, only a foreign master. The new ruler did nothing to conciliate the people, but governed them despotically through Spanish officials supported by Spanish garrisons. Arbitrary taxes were levied, cities and nobles were deprived of their cherished privileges, and the activity of the Inquisition was

redoubled. Philip intended to exercise in the Netherlands the same absolute power enjoyed by him in Spain.

The religious persecution which by Philip's orders raged through the Netherlands everywhere aroused intense indignation. The result was rioting by mobs of Protestants, who wrecked churches and monasteries and carried off the treasure they found in them. Philip replied to these acts by sending his best army, under the duke of Alva, his best general, to reduce the turbulent provinces to submission.

Alva sent
to the
Netherlands,
1567

Alva carried out with thoroughness the policy of his royal master. A tribunal, popularly known as the "Council of Blood," was set up for the punishment of treason and heresy. Hundreds, and probably thousands, perished; tens of thousands fled to Germany and England. Alva, as governor-general, also raised enormous taxes, which threatened to destroy the trade and manufactures of the Netherlands. Under these circumstances Roman Catholics and Protestants, nobles and townfolk, united against their Spanish oppressors. A revolt began which Spain could never quell.

Outbreak of
the revolt



WILLIAM THE SILENT
After a painting at Delit

The Netherlands found a leader in William, Prince of Orange, later known as William the Silent, because of his customary discreetness. He was of German birth, a convert to Protestantism, and the owner of large estates in the Netherlands. William had fair ability as a general, a statesmanlike grasp of the situation, and above all a stout, courageous heart which never wavered in moments of danger and defeat. To rescue the Netherlands from Spain he sacrificed his high position, his wealth, and eventually his life.

William the
Silent, 1533-
1584

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The ten southern provinces of the Netherlands, mainly Roman Catholic in population, soon effected a reconciliation with Philip and returned to their allegiance. They remained in Hapsburg hands for over two centuries. Modern Belgium has grown out of them.

The seven northern provinces, where Dutch was the language

and Protestantism the religion, came together in 1579 in the Union of Utrecht. Two years later they declared their independence of Spain. In this way the Dutch Republic, or simply "Holland," took its place among European nations.

The struggle of the Dutch for freedom forms one of the most notable episodes in history. At first they were no match



THE NETHERLANDS AT THE TRUCE OF 1609

for the disciplined Spanish soldiery, but they fought bravely behind the walls of their cities and on more than one occasion repelled the enemy by cutting the dikes and letting in the sea. Though William the Silent perished in a dark hour by an assassin's bullet, the contest continued. England now came to the aid of the hard-pressed republic with money and a small army. Philip turned upon his new antagonist and sent against England the great fleet called the "Invincible Armada." Its destruction interfered with further attempts

to subjugate the Dutch, but the Spanish monarch, stubborn to the last, refused to acknowledge their independence. His successor, in 1609, consented to a twelve years' truce with the revolted provinces, but their freedom was not recognized officially by Spain until many years later.

The long struggle bound the Dutch together and made them one nation. During the seventeenth century they took a prominent part in European affairs. The re- **The Dutch Republic** public which they founded ought to be of special interest to Americans. Holland had the earliest system of common schools supported by taxation, early adopted the principles of religious toleration and freedom of the press, and in the Union of Utrecht gave to the world the first written constitution of a modern state. In these and other matters the Dutch were pioneers of modern democracy.

136. England under Elizabeth, 1558-1603

Queen Elizabeth, who reigned over England during the period of the Dutch Revolt, came to the throne when about twenty-five years old. She was tall and com- **Elizabeth** manding in presence and endowed with great physical vigor and endurance. After hunting all day or dancing all night she could still attend unremittingly to public business. Elizabeth had received an excellent education; she spoke Latin and several modern languages; knew a little Greek; and displayed some skill in music. To her father, Henry VIII, she doubtless owed her tactfulness and charm of manner, as well as her imperious will; she resembled her mother, Anne Boleyn, in her vanity and love of display. As a ruler Elizabeth was shrewd, far-sighted, a good judge of character, and willing to be guided by the able counselors who surrounded her. Above all, Elizabeth was an ardent patriot. She understood and loved her people, and they, in turn, felt a chivalrous devotion to the "Virgin Queen," to "Good Queen Bess."

The daughter of Anne Boleyn had been born under the ban of the pope, so that opposition to Rome was the natural course for her to pursue. Two acts of Parliament now separated

England once more from the Papacy and gave the Anglican Church practically the form and doctrines which it retains to-day. The church was intended to include every one in England, and hence all persons were required to

attend religious exercises on Sundays and holy days. Refusal to do so exposed the offender to a fine.

The great body of the people soon conformed

Treatment of Roman Catholics to the state church, but Roman Catholics

could not conscientiously attend its services. The laws against them donot seem to have been strictly enforced at first, but in the later years of Elizabeth's reign real or suspected plots by Roman Catholics against her throne led to a policy of repression. Those who



ELIZABETH
Windsor Castle

A portrait of Elizabeth as a princess, about 1547.

said or heard mass were heavily fined and imprisoned; those who brought papal bulls into England or converted Protestants to Roman Catholicism were executed as traitors. Several hundred priests, mostly Jesuits, suffered death, and many more languished in jail. This persecution, however necessary it may have seemed to Elizabeth and her advisers, is a blot on her reign.

The Reformation made little progress in Ireland. Henry VIII, who had extended English sway over most of the island, suppressed the monasteries, demolished shrines, relics, and images, and placed English-speaking

priests in charge of the churches. The Irish people, nevertheless, remained loyal to Rome and regarded these measures as the tyrannical acts of a foreign government. During Elizabeth's reign there were several dangerous revolts, which her generals put down with great cruelty. The result was to widen the breach between England and Ireland.

Many of the plots against Elizabeth centered about Mary Stuart, the ill-starred Queen of Scots. She was a granddaughter of Henry VII, and extreme Roman Catholics claimed that she had a better right to the English throne than Elizabeth, because the pope had declared the marriage of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn null and void. Mary, a fervent Roman Catholic,

Elizabeth
and Mary
Queen of
Scots

did not please her Scotch subjects, who had adopted Calvinistic doctrines. She also discredited herself by marrying the man who had murdered her former husband.



SILVER CROWN OF ELIZABETH'S REIGN

An uprising of the Scottish nobles compelled Mary to abdicate the throne in favor of her infant son¹ and to take refuge in England. Elizabeth kept her rival in captivity for nearly twenty years and finally had her put to death.

Philip II, the king of Spain, also threatened Elizabeth's security. At the outset of her reign Philip had made her an offer of marriage, but she refused to give herself, Elizabeth and or England, a Spanish master. As time went on, Philip II he turned into an open enemy of the Protestant queen and did his best to stir up sedition among her Roman Catholic subjects. It must be admitted that Philip could plead strong justification for his attitude. Elizabeth allowed the English "sea dogs"²

¹ James VI of Scotland. On Elizabeth's death he became king of England as James I. See page 206, note 2.

² See page 326.

to plunder Spanish colonies and seize Spanish vessels laden with the treasures of the New World. Moreover, she aided the rebellious Dutch, at first secretly and at length openly, in their struggle against Spain. Philip put up with these aggressions for many years, but finally came to the conclusion that he could



MARY STUART

After a portrait in the possession of the Earl of Norton.

never subdue the Netherlands or end the piracy and smuggling in Spanish America without first conquering England. The execution of Mary Stuart removed his last doubts, for Mary had left him her claims to the English throne. He at once made ready to invade England. Philip seems to have believed that, as soon as a Spanish army landed in the island, the Roman Catholics would rally to his cause. But the Spanish king never had a chance to verify his belief; the decisive battle took place on the sea.

Philip had not completed his preparations before Sir

Francis Drake sailed into Cadiz harbor and destroyed a vast amount of naval stores and shipping. This exploit, which Drake called "singeing the king of Spain's beard," delayed the expedition for a year. The "Invincible Armada"¹ set out at last in 1588.

The
"Invincible
Armada,"
1588

The Spanish vessels, though somewhat larger than those of the English, were inferior in number, speed, and gunnery to their adversaries, while the Spanish officers, mostly unused to the

¹ Armada was a Spanish name for any armed fleet.

sea, were no match for men like Drake, Frobisher, and Raleigh, the best mariners of the age. The Armada suffered severely in a nine-days' fight in the Channel, and many vessels which escaped the English guns met shipwreck off the Scotch and Irish coasts. Less than half of the Armada returned in safety to Spain.

England in the later Middle Ages had been an important



THE SPANISH ARMADA IN THE ENGLISH CHANNEL

After an engraving by the Society of Antiquarians following a tapestry in the House of Lords.

naval power, as her ability to carry on the Hundred Years' War in France amply proved. During the six- English
teenth century she was over-matched by Spain, sea-power
especially after the annexation of Portugal added the naval forces of that country to the Spanish fleets. The defeat of the Armada showed that a new people had arisen to claim the supremacy of the ocean. Henceforth the English began to build up what was to be a sea-power greater than any other known to history.

137. The Huguenot Wars in France

France, by the close of the fifteenth century, had become a centralized state under a strong monarchy.¹ Francis I, who reigned in the first half of the sixteenth century, still further exalted the royal power. He had many wars with Charles V, whose extensive dominions nearly surrounded the French kingdom. These wars prevented the emperor from making France a mere dependency of Spain. As we have learned,² they also interfered with the efforts of Charles V to crush the Protestants in Germany.

Protestantism in France dates from the time of Francis I. The Huguenots,³ as the French Protestants were called, naturally accepted the doctrines of Calvin, who was himself a Frenchman and whose books were written in the French language. Though bitterly persecuted, the Huguenots gained a large following, especially among the prosperous middle class of the towns. Many nobles also became Huguenots, sometimes because of religious conviction, but often because the new movement offered them an opportunity to recover their feudal independence and to plunder the estates of the Church. In France, as well as in Germany, the Reformation had its worldly side.

During most of the second half of the sixteenth century, fierce conflicts raged in France between the Roman Catholics and the Huguenots. Philip II aided the former, and Queen Elizabeth gave some assistance to the latter. France suffered terribly in the struggle, not only from the constant fighting, but also from the pillage, burnings, and other barbarities in which both sides indulged. The wealth and prosperity of the country visibly declined, and all patriotic feeling disappeared in the hatreds engendered by a civil war.

The episode known as the massacre of St. Bartholomew's

¹ See page 214.

² See page 341.

³ The origin of the name is not known with certainty.

Day illustrates the extremes to which political ambition and religious bigotry could lead. The massacre was an attempt to extirpate the Huguenots, root and branch, at a time when peace prevailed between them and their opponents. The person primarily responsible for it was Catherine de' Medici, an Italian by birth and mother of the youthful king of France. The king had begun to cast off the sway of his mother and to come under the influence of Admiral de Coligny, the most eminent of the Huguenots. To regain her power Catherine first tried to have Coligny murdered. When the plot failed, she invented the story of a great Huguenot uprising and induced her weak-minded son to authorize a wholesale butchery of Huguenots. It began in Paris in the early morning of St. Bartholomew's Day (August 24) and extended to the provinces, where it continued for several weeks. At least ten thousand Huguenots were slain, including Coligny himself. The deed was a blunder as well as a crime. The Huguenots took up arms to defend themselves, and France again experienced all the horrors of internecine strife.

Massacre
of St.
Bartholo-
mew's Day,
1572

Italian by



HENRY IV

After an old engraving. The king wears a hat with plumes and an aigrette, a ruff, and an embroidered cloak. On his breast is the order of Saint Esprit.

Paris in the early morning of St. Bartholomew's Day (August 24) and extended to the provinces, where it continued for several weeks. At least ten thousand Huguenots were slain, including Coligny himself. The deed was a blunder as well as a crime. The Huguenots took up arms to defend themselves, and France again experienced all the horrors of internecine strife.

The death of Coligny transferred the leadership of the Hugue-

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notes to Henry Bourbon, king of Navarre.¹ Seventeen years after the massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day, he inherited the French crown as Henry IV, the first of the Bourbon kings. The Roman Catholics would not accept a Protestant ruler and continued the conflict. Henry soon realized that only his conversion to the faith of the majority of his subjects would bring a lasting peace. Religious opinions



CARDINAL RICHELIEU

Louvre, Paris

After the portrait of the Belgian artist,
Philippe de Champaigne.

had always sat lightly upon him, and he found no great difficulty in becoming a Roman Catholic. "Paris," said Henry, "was well worth a mass." Opposition to the king soon collapsed, and the Huguenot wars came to an end.

Though now a Roman Catholic, Henry did not break with the Huguenots. He now issued in their interest the celebrated

Edict of Nantes, 1598. The Huguenots henceforth were to enjoy freedom of private worship everywhere in France,² and freedom to worship publicly in a large number of villages and towns. Only Roman Catholic services, how-

ever, might be held in Paris and at the royal court. Though the edict did not grant complete religious liberty, it marked an important step in that direction. A great European state had recognized for the first time the principle that two rival faiths might exist peaceably side by side within its borders.

Having settled the religious difficulties, Henry could take up the work of restoring prosperity to distracted France. His interest in the welfare of his subjects gained for him the name

¹ Navarre originally formed a small kingdom on both sides of the Pyrenees. The part south of these mountains was acquired by Spain in 1513. See the map on page 215.

of "Good King Henry." With the help of Sully, his chief minister, the king reformed the finances and extinguished the public debt. He opened roads, built bridges, and dug canals. He also encouraged commerce by royal bounties for shipbuilding. The French at this time began to have a navy and to compete with the Dutch and English for trade on the high seas. Henry's work of renovation was cut short by an assassin's dagger. Under his son, Louis XIII (1610-1643), a long period of disorder followed, until an able minister, Cardinal Richelieu, assumed the guidance of public affairs. Richelieu for many years was the real ruler of France. His foreign policy led to the intervention of that country in the international conflict known as the Thirty Years' War.

France under
Henry IV,
1589-1610

138. The Thirty Years' War, 1618-1648

The Peace of Augsburg¹ gave repose to Germany for more than sixty years, but it did not form a complete settlement of the religious question in that country. There was still room for bitter disputes, especially over the ownership of Church property which had been secularized in the course of the Reformation. Furthermore, the peace recognized only Roman Catholics and Lutherans and allowed no rights whatever to the large body of Calvinists. The failure of Lutherans and Calvinists to coöperate weakened German Protestantism just at the period when the Counter Reformation inspired Roman Catholicism with fresh energy and enthusiasm.

Religious
antagonisms

Politics, as well as religion, also helped to bring about the great conflagration. The Roman Catholic party relied for support on the Hapsburg emperors, who wished to unite the German states under their control, thus restoring the Holy Roman Empire to its former proud position in the affairs of Europe. The Protestant princes, on the other hand, wanted to become independent sovereigns. Hence they resented all efforts to extend the imperial authority over them.

Political
friction

¹ See page 342.

The Thirty Years' War was not so much a single conflict as a series of conflicts, which ultimately involved nearly all western Europe. It began in Bohemia, where Protestantism had not been extinguished by the Hussite wars.¹ The Bohemian nobles, many of whom were Calvinists, revolted against Hapsburg rule and proclaimed the independence of Bohemia. The German Lutherans gave them no aid, however, and the emperor, Ferdinand II, easily put down the insurrection. Many thousands of Protestants were now driven into exile. Those who remained in Bohemia were obliged to accept Roman Catholicism. Thus one more country was lost to Protestantism.

The failure of the Bohemian revolt aroused the greatest alarm in Germany. Ferdinand threatened to follow in the footsteps of Charles V and to crush Protestantism in the land of its birth. When, therefore, the king of Denmark, who as duke of Holstein had a great interest in German affairs, decided to intervene, both Lutherans and Calvinists supported him. Wallenstein, the emperor's able general, proved more than a match for the Danish king, who at length withdrew from the contest.

So far the Roman Catholic and imperial party had triumphed. Ferdinand's success led him to issue the Edict of Restitution, which compelled the Protestants to restore all the Church property which they had taken since the Peace of Augsburg. The enforcement of the edict brought about renewed resistance on the part of the Protestants.

There now appeared the single heroic figure on the stage of the Thirty Years' War. This was Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, and a man of military genius. He had the deepest sympathy with his fellow-Protestants in Germany and regarded himself as their divinely appointed deliverer. Gustavus also hoped to conquer the coast of northern Germany. The Baltic would then be a Swedish lake, for Sweden already possessed Finland and what later became the Russian provinces on the Baltic.²

¹ See page 337.

² See page 222.

Gustavus entered Germany with a strong force of disciplined soldiers and tried to form alliances with the Protestant princes. They received him coolly at first, for the Swedish king seemed to them only a foreign invader. Just at this time the imperialists captured Magdeburg, the largest and most prosperous city in northern Germany. At least twenty thousand of the inhabitants perished miserably amid the smoking ruins of their homes. This massacre turned Protestant sentiment toward Gustavus as the "Lion of the North" who had come to preserve Germany from destruction. With the help of his allies Gustavus reconquered most of Germany for the Protestants, but he fell at the battle of Lützen in the moment of victory. His work, however, was done. The Swedish king had saved the cause of Protestantism in Germany.

Gustavus
Adolphus in
Germany,
1630-1632



GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS

Munich Gallery

After the portrait by the Flemish
artist, Sir Anthony Van Dyck.

After the death of Gustavus the war assumed more and more a political character. The German Protestants found an ally, strangely enough, in Cardinal Richelieu, the all-powerful minister of the French king. Richelieu entered the struggle in order to humble the Austrian Hapsburgs and extend the boundaries of France toward the Rhine, at the expense of the Holy Roman Empire. Since the Spanish Hapsburgs were aiding their Austrian kinsmen, Richelieu naturally fought against Spain also. The Holy Roman Emperor had to yield at last and consented to the treaties of peace signed at two cities in the province of Westphalia.

Richelieu
and the
intervention
of France

The Peace of Westphalia ended the long series of wars which followed the Reformation. It practically settled the religious question, for it allowed Calvinists in Germany to enjoy the

same privileges as Lutherans and also withdrew the Edict of Restitution. Nothing was said in the treaties about liberty of conscience, but from this time the idea that religious differences should be settled by force gradually passed away from the minds of men.

The territorial readjustments made by the Peace of Westphalia have deeply affected the subsequent history of Europe.

Peace of Westphalia, 1648 France received from the Holy Roman Empire a large part of Alsace, in this way obtaining a foothold on the upper Rhine. She also secured the recognition of her old claims to the bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun in Lorraine.¹ Sweden gained the western half of Pomerania and the bishopric of Bremen. These possessions enabled her to control the mouths of the rivers Oder, Elbe, and Weser, which were important arteries of German commerce. Brandenburg — the future kingdom of Prussia — acquired eastern Pomerania and several bishoprics, thus becoming the leading state in North Germany. The independence of Switzerland² and of the United Netherlands³ was also recognized.

The Peace of Westphalia left Germany more divided than ever. Each one of the larger states was free to coin money, raise armies, make war, and negotiate treaties without consulting the emperor. The Holy Roman Empire, in fact, had become a mere phantom. The Hapsburgs from now on devoted themselves to their Austrian dominions, which included more Magyars and Slavs than Germans. The failure of the Hapsburgs in the Thirty Years' War long postponed the unification of Germany.

During the Thirty Years' War Germany had seen most of the fighting. She suffered from it to the point of exhaustion. The population dwindled from about sixteen millions to one-half, or, as some believe, to one-third that number. The loss of life was partly due to fearful epidemics, such as typhus fever and the bubonic plague, which spread over the land in the wake of the invading armies. A

¹ See the map on page 402.

² See page 220.

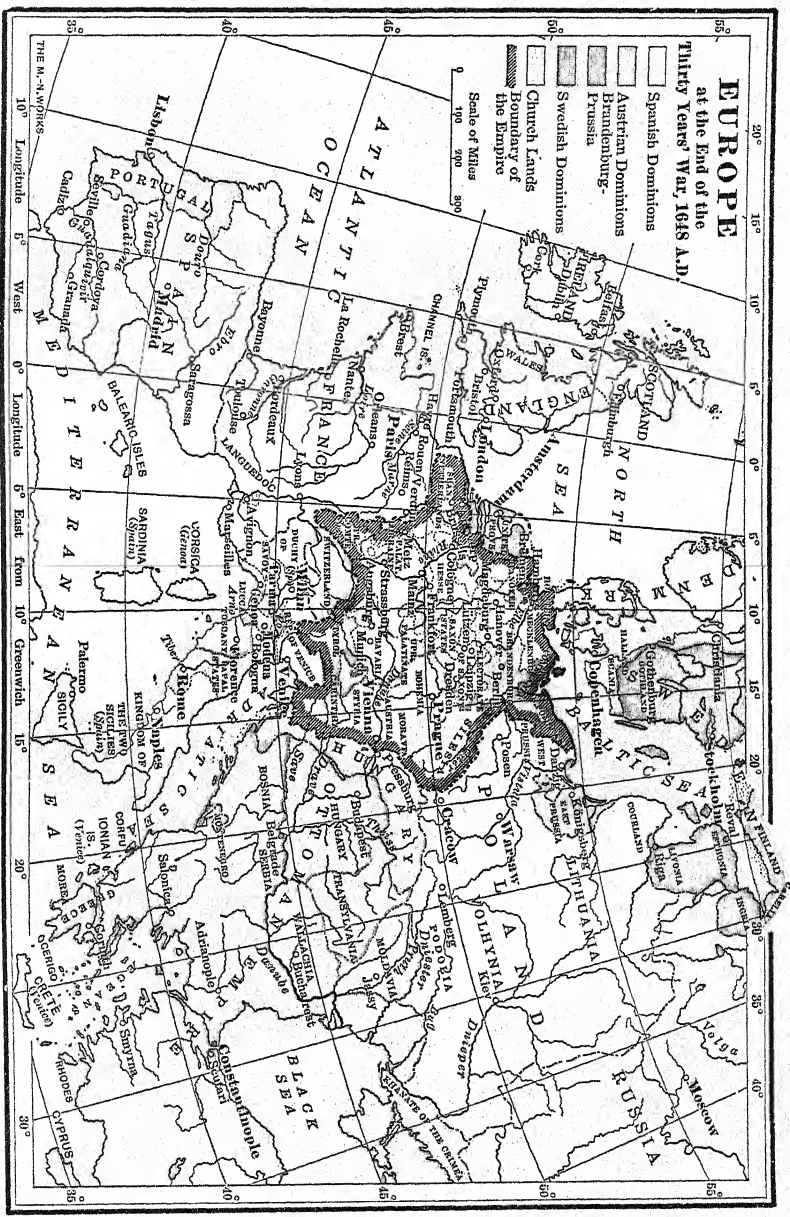
³ See page 361.

EUROPE

at the end of the
Thirty Years' War, 1648 A.D.

- Spanish Dominions
- Austrian Dominions
- Brandenburg-Prussia
- Swedish Dominions
- Church Lands
- Boundary of the Empire

Scale of Miles
0 100 200 300



great many villages were destroyed or were abandoned by their inhabitants. Much of the soil went out of cultivation, while trade and manufacturing nearly disappeared. Added to all this was the decline of education, literature, and art, and the brutalizing of the people in mind and morals. It took Germany at least one hundred years to recover from the injury inflicted by the Thirty Years' War; complete recovery, indeed, came only in the nineteenth century.

The savagery displayed by all participants in this long struggle could not but impress thinking men with the necessity of formulating rules to protect non-combatants, to care for prisoners, and to do away with pillage and massacre. The worst horrors of the war had not taken place, before a Dutch jurist, named Hugo Grotius, published at Paris in 1625 a work *On the Laws of War and Peace*. It may be said to have founded international law. The success of the book was remarkable. Gustavus Adolphus carried a copy about with him during his campaigns, and its leading doctrines were recognized and acted upon in the Peace of Westphalia.

Rise of
international
law

The great principle on which Grotius based his recommendations was the independence of sovereign states. He gave up the medieval conception of a temporal and spiritual head of Christendom. The nations now recognized no common superior, whether emperor or pope, but all were equal in the sight of international law. The book of Grotius thus marked the profound change which had come over Europe since the Middle Ages.

The Euro-
pean state
system

Studies

1. On an outline map indicate the European countries ruled by Charles V.
2. On an outline map indicate the principal territorial changes made by the Peace of Westphalia.
3. Identify the following dates: 1648; 1519; 1517; 1588; 1598; and 1555.
4. For what were the following persons noted: Cardinal Wolsey; Admiral de Coligny; duke of Alva; Richelieu; St. Ignatius Loyola; Boniface VIII; Frederick the Wise; Gustavus Adolphus; and Mary Queen of Scots?
5. Compare the scene at Anagni with the scene at Canossa.
6. On the map, page 332, trace the geographical extent of the "Great Schism."
7. Name three important reasons for the lessened influence of the Roman Church at the opening

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of the sixteenth century. 8. Explain the difference between heresy and schism. 9. Why has Wycliffe been called the "morning star of the Reformation"? 10. Compare Luther's work in fixing the form of the German language with Dante's service to Italian through the *Divine Comedy*. 11. What is the origin of the name "Protestant"? 12. Why was Mary Tudor naturally a Catholic and Elizabeth naturally a Protestant? 13. On the map, page 349, trace the geographical extent of the Reformation in the sixteenth century. 14. Why did the reformers in each country take special pains to translate the Bible into the vernacular? 15. What is the chief difference in mode of government between Presbyterian and Congregational churches? 16. "The heroes of the Reformation, judged by modern standards, were reactionaries." What does this statement mean? 17. Why is the Council of Trent generally considered the most important church council since that of Nicæa? 18. Mention some differences between the Society of Jesus and earlier monastic orders. 19. Compare the Edict of Nantes with the Peace of Augsburg. 20. Show how political, as well as religious, motives affected the revolt of the Netherlands, the Huguenot wars, and the Thirty Years' War. 21. Compare the effects of the Thirty Years' War on Germany with the effects of the Hundred Years' War on France. 22. What would you say of Holbein's success as a portrait painter (illustrations on pages 290 and 344)? Of Titian's success in the same art (illustrations on pages 341 and 356)?



HUGO GROTIUS

After the portrait by Miervelt of Grotius at
the age of forty-nine.

CHAPTER XVI

ABSOLUTISM IN ENGLAND AND FRANCE, 1603-1715¹

139. The Divine Right of Kings

Most European nations in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries accepted the principle of absolutism in government. Absolutism was as common then as democracy is to-day. The rulers of Europe, having triumphed Absolutism over the feudal nobles, proceeded to revive the autocratic traditions of imperial Rome. Like the later Roman emperors, they posed as absolute sovereigns, who held their power, not from the choice or consent of their subjects, but from God.

Royal absolutism formed a natural development of the old belief in the divinity of kings. Many primitive peoples regard their chiefs as holy and give to them the control Divinity of kings of peace and war, of life and death. Oriental rulers in antiquity bore a sacred character. Even in the lifetime of an Egyptian Pharaoh temples were erected to him and offerings were made to his sacred majesty. The Hebrew monarch was the Lord's anointed. The Hellenistic kings of the East and the Roman emperors received divine honors from their subjects. An element of sanctity also attached to medieval sovereigns, who, at their coronation, were anointed with a magic oil, girt with a sacred sword, and given a supernatural banner. Even Shakespeare could speak of the divinity which "doth hedge a king."²

The Reformation in Germany tended to emphasize the

¹ Webster, *Readings in Medieval and Modern History*, chapter xxv, "Characters and Episodes of the Great Rebellion"; chapter xxvi, "Oliver Cromwell"; chapter xxvii, "English Life and Manners under the Restoration"; chapter xxviii, "Louis XIV and his Court."

² Webster, *Historical Source Book*, No. 4, "Petition of Right, 1628"; No. 6, "Instrument of Government, 1653"; No. 7, "Habeas Corpus Act, 1679"; No. 8, "Bill of Rights, 1689."

sacred character of royalty. Luther and his followers set up the authority of the State against the authority of the Church, which they condemned and rejected. Providence, they argued, had never sanctioned the Papacy, but Providence had really ordained the State and had placed over it a ruler whom it was a religious duty to obey. The Lutherans, therefore, defended the divine right of kings.

A very different principle found acceptance in those parts of Europe where Calvinism prevailed. In his *Institutes*, one of the most widely read books of the age, Calvin declares that magistrates and parliaments are the guardians of popular liberty "by the ordinance of God."¹ Calvin's adherents, developing this statement, argued that rulers derive their authority from the people and that those who abuse it may be deposed by the will of the people. The Christian duty of resistance to royal tyranny became a cardinal principle of Calvinism among the French Huguenots, the Dutch, the Scotch, and most of the American colonists of the seventeenth century. We shall now see how influential it was in seventeenth-century England.

140. Absolutism of the Stuarts, 1603-1642

Absolutism in England dated from the time of the Tudors. Henry VII humbled the nobles, while Henry VIII and Elizabeth brought the Church into dependence on the Crown. These three sovereigns, though despotic, were excellent rulers and were popular with the influential middle class in town and country. The Tudors gave England order and prosperity, if not political liberty.

The English Parliament in the thirteenth century had become a body representative of the different estates of the realm, and in the fourteenth century it had separated into the two houses of Lords and Commons. Parliament enjoyed considerable authority at this time. The kings, who were in continual need of money, often sum-

¹ *Institutes*, IV, xx, 31.

moned it, sought its advice upon important questions, and readily listened to its requests. The despotic Tudors, on the other hand, made Parliament their servant. Henry VII called it together on only five occasions during his reign; Henry VIII persuaded or frightened it into doing anything he pleased; and Elizabeth consulted it as infrequently as possible. Parliament under the Tudors did not abandon its old claims to a share in the government, but it had little chance to exercise them.

The death of Elizabeth in 1603 ended the Tudor dynasty and placed the Stuarts on the English throne in the person of James I.¹ England and Scotland were now joined in a personal union, though each country retained its own Parliament, laws, and state

James I,
king, 1603-
1625

Church.² The new king was well described by a contemporary as the "wisest fool in Christendom." He had a good mind and abundant learning, but throughout his reign he showed an utter inability to win either the esteem or the affection of his subjects. This was a misfortune, for the English had now grown weary of despotism and wanted freedom. They were not prepared to tolerate in James, an alien, many things which they had overlooked in "Good Queen Bess."



GOLD COIN OF JAMES I

The first coin to bear the legend "Great Britain."

One of the most fruitful sources of discord between James and the English people was his exalted conception of monarchy. The Tudors, indeed, claimed to rule by divine right, but James went further and argued for divine hereditary right. Providence, he declared, had chosen the principle of heredity in order to fix the succession to the throne.

James I on
divine right

¹ See pages 206, note 2, and 363, note 1.

² The Act of Union (1707) gave to England and Scotland a common Parliament. After this date it is proper to speak of the kingdom of Great Britain, and of the English, Welsh, and Scotch as forming the British people.

This principle, being divine, lay beyond the power of man to alter. Whether the king was fit or unfit to rule, Parliament might not change the succession, depose a sovereign, or limit his authority in any way. James rather neatly summarized his views in a Latin epigram, *a deo rex, a rege lex* — “the king is from God, and law is from the king.”

The extreme pretensions of James encountered much opposition from Parliament. That body felt little sympathy for **Parliament** a ruler who proclaimed himself the source of all **and James I** law. When James, always extravagant and a poor financier, came before it for money, Parliament insisted on its right to withhold supplies until grievances were redressed.



A PURITAN FAMILY

Illustration in an edition of the *Psalms*
published in 1563.

James would not yield, and got along as best he could by levying customs duties, selling titles of nobility, and imposing excessive fines, in spite of the protests of Parliament. This situation continued to the end of the king's reign.

A religious controversy helped to em-

bitter the dispute between James and Parliament. The king, who was a devout Anglican, made himself very unpopular with the Puritans, as the reformers within the **Puritanism** Church of England were called. The Puritans had at first no intention of separating from the national or established Church, but they wished to “purify” it of certain customs which they described as “Romish.” Among these were the use of the surplice, of the ring in the marriage service, and of the sign of the cross in baptism. Some Puritans wanted to get rid of the *Book of Common Prayer* altogether. Since the Puritans had a large majority in the House of



LONDON TRADESMEN

After a broadside of 1647 in the British Museum, London.

Commons, it was inevitable that the parliamentary struggle against Stuart absolutism should assume in part a religious character.

The political and religious difficulties which marked the reign of James I did not disappear when his son, Charles I, came to the throne. Charles was a true Stuart in his devotion

to absolutism and divine right. Almost immediately he began to quarrel with Parliament. When that body withheld supplies, Charles resorted to forced loans from the wealthy and even imprisoned a number of persons who refused to contribute. Such arbitrary acts showed plainly that Charles would play the tyrant if he could.

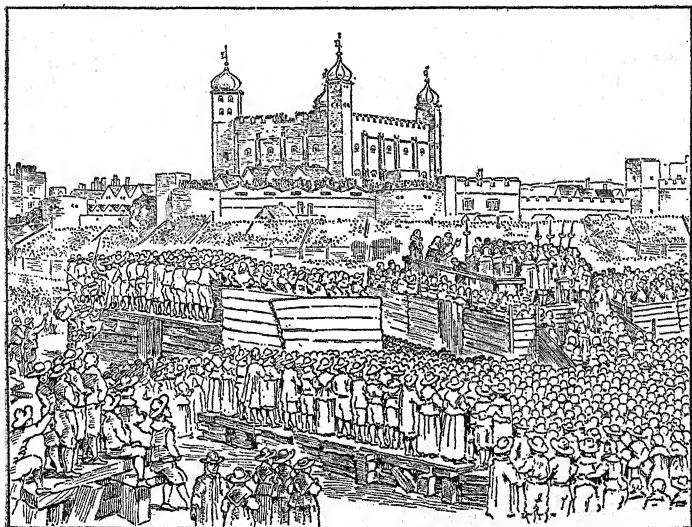
The king's attitude at last led Parliament to a bold assertion of its authority. It now presented to Charles the celebrated **Petition of Right, 1628** **Petition of Right.** One of the most important clauses provided that loans without parliamentary sanction should be considered illegal. Another clause declared that no one should be arrested or imprisoned except according to the law of the land. The Petition thus repeated and reinforced two of the leading principles of Magna Carta.¹ The people of England, speaking this time through their elected representatives, asserted once more their right to limit the power of kings.

Charles signed the Petition, as the only means of securing parliamentary consent to taxation; but he had no intention of observing it. For the next eleven years he managed to govern without calling Parliament in session. The conduct of affairs during this period lay largely in the hands of Sir Thomas Wentworth, afterwards earl of Strafford, and William Laud, who later became archbishop of Canterbury. The king made these two men his principal advisers and through them carried on his despotic rule. Arbitrary courts, which tried cases without a jury, punished those who resisted the royal will. A rigid censorship of the press prevented any expression of popular discontent. Public meetings were suppressed as seditious riots. Even private gatherings were dangerous, for the king had swarms of spies to report disloyal acts or utterances.

John Hampden and "ship-money" Since Charles ruled without a Parliament, he had to adopt all sorts of devices to fill his treasury. One of these was the levying of "ship-money." According to an old custom, seaboard towns and

¹ See page 200.

counties had been required to provide ships or money for the royal navy. Charles revived this custom and extended it to towns and counties lying inland. It seemed clear that the king meant to impose a permanent tax on all England without the assent of Parliament. The demand for "ship-money" aroused much opposition, and John Hampden, a wealthy squire of Buckinghamshire, refused to pay the twenty shillings



EXECUTION OF THE EARL OF STRAFFORD

After a contemporary print. The Tower of London is seen in the background.

levied on his estate. Hampden was tried before a court of the royal judges and was convicted by a bare majority. He became, however, a popular hero.

Archbishop Laud, the king's chief agent in ecclesiastical matters, detested Puritanism and aimed to root it out from the Anglican Church. He put no Puritans to death, but he sanctioned cruel punishments of those who would not conform to the established religion.

Laud's ecclesiastical policy

While the restrictions on Puritans were increased, those affecting Roman Catholics were relaxed. Many people thought

that Charles, through Laud and the bishops, was preparing to lead the Church of England back to Rome. They therefore opposed the king on religious grounds, as well as for political reasons.

But the personal rule of Charles was now drawing to an end. In 1637 the king, supported by Archbishop Laud, tried to introduce a modified form of the English prayer book into Scotland. The Scotch, Calvinistic to the core, drew up a national oath, or Covenant, by which they bound themselves to resist any attempt to change their religion. Rebellion quickly passed into open war, and the Covenanters invaded northern England. Charles was then obliged to summon Parliament in session. It met in 1640 and did not formally dissolve until twenty years later.

The Long Parliament no sooner assembled than it assumed the conduct of government. The leaders, including John Hampden, John Pym, and Oliver Cromwell, openly declared that the House of Commons, and not the king, possessed supreme authority in the state. Parliament began by sending Strafford and subsequently Laud to the scaffold and by abolishing the arbitrary courts. It forbade the imposition of "ship-money" and other irregular taxes. It also took away the king's right of dissolving Parliament at his pleasure and ordered that at least one parliamentary session should be held every three years. These measures stripped the Crown of the despotic powers acquired by the Tudors and the Stuarts.

141. Oliver Cromwell and the Civil War, 1642-1649

The Long Parliament thus far had acted along the line of reformation rather than revolution. Had Charles been content to accept the new arrangements, there would have been little more trouble. But the proud and imperious king was only watching his chance to strike a blow at Parliament. Taking advantage of some differences of opinion among its members, Charles summoned his soldiers, marched to Westminster, and demanded the sur-

**The Long
Parliament,
1640**

**Reforms of
the Long
Parliament**

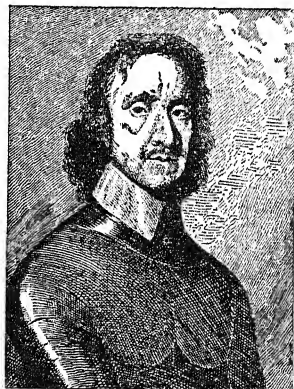
**Outbreak of
the Great
Rebellion,
1642**

render of five leaders, including Pym and Hampden. Warned in time, they made their escape, and Charles did not find them in the chamber of the Commons. "Well, I see all the birds are flown," he exclaimed, and walked out baffled. The king's attempt to intimidate the Commons was a grave blunder. It showed beyond doubt that he would resort to force, rather than bend his neck to Parliament. Both Charles and Parliament now began to gather troops and prepare for the inevitable conflict.

The opposing parties seemed to be very evenly matched. Around the king rallied nearly all the nobles, "Cavaliers" the Anglican clergy, the Roman Catholics, a majority of the "squires," or country gentry, and the members of the universities. The royalists received the name of "Cavaliers." The parliamentarians, or "Roundheads,"¹ were mostly recruited from the trading classes in the towns and the small landowners in the country. The working people remained as a rule indifferent and took little part in the struggle.

Both Pym and Hampden died in the second year of the war, and henceforth the leadership of the parliamentarians fell to Oliver Cromwell. He was a

Oliver
Cromwell,
1599-1658



OLIVER CROMWELL

A painting by Robert Walker, in the National Portrait Gallery, London.

country gentleman from the east of England, and Hampden's cousin. Cromwell represented the university of Cambridge in the Long Parliament and displayed there great audacity in opposing the government. An unfriendly critic at this time describes "his countenance swollen and reddish, his voice sharp and untuneable, and his eloquence full of fervor." Though

¹ So called, because some of them wore closely cropped hair, in contrast to the flowing locks of the "Cavaliers."

a zealous Puritan, who believed himself in all sincerity to be the chosen agent of the Lord, Cromwell was not an ascetic. He hunted, hawked, played bowls and other games, had an ear for music, and valued art and learning. In public life he showed himself a statesman of much insight and a military genius.

Fortune favored the royalists, until Cromwell assumed command of the parliamentary forces. To him was due the formation of a cavalry regiment of "honest, sober Christians," whose watchwords were texts from Scripture and who charged in battle singing psalms. These "Ironsides," as Cromwell said, "had the fear of God before them and made some conscience of what they did." They were so successful that Parliament permitted Cromwell to reorganize a large part of the army into the "New Model," a body of professional, highly disciplined soldiers. The "New Model" defeated Charles decisively at the battle of Naseby, near the center of England (1645). Charles then surrendered to the Scotch, who soon turned him over to Parliament.

The "Ironsides" and the "New Model"

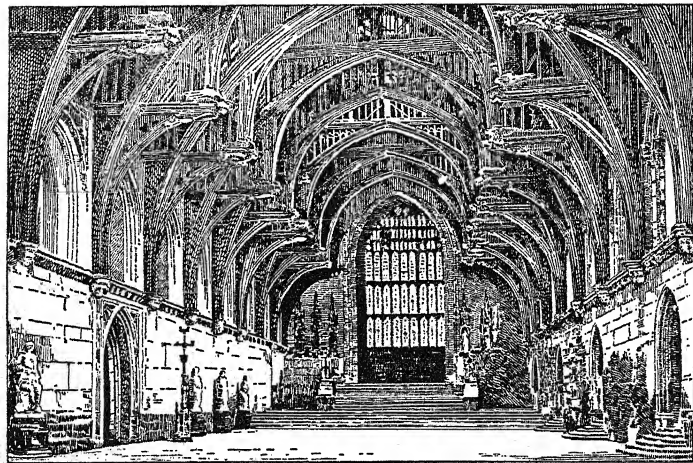
The surrender of the king ended the Great Rebellion, but left the political situation in doubt. The Puritans by this time had divided into two rival parties. The Presbyterians wished to make the Church of England, like that of Scotland, Presbyterian¹ in faith and worship. Through their control of Parliament, they were able to pass acts doing away with bishops, forbidding the use of the *Book of Common Prayer*, and requiring every one to accept Presbyterian doctrines. The other Puritan party, known as the Independents,² felt that religious beliefs should not be a matter of compulsion. They rejected both Anglicanism and Presbyterianism and desired to set up churches of their own, where they might worship as seemed to them right. The Independents had the powerful backing of Cromwell and the "New Model," so that the stage was set for a quarrel between Parliament and the army.

Presbyterians and Independents

¹ See page 350, note 1.

² Also called Separatists, and later known as Congregationalists.

King Charles, though a prisoner in the hands of his enemies, hoped to profit by their divisions. The Presbyterian majority in the House of Commons was willing to restore the king, provided he would give his assent to the establishment of Presbyterianism in England. But the army wanted no reconciliation with the captive monarch and at length took matters into its own hand. A party of



INTERIOR OF WESTMINSTER HALL

Next to the Tower and the Abbey, Westminster Hall, adjoining the Houses of Parliament, is the most historic building in London. The hall was begun by William Rufus in 1097, and was enlarged by his successors. Richard II in 1397 added the great oak roof, which has lasted to this day. Here were held the trials of Strafford and Charles I.

soldiers, under the command of a Colonel Pride, excluded the Presbyterian members from the floor of the House, leaving the Independents alone to conduct the government. This action is known as "Pride's Purge." Cromwell approved of it, and from this time he became the real ruler of England.

**Execution of
Charles I,
1649**

The Rump Parliament, as the remnant of the House of Commons was called, immediately brought the king before a High Court of Justice composed of his bitterest enemies. He refused to acknowledge

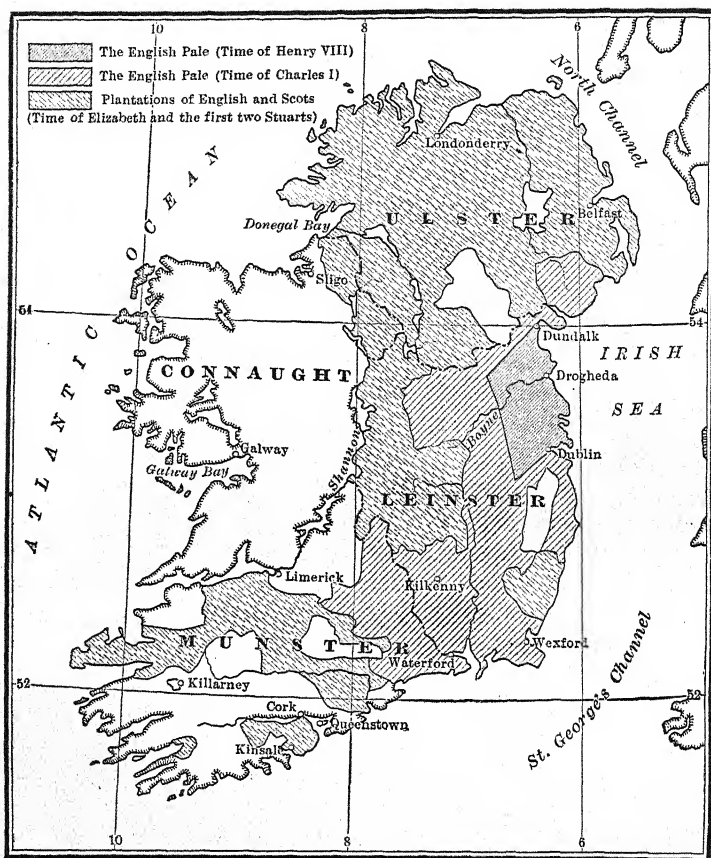
the right of the court to try him and made no defense whatever. Charles was speedily convicted and sentenced to be beheaded, "as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and public enemy to the good of the people." He met death with quiet dignity and courage on a scaffold erected in front of Whitehall Palace in London. The king's execution went far beyond the wishes of most Englishmen; "cruel necessity" formed its only justification; but it established once for all in England the principle that rulers are responsible to their subjects.

142. The Commonwealth and the Protectorate, 1649-1660

The Rump Parliament abolished the House of Lords and the office of king. It named a Council of State, most of whose members were chosen from the House of Commons, ^{England a} to carry on the government. ^{republic} England now became a commonwealth, or national republic. It is clear that this republic was the creation of a minority. Anglicans, Presbyterians, and Roman Catholics were ready to restore the monarchy, but as long as the power lay with the army, the small sect of Independents could impose its will on the great majority of the English people.

Cromwell had to deal with a serious uprising in Ireland, where Prince Charles, the oldest son of the dead sovereign, had been proclaimed king. Invading the country with ^{Subjection} his trained soldiers, Cromwell captured town after ^{of Ireland} town, slaughtered many royalists, and shipped many more to the West Indies as slaves. This time Ireland was completely subdued. Cromwell confiscated the estates of those who had supported the royalist cause and planted colonies of English Protestants in Ulster, Leinster, and Munster. The Roman Catholic gentry were compelled to remove beyond the Shannon River to unfruitful Connaught. Even there the public exercise of their religion was forbidden them. Cromwell's harsh measures brought peace to Ireland, but only intensified the hatred felt by Irish Roman Catholics for Protestant England.¹

¹ See pages 207 and 363.



IRELAND

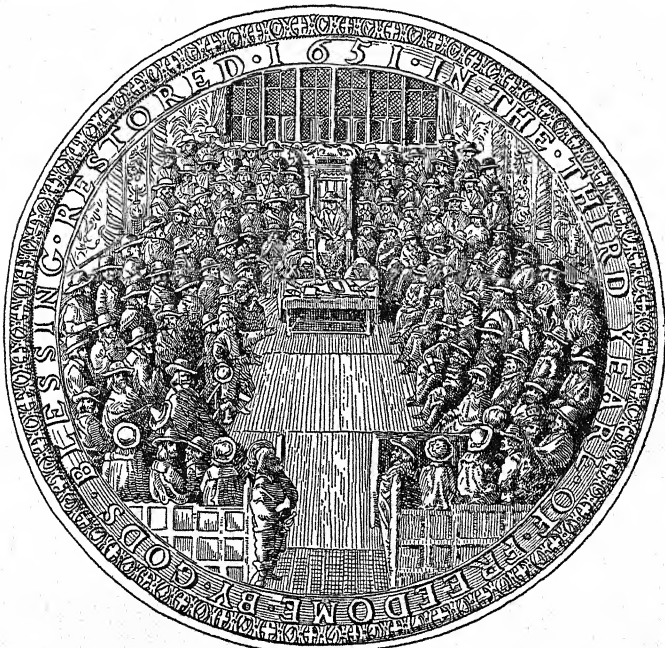
While Cromwell was still in Ireland, Prince Charles came to Scotland and by promising to be a Presbyterian king secured the support of the whole nation. Cromwell, however, destroyed the Scotch armies in two pitched battles. Prince Charles escaped capture and after thrilling adventures as a fugitive took refuge in France.

Meanwhile, the Rump Parliament had become more and

more unpopular. The army, which had saved England from Stuart despotism, did not relish the spectacle of a small group of men, many of them selfish and corrupt, presuming to govern the country. Cromwell found them "horribly arbitrary," and at last resolved to have done with them. He entered the House of Commons with a band of musketeers and ordered the members

Dissolution
of the
Rump
Parliament,
1653

Dissolution of the Rump Parliament, 1653



GREAT SEAL OF ENGLAND UNDER THE COMMONWEALTH (REDUCED)

The reverse represents the House of Commons in session.

home. "Come, come," he cried, "I will put an end to your prating. You are no Parliament. I say you are no Parliament. I will put an end to your sitting." Another Parliament proved equally incapable. After a few months it resigned its authority into the hands of Cromwell.

Cromwell, by force of circumstances, had become a virtual

dictator, but he had no love of absolute power. He therefore accepted a so-called Instrument of Government, drawn up by some of his officers. It provided that Cromwell should be Lord Protector for life, with the assistance of a Council and a Parliament. The Instrument is notable as the only written constitution which England has ever had.

The Lord Protector governed England for five years. His successful conduct of foreign affairs gave to that country an importance in the councils of Europe which it had not enjoyed since the time of Elizabeth. He died in 1658. Two years later the nation, weary of military rule, recalled Prince Charles, who mounted the throne as Charles II.

It seemed, indeed, as if the Puritan Revolution had been a complete failure. But this was hardly true. The revolution arrested the growth of absolutism in England. It created among Englishmen a lasting hostility to despotic rule, whether exercised by King, Parliament, Protector, or army. Furthermore, it sent forth into the world ideas of popular sovereignty, which, during the eighteenth century, helped to produce the American and French revolutions.

143. The Restoration and the "Glorious Revolution," 1660-1689

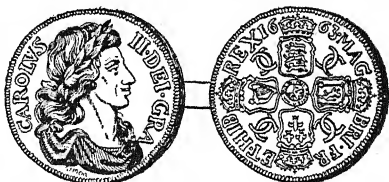
Charles II pledged himself to maintain Magna Carta, the Petition of Right, and other statutes limiting the royal power.

The people of England wished to have a king, but they also wished their king to govern by the advice of Parliament. Charles, less obstinate and more astute than his father, recognized this fact, and, when a conflict threatened with his ministers or Parliament, always avoided it by timely concessions. Whatever happened, he used to say, he was resolved "never to set out on his travels again." Charles's charm of manner, wit, and genial humor made him a popular monarch, in spite of his grave faults of character. He

was one who "never said a foolish thing and never did a wise one."

The period of the Restoration was characterized by a reaction against the austere scheme of life which the Puritans had imposed on society. Puritanism not only deprived the people of evil pleasures, such as bear-baiting, cock-fighting, and tippling, but it also prohibited the Sunday dances and games, the village festivals, and the popular drama. When Puritanism disappeared, the people went to the opposite extreme and cast off all restraint. England was never more merry and never less moral than under its "Merry Monarch."

Reaction
against
Puritanism



SILVER CROWN OF CHARLES II

The Restoration brought back the Church of England, together with the Stuarts. Parliament, more intolerant than the king, passed an Act of Uniformity, which made the use of the *Book of Common Prayer* compulsory and required ministers to express their consent to everything contained in it. Nearly two thousand clergymen resigned their positions rather than obey the act. Among them were found Presbyterians, Independents (or Congregationalists), Baptists, and Quakers. The members of these sects, since they did not accept the national church, were henceforth classed as Dissenters.¹ They might not hold meetings for worship, or teach in schools, or accept any public office. The Dissenters for many years had to endure harsh persecution.

The Dis-
senter

One of the most important events belonging to the reign of Charles II was the passage by Parliament of the Habeas Corpus Act. The writ of *habeas corpus*² is an order, issued by a judge, requiring a person held in custody to be brought before the court. If upon

Habeas
Corpus Act,
1679

¹ Or Nonconformists. This name is still applied to English Protestants not members of the Anglican Church.

² A Latin phrase meaning "You may have the body."

examination good reason is shown for keeping the prisoner, he is to be remanded for trial; otherwise he must either be freed or released on bail. This writ had been long used in England, and one of the clauses of Magna Carta expressly provided against arbitrary imprisonment. It had always been possible, however, for the king or his ministers to order the arrest of a person considered dangerous to the state, without making any formal charge against him. The Habeas Corpus Act established the principle that every man, not charged with or convicted of a known crime, is entitled to his liberty. Most of the British possessions where the Common law prevails have accepted the act, and it has been adopted by the federal and state legislatures of the United States.

The reign of Charles II also saw the beginning of the modern party system in Parliament. Two opposing parties took shape, Whigs and Tories very largely out of a religious controversy. The king, from his long life in France, was partial to Roman Catholicism, though he did not formally embrace that faith until at the moment of death. His brother James, the heir to the throne, became an avowed Roman Catholic, much to the disgust of many members of Parliament. A bill was now brought forward to exclude Prince James from the succession, because of his conversion. Its supporters received the nickname of Whigs, while those who opposed it were called Tories.¹ The bill did not pass the House of Lords, but the two parties in Parliament continued to divide on other questions. They survive to-day as the Liberals and the Conservatives, and still dispute the government of England between them.

James II lacked the attractive personality which had made his brother a popular ruler; moreover, he was an avowed Roman Catholic and a staunch believer in the divine right of kings. During his three years' reign, James managed to make enemies of most of his Protestant subjects. He "suspended" the laws against Roman Catholics and appointed them to positions of authority and influence.

Reign of
James II,
1685-1688

¹ *Whig* had originally been applied to rebellious Presbyterians in Scotland; *Tory* had designated Roman Catholic outlaws in Ireland.

He also dismissed Parliament and supported himself with subsidies from the French king. At last a number of Whig and Tory leaders, representing both parties in Parliament, invited William of Orange, stadholder or governor-general of Holland, to rescue England from Stuart absolutism.¹

William landed in England with a small army and marched unopposed to London. The wretched king, deserted by his retainers and his soldiers, soon found himself alone. He fled to France, where he lived the remainder of his days as a pensioner at the French court. Parliament granted the throne conjointly to William and Mary, William to rule during his lifetime and Mary to have the succession, should she survive him.

Accession of
William III
and Mary,
1689

At the same time Parliament took care to safeguard its own authority and the Protestant religion by enacting the Bill of Rights, which has a place by the side of Magna Carta and the Petition of Right among the great documents of English constitutional history. This act decreed that the sovereign must henceforth be a member of the Anglican Church. It forbade him to "suspend" the operation of the laws, or to levy money or maintain a standing army except by consent of Parliament. It also declared that election of members of Parliament should be free; that they should enjoy freedom of speech and action within the two Houses; and that excessive bail should not be required, or excessive fines imposed, or cruel and unusual punishments inflicted. Finally, it affirmed the right of subjects to petition the sovereign and ordered the holding of frequent Parliaments. These were not new principles of political liberty, but now the English people were strong enough to give them the binding form of laws. They reappear in the first ten amendments to the Constitution of the United States.

The Bill of
Rights

Parliament also passed a Toleration Act, conceding to Dissenters the right of public worship, though not the right of holding any civil or military office. The Dissenters might now worship as they pleased, with-

The Tolera-
tion Act

¹ William, who was a Protestant, had married James's eldest daughter, Mary.

out fear of persecution. Unitarians and Roman Catholics, as well as Jews, were expressly excluded from the benefits of the act. The passage of this measure did much to remove religion from English politics as a vital issue.

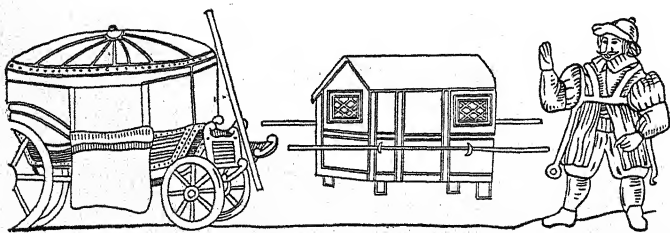
The Revolution of 1688-1689 thus struck a final blow at absolutism and divine right in England. An English king be-

came henceforth the servant of Parliament, holding office only on good behavior. An act of Parliament had made him and an act of Parliament

might depose him. It is well to remember, however, that the revolution did not form a popular movement. It was a successful struggle for parliamentary supremacy on the part of the upper classes. England henceforth had a "limited" or "constitutional" monarchy controlled by the aristocracy.

144. England in the Seventeenth Century

The population of England at the close of the seventeenth century exceeded five millions, of whom at least two-thirds lived in the country. Except for London, there were only four towns of more than ten thousand inhabitants. London counted half a million people within its



COACH AND SEDAN CHAIR

Title-page of a tract published in 1636.

limits and had become the largest city in Europe. Town life still wore a medieval look, but the increase of wealth gradually introduced many new comforts and luxuries. Coal came into use instead of charcoal; tea, coffee, and chocolate competed

with wine, ale, and beer as beverages; the first newspapers appeared, generally in weekly editions; amusements multiplied; and passenger coaches began to ply between London and the provincial centers. The highways, however, were wretched and infested with robbers. The traveler found some recompense for the hardships of a journey in the country inns, famous for their plenty and good cheer. The transport of goods was chiefly by means of pack horses, because of the poor roads and the absence of canals. Postal arrangements also remained very primitive, and in remote districts letters were not delivered more than once a week. The difficulties of travel and communication naturally made for isolation; and country people, except the wealthy, rarely visited the metropolis.

As the population of England increased, old industries developed and new ones sprang up. The chief manufacture was that of wool, while that of silk flourished after the influx of Huguenots which followed the revocation of the Edict of Nantes.¹ The absence of large textile mills made it necessary to carry on spinning and weaving in the homes of the operatives. Coal mines and iron mines, which in later times became so important a source of England's prosperity, were then little worked. Farming and the raising of sheep and cattle still remained the principal occupations. Agriculture, however, was retarded by the old system of common tillage and open fields, just as manufacturing was fettered by the craft guilds. These survivals of the Middle Ages had not yet disappeared.

Seventeenth-century England produced no very eminent painters or sculptors, though foreign artists, such as Rubens and Van Dyck, were welcomed there. Among architects the most famous was Sir Christopher Wren, who did much to popularize the Renaissance style of building.² A great fire which destroyed most of old London during the reign of Charles II gave Wren an opportunity to rebuild about fifty parish churches, as well as St. Paul's Cathedral.

English literature in the seventeenth century covered many

¹ See page 408.

² See page 286.

fields. Shakespeare and Bacon, the two chief literary ornaments of Elizabeth's reign, did some of their best work during the reign of James I. In 1611 appeared the Authorized Version of the Bible, sometimes called the King James Version because it was dedicated to that monarch.



JOHN MILTON

A portrait of the poet at the age of twenty-one.

The simplicity, dignity, and eloquence of this translation have never been surpassed, and it still remains in ordinary use among Protestants throughout the English-speaking world.¹ The Puritan poet, John Milton, composed his epic of *Paradise Lost* during the reign of Charles II. About the same time another Puritan, John Bunyan, wrote the immortal *Pilgrim's Progress*, a book which gives an equal though different pleasure to children and adults, to the

ignorant and the learned. But these are only a few of the eminent poets and prose writers of the age.

145. Absolutism of Louis XIV, 1661-1715

France in the seventeenth century furnished the best example of an absolute monarchy supported by pretensions to divine right. French absolutism owed most of all to Cardinal Richelieu, the chief minister of Louis XIII. Though a man of poor physique and in weak health, he possessed such strength of will, together with so thorough an understanding of politics, that he was able to dominate the king and through the king to govern France for eighteen years (1624-1642).

Richelieu's foreign policy — to aggrandize France at the expense of the Hapsburgs — led to his intervention on the side of the Protestants at a decisive

¹ Many important corrections were embodied in the Revised Version, published in 1881-1885 by a committee of English scholars.

moment in the Thirty Years' War.¹ His domestic policy — to make the French king supreme — was equally successful. Though the nobles were still rich and influential, Richelieu beat down their opposition by forbidding the practice of dueling, that last remnant of private warfare, by ordering many castles to be blown up with gunpowder, and by bringing rebellious dukes and counts to the scaffold. The nobles henceforth were no longer feudal lords but only courtiers.

Richelieu died in 1642, and the next year Louis XIII, the master whom he had served so faithfully, also passed away. The new ruler, Louis XIV, was only a child, and the management of affairs for a second period of eighteen



CARDINAL MAZARIN

A miniature by Petitot, in the South Kensington Museum, London.

years passed into the hands of Cardinal Mazarin. He was an Italian by birth, but he became a naturalized Frenchman and carried out Richelieu's policies. Mazarin continued the war against the Hapsburgs, upon which Richelieu had entered, and brought it to a satisfactory conclusion. The Peace of Westphalia² was Mazarin's greatest triumph. He also crushed a formidable uprising against the Crown, on the part of discontented nobles. Having achieved all this, the cardinal could truly say that "if his language was not French, his heart was." His death in 1661 found the royal authority more firmly established than ever before.

Louis XIV, who now in his twenty-third year took up the reins of government, ranks among the ablest of French monarchs. He was a man of handsome

¹ See pages 369 and 371.

² See page 372.



Louis XIV

A portrait by J. Gale, in the Sutherland Collection, London.

presence, slightly below the middle height, with a prominent nose and abundant hair, which he allowed to fall over his shoulders. In manner he was dignified, reserved, courteous, and as majestic, it is said, in his dressing-gown as in his robes of state. A contemporary wrote that he would have been every inch a king, "even if he had been born under the roof of a beggar." Louis

possessed much natural intelligence, a retentive memory, and great capacity for work. It must be added, however, that his general education had been neglected, and that throughout his life he remained ignorant and superstitious. Vanity formed a striking trait in the character of Louis. He accepted the most fulsome compliments and delighted to be known as the "Grand Monarch" and the "Sun-king."

Louis gathered around him a magnificent court at Versailles, near Paris. Here a whole royal city, with palaces, parks, groves, and fountains, sprang into being at his order. Many French nobles now spent little time on their country estates; they preferred to remain at Versailles in attendance on the king, to whose favor they owed offices, pensions, and honors. The king's countenance, it was said, is the courtier's supreme felicity; "he passes his life looking on it and within sight of it."

Court of
Louis XIV
at Versailles

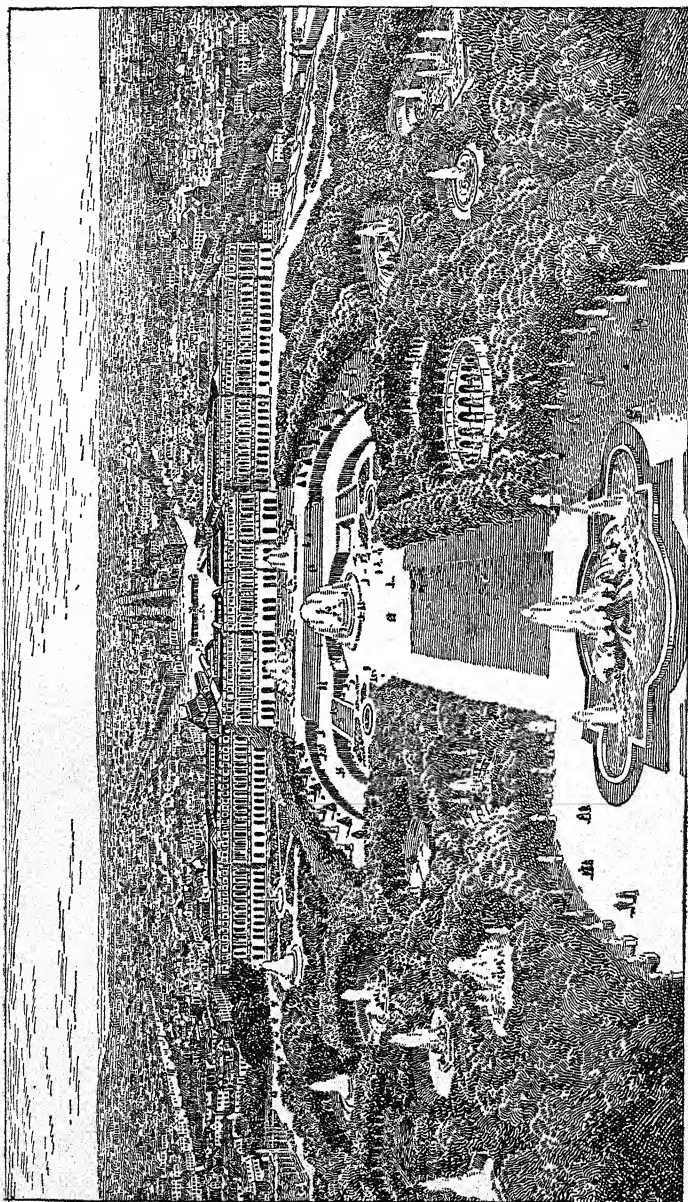
The famous saying, "I am the State,"¹ though not uttered by Louis, accurately expressed his conviction that in him were embodied the power and greatness of France. Few monarchs have tried harder to justify their despotic rule. He was fond of gayety and sport, but he never permitted himself to be turned away from the punctual discharge of his royal duties. Until the close of his reign — one of the longest in the annals of Europe — Louis devoted from five to nine hours a day to what he called the "trade of a king."

Louis XIV,
the king

Conditions in France made possible the absolutism of Louis. Richelieu and Mazarin had labored with great success to strengthen the Crown at the expense of the nobles and the commons. The nation had no Parliament to represent it and voice its demands, for the Estates-General had not been summoned since 1614. It did not meet again till 1789, just before the outbreak of the French Revolution. In France there was no Magna Carta to protect the liberties of the people by limiting the right of a ruler to impose taxes at will. The French, furthermore, lacked independent law courts which could interfere with the king's power of exiling, imprisoning,

Absolutism
in France

¹ "L'État, c'est moi."

VERSAILLES ¹

¹ The palace now forms a magnificent picture gallery of French historical scenes and personages, while the park, with its many fine fountains, is a place of holiday resort for Parisians. It is estimated that Louis XIV spent one hundred million dollars on the buildings and grounds of Versailles.

or executing his subjects. Absolute monarchy thus became so firmly rooted in France that a revolution was necessary to overthrow it.

146. The Wars of Louis XIV

How unwise it may be to concentrate all authority in the hands of one man is shown by the melancholy record of the wars of Louis XIV. To make France powerful and gain fame for himself, Louis plunged his country into a series of struggles from which it emerged completely exhausted. He dreamed of dominating all western Europe, but his aggressions provoked against him a constantly increasing number of allies, who in the end proved to be too strong even for the king's able generals and fine armies.

Ambitious
designs
of Louis
XIV

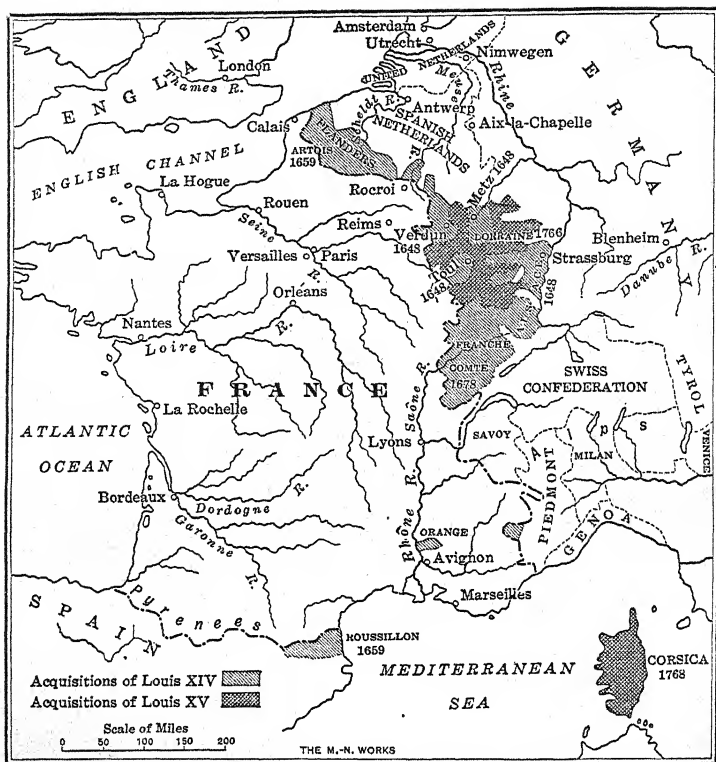
Louis himself lacked military talent and did not take a prominent part in any campaign. He was served, however, by excellent commanders. Vauban, an accomplished engineer, especially developed siege-craft. It was said of Vauban that he never besieged a fortress without taking it and never lost one which he defended. Louvois, the war minister of the king, recruited, equipped, and provisioned larger bodies of troops than ever before had appeared on European battle-fields. It was Louvois who introduced the use of distinctive uniforms for soldiers and the custom of marching in step. He also established field hospitals and ambulances and placed camp life on a sanitary basis. The labors of these men gave Louis the best standing army of the age.

French
militarism

Of the four great wars which filled a large part of Louis's reign, all but the last were designed to extend the dominions of France on the east and northeast as far as the Rhine. That river in ancient times had separated Gaul and Germany, and Louis, as well as Richelieu and Mazarin before him, regarded it as a "natural boundary" of France. Some expansion in this direction had already been made by the Peace of Westphalia, when France gained much of Alsace, as well as certain bishoprics in Lorraine.¹ A treaty which

The Rhine
boundary

¹ See page 372.



ACQUISITIONS OF LOUIS XIV AND LOUIS XV

Mazarin negotiated with Spain in 1659 also gave to France possessions in Artois and Flanders. Louis thus had a good basis for further advance toward the Rhine.

The French king began his aggressions by an effort to annex the Belgian or Spanish Netherlands, which then belonged to Spain. A triple alliance of Holland, England, and Sweden forced him to relinquish all his conquests, except some territory in Flanders (1668).

Louis blamed the Dutch for his setback and determined to punish them. Moreover, the Dutch represented everything to which he was opposed, for Holland was a republic, the keen rival

of France in trade, and Protestant in religion. By skillful diplomacy he persuaded England and Sweden to stand aloof, while his armies entered Holland and drew near to Amsterdam. At this critical moment William, prince of Orange,¹ became the Dutch leader. He was a descendant of that William the Silent, who, a century before, had saved the Dutch out of the hands of Spain. By William's orders the Dutch cut the dikes and interposed a watery barrier to further advance by the French. William then formed another Continental coalition, which carried on the war till Louis signified his desire for peace. The Dutch did not lose a foot of territory, but Spain was obliged to cede to France the important province of Franche Comté (1678). A few years later Louis sought additional territory in the Rhinelands, but again an alliance of Spain, Holland, England, and the Holy Roman Empire compelled him to sue for terms (1697).²

The treaty of peace concluding the third war for the Rhine confirmed the French king in the possession of Strassburg, together with other cities and districts of Alsace **Alsace and** which he had previously annexed. **Lorraine** Alsace was now completely joined to France, except for some territories of small extent which were acquired about a century later. The Alsatians, though mainly of Teutonic extraction, in process of time considered themselves French and lost all desire for union with any of the German states. The greater part of Lorraine was not added to France until 1766, during the reign of Louis's successor. The Lorrainers, likewise, became thoroughly French in feeling.

The European balance of power had thus far been preserved, but it was now threatened in another direction. The king of Spain lay dying, and as he was without children **The Spanish** or brothers to succeed him, all Europe wondered **succession** what would be the fate of his vast possessions in Europe and America. Louis had married one of his sisters, and the Holy Roman Emperor another, so both the Bourbons and the Aus-

¹ Subsequently William III of England. See page 393.

² In America this third war was known as "King William's War."

trian Hapsburgs could put forth claims to the Spanish throne. When the king died, it was found that he had left his entire dominions to one of Louis's grandsons, in the hope that the French might be strong enough to keep them undivided. Though Louis knew that acceptance of the inheritance would involve a war with Austria and probably with England, whose

ruler, William III, was Louis's old foe, ambition triumphed over fear and the desire for glory over consideration for the welfare of France. Louis proudly presented his grandson to the court at Versailles, saying, "Gentlemen, behold the king of Spain."

In the War of the Spanish Succession France and Spain faced

War of the
Spanish
Succession,
1702-1713

the Grand Alliance, which included England, Holland, Austria, several of the

German states, and Portugal. Europe had never known a war that concerned so many countries and peoples. William III died shortly after the outbreak of hostilities, leaving the continuance of the contest as a



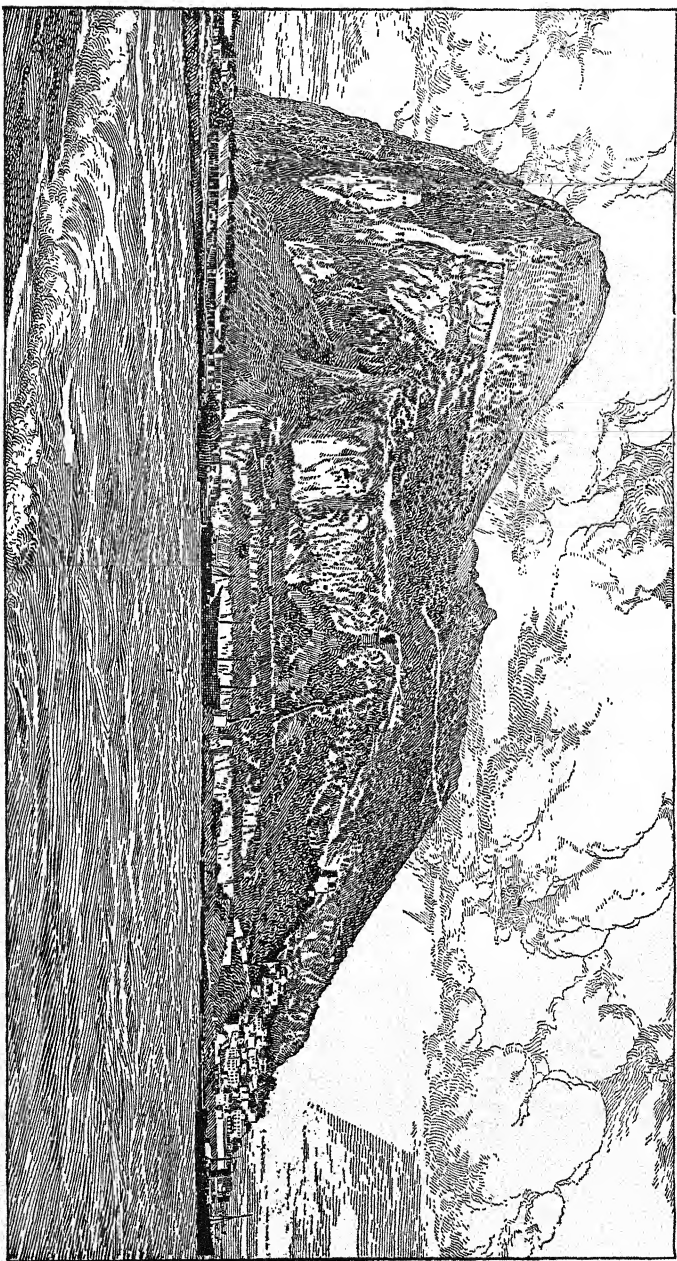
MARLBOROUGH

A miniature in the possession of the Duke of Buccleugh.

legacy to his sister-in-law, Queen Anne.¹ England supplied the coalition with funds, a fleet, and also with the ablest commander of the age, the duke of Marlborough. In Eugène, prince of Savoy, the Allies had another skillful and daring general. Their great victory at Blenheim² in 1704 was the first of a series of successes which finally drove the French out of Germany and Italy and opened the road to Paris. But dissensions among the Allies and the heroic resistance of

¹ In America the war was known as "Queen Anne's War."

² See Southey's poem *After Blenheim*.



GIBRALTAR

Though not an island, Gibraltar is connected with the Spanish mainland only by a flat strip of sandy ground. The rock, which is about 2½ miles in length, rises to a height of 1,400 feet. At the base and on the summit are powerful batteries, while the sides are pierced with loopholes and galleries for cannon. There is also an inclosed harbor in which a fleet can safely anchor. Gibraltar has remained in British hands since 1704.

France and Spain enabled Louis to hold the enemy at bay, until the exhaustion of both sides led to the conclusion of the Peace of Utrecht.

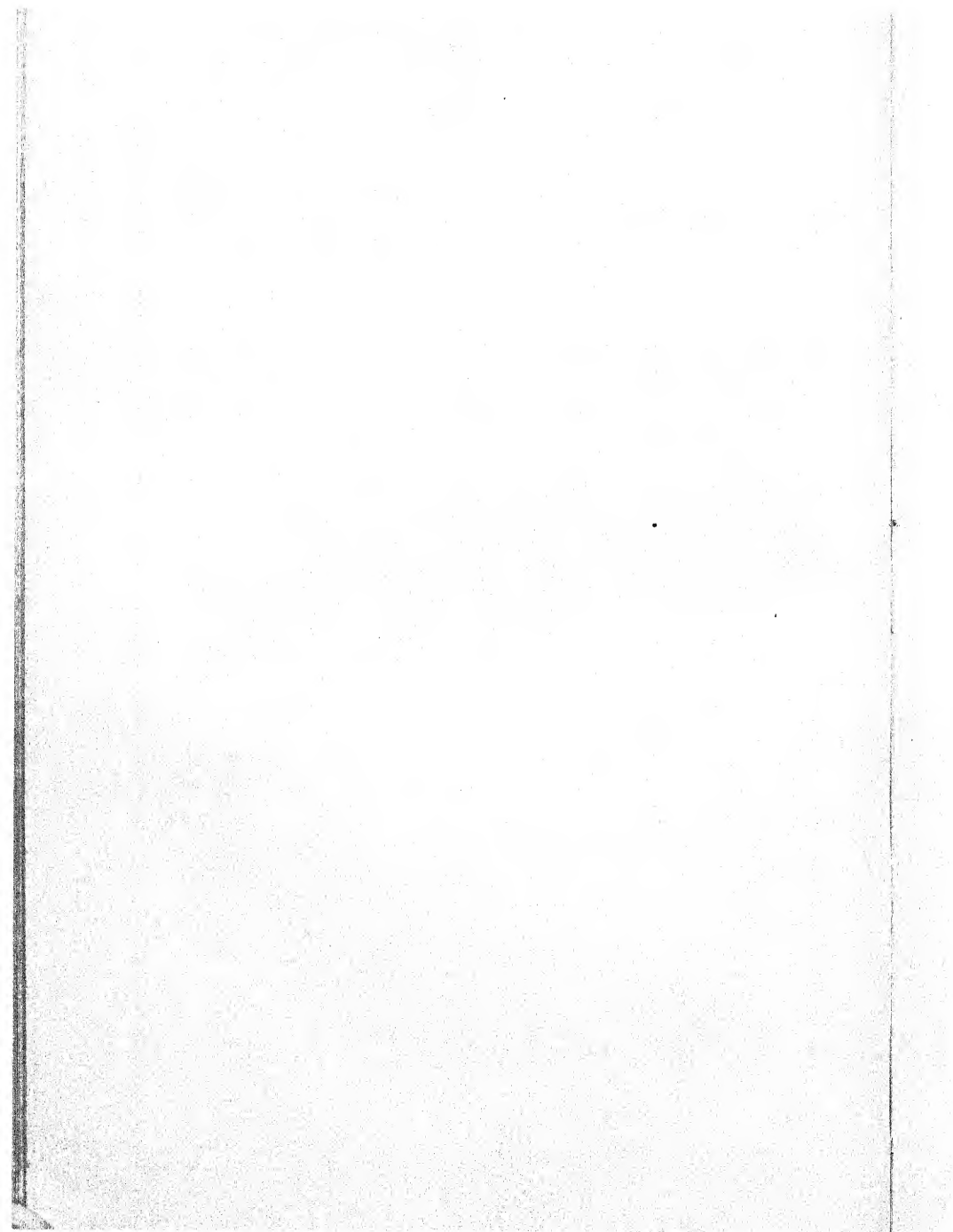
This peace ranks with that of Westphalia among the most important diplomatic arrangements of modern times. First, Louis's grandson was recognized as king of Spain and her colonies, on condition that the Spanish and French crowns should never be united. Since this time Bourbon sovereigns have continued to rule in Spain. Next, the Austrian Hapsburgs gained most of the Spanish dominions in Italy, as well as the Belgian or Spanish Netherlands (henceforth for a century called the Austrian Netherlands). Finally, England obtained from France certain possessions in North America,¹ and from Spain the island of Minorca and the rock of Gibraltar, commanding the narrow entrance to the Mediterranean.

Two of the smaller members of the Grand Alliance likewise profited by the Peace of Utrecht. The right of the elector of Brandenburg to enjoy the title of king of Prussia was acknowledged. This formed an important step in the fortunes of the Hohenzollern dynasty. The duchy of Savoy also became a kingdom and received the island of Sicily (shortly afterwards exchanged for Sardinia). The house of Savoy in the nineteenth century provided Italy with its present reigning family.

France lost far less by the war than at one time seemed probable. Louis gave up his dream of dominating Europe, but he kept all the Continental acquisitions made earlier in his reign. And yet the price of the king's warlike policy had been a heavy one. France paid it in the shape of famine and pestilence, excessive taxes, heavy debts, and the impoverishment of the people. Louis, now a very old man, survived the Peace of Utrecht only two years. As he lay dying, he turned to his little heir² and said, "Try to keep peace with

¹ See page 468.

² His great-grandson, then a child of five years. The reign of Louis XV covered the period 1715-1774.



your neighbors. I have been too fond of war; do not imitate me in that, nor in my too great expenditure." These words showed an appreciation of the errors which robbed his long reign of much of its glory.

147. France under the "Grand Monarch"

No absolute ruler, however conscientious and painstaking, can shoulder the entire burden of government. Louis XIV necessarily had to rely very much on his ministers, of whom Colbert was the most eminent. Colbert gave France the best administration it had ever known. His reforming hand was especially felt in the finances. He made many improvements in the methods of tax-collection and turned the annual deficit in the revenues into a surplus. One of his innovations, now adopted by all European states, was the budget system. Expenditures had previously been made at random, whether the treasury was full or empty. Colbert drew up careful estimates, one year in advance, of the probable receipts and expenses, so that outlay should never exceed income.

Colbert

Colbert realized that the chief object of a minister of finance should be the increase of the national wealth. Hence he tried in every way to foster manufactures and commerce. Among other measures, Colbert placed heavy duties on the importation of foreign products, as a means of protecting the "infant industries" of France. This was the beginning of the protective system, since followed by many European countries and from Europe introduced into America. Colbert regarded protectionism as only a temporary device, however, and spoke of tariffs as crutches by the help of which manufacturers might learn to walk and then throw them away.

Economic
measures of
Colbert

Colbert shared the erroneous views of many economists of his age in supposing that the wealth of a country is measured by the amount of gold and silver which it possesses. He wished, therefore, to provide the French with colonies, where they could obtain the products which they had previously been obliged to purchase from the

Colbert and
colonial ex-
pansion

Spaniards, Dutch, and English. At this time many islands in the West Indies were acquired, Canada was developed, and Louisiana, the vast territory drained by the Mississippi, was opened up to settlement. France thus became one of the leading colonial powers of Europe.

As long as Colbert lived, he kept on good terms with the Huguenots, who formed such useful and industrious subjects.

Revocation
of the Edict
of Nantes,
1685

Louis, however, had no love for the Huguenots, whom he regarded as heretics, and whose Calvinistic principles, he knew, endowed them with scant respect for absolute monarchy. Accordingly, the king revoked the Edict of Nantes,¹ after the French for

almost a century had enjoyed religious toleration. The Huguenots were denied freedom of worship and were also deprived of their rights as citizens. They continued to be an outlawed and



MEDAL OF LOUIS XIV

Commemorates the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The obverse bears a representation of "Louis the Great, the Most Christian King," the reverse contains a legend meaning "Heresy Extinguished."

persecuted sect until shortly before the French Revolution.

The revocation of the Edict of Nantes resulted in a considerable emigration of Huguenots from France. What was a loss to that country was a gain to England and Holland, where they introduced their arts and trades. Prussia, also, profited by the emigration of the Huguenots. Many of them went to Berlin, and that capital owed the beginning of its importance to its Huguenot population. Louis by his bigotry thus strengthened the chief Protestant foes of France.

Emigration
of the
Huguenots

Louis was a generous patron of art. One of his architects,

¹ See page 368.

Mansard, invented the mansard roof, which has been largely used in France and other European countries. Art under Louis XIV
 This architectural device makes it possible to provide extra rooms at a small expense, without adding an additional story to the building. Among the monuments of Louis's reign are the Hôtel des Invalides,¹ now the tomb of Napoleon, additions to the Louvre,² and the huge palace of Versailles. Louis also founded the Gobelins manufactory, so celebrated for fine carpets, furniture, and metal work.

The long list of French authors who flourished at this time includes Molière, Literature under Louis XIV
 the greatest of French dramatists, La Fontaine, whose fables are still popular, Perrault, now remembered for his fairy tales, and Madame de Sévigné, whose letters are regarded as models of French prose. Probably the

most famous work composed at this time is the *Memoirs* of Saint-Simon. It presents an intimate and not very flattering picture of the king and his court.

Louis and his ministers believed that the government should encourage research and the diffusion of knowledge. Richelieu founded and Colbert fostered the French Academy. Learning under Louis XIV
 Its forty members, sometimes called the "Immortals," are chosen for their eminent contributions to language and literature. The great dictionary of the French language, on which they have labored for more than two centuries, is still unfinished. The academy now forms a



MOLIÈRE

A bust by J. A. Houdon in the
 Théâtre Française, Paris.

¹ See page 286, note 1.

² See page 290.

section of the Institute of France. The patronage of Colbert also did much to enrich the National Library at Paris, which contains the largest collection of books in the world.

The brilliant reign of Louis XIV cast its spell upon the rest of Europe. Other sovereigns looked to him as the model of what a king should be, and set themselves to imitate the splendor of his court. During this period the French language, manners, dress, art, literature, and science became the accepted standards of good society in all civilized lands. France still retains in large measure the preëminent position which she secured under the "Grand Monarch."

Studies

1. Give dates for (a) Peace of Utrecht, (b) execution of Charles I, (c) the "Glorious Revolution," and (d) revocation of the Edict of Nantes.
2. For what were the following men notable: Pym; Duke of Marlborough; Louvois; Hampden; Mazarin; William III; and Colbert?
3. Explain and illustrate the following terms: (a) budget system; (b) absolutism; (c) writ of *habeas corpus*; (d) militarism; and (e) "ship-money."
4. Compare the theory of the divine right of kings with the medieval theory of the papal supremacy.
5. Do any European monarchs still claim to rule by divine right?
6. What is the essential distinction between a "limited" or "constitutional" monarchy and an "absolute" or "autocratic" monarchy?
7. Explain: "Rump Parliament"; "Pride's Purge"; the "New Model"; the "Ironsides"; "Cavalier"; and "Roundhead."
8. What circumstances gave rise to (a) the Petition of Right; (b) the Instrument of Government; (c) the Habeas Corpus Act; and (d) the Bill of Rights?
9. Why were the reformers within the Church of England called "Puritans"?
10. Contrast the Commonwealth as a national republic with the medieval Italian cities, the Swiss Confederation, and the United Netherlands.
11. Under what circumstances does the Constitution of the United States provide for the suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus*?
12. Why has the Bill of Rights been called the "third great charter of English liberty"?
13. Show that the Revolution of 1688-89 was a "preserving" and not a "destroying" revolution.
14. By reference to the map on page 402 show how far the "natural boundaries" of France were attained during the reign of Louis XIV.
15. How did the condition of Germany after the Thirty Years' War facilitate the efforts of Louis XIV to extend the French frontiers to the Rhine?
16. Read Southey's poem *After Blenheim*. Does it rightly appreciate the significance of this battle in European history?
17. Show that in the Peace of Utrecht nearly all the contestants profited at the expense of Spain.
18. "The age of Louis XIV in France is worthy to stand by the side of the age of Pericles in Greece and of Augustus in Italy." Does this statement appear to be justified?

CHAPTER XVII

THE EUROPEAN BALANCE OF POWER, 1715-1789 ¹

148. The Eighteenth Century in Politics

THE death of Louis XIV, shortly after the Peace of Utrecht, brought one historical epoch to a close and began another. Seventy-four years were to intervene before the meeting of the Estates-General ushered in the French Revolution, which has so profoundly affected all modern Europe to the present day. These seventy-four years from 1715 to 1789 really constitute the eighteenth century, a period preparatory to the revolutionary period by which it was succeeded.

A cardinal principle of eighteenth-century diplomacy was that of the balance of power. After the Peace of Westphalia statesmen generally agreed that the various European nations, so unlike in size, population, and resources, ought to form a sort of federal community in which the security of all was ensured. If any nation became so strong as to overshadow the others, then they must combine against it and treat it as a common enemy. Louis XIV, who ignored this principle, had repeatedly to face the coalitions of his weaker neighbors.

But the balance of power too often remained only an ideal, in an age when diplomacy was corrupt and international immorality was universal. Rulers plotted and fought bloody wars solely to enlarge their dominions. Territorial aggrandizement now replaced religious dissension as the main cause of European strife.

The interests of dynasties, rather than those of peoples, were chiefly considered in the diplomacy of the eighteenth century.

¹ Webster, *Historical Source Book*, No. 9, "Act of Settlement, 1701."

Monarchs paid little heed to racial limits or national boundaries, but cut and pared countries "as if they were Dutch cheeses." The idea — now so prevalent — that each people should determine its own destiny was then unrecognized.

The special interest of this age in political history lies in the emergence of new European states. Three great nations of the seventeenth century, namely, Spain, Sweden, and Holland, retired to the background and in their place arose the empire of Russia and the kingdom of Prussia. Together with France, Great Britain, and Austria, they formed the leading powers.

149. Rise of Russia

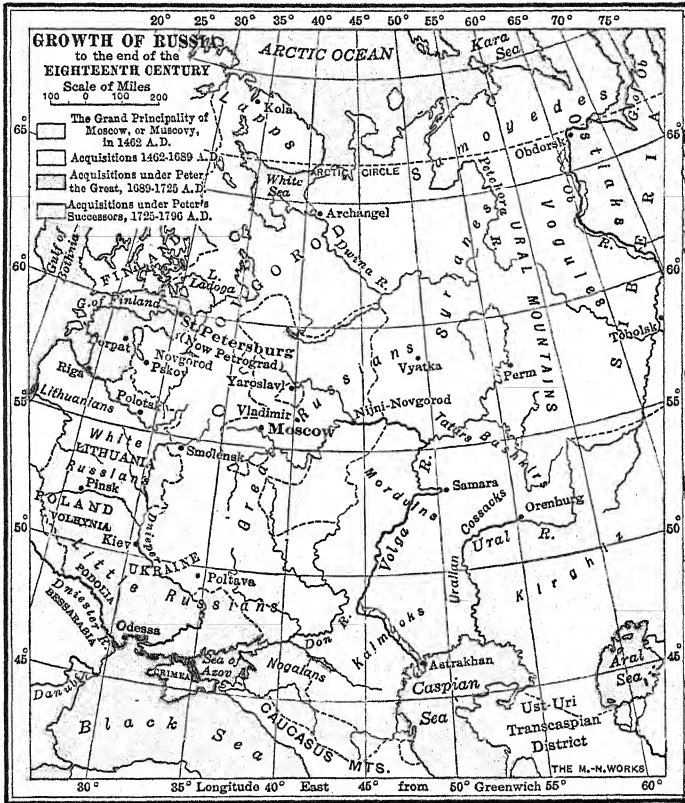
The influence of geographical conditions is clearly seen in Russian history. European Russia forms an immense, unbroken plain, threaded by numerous rivers which facilitate movement into every part of the country. While western Europe, with its mountain ranges and deep inlets of the sea, tended to divide into many separate states, Russia just as naturally became a single state.

In historic times Goths, Huns, Avars, Finns, Bulgarians, Northmen, and Mongols occupied Russian territory, but the bulk of the population at the end of the medieval period belonged to the Slavic branch of the Indo-European race. The Russians, therefore, were closely related in both language and blood to the Bohemians and Poles of central Europe and to the Serbians of the Balkan peninsula.¹

Yet the Russians at the opening of modern times seemed to be rather an Asiatic than a European people. Three hundred years of Mongol rule had isolated them from their Slavic neighbors and had interrupted the stream of civilizing influences which in earlier days flowed into Russia from Scandinavia and from the Byzantine Empire. After the expulsion of the Mongols, Russia continued to be

¹ For Russian history in the Middle Ages see pages 100 and 185.

shut out from the Baltic by the Swedes and Poles and from the Black Sea by the Turks. The lack of seaports discouraged foreign commerce, through which European ideas and customs



might have entered Russia, while at the same time the nature of the country made agriculture rather than industry the principal occupation. Most of the Russians were ignorant, superstitious peasants, who led secluded lives in small farming villages scattered over the plains and throughout the forests. Even the inhabitants of the towns lacked the education and enlightened manners of the western peoples, whose ways they

disliked and whose religion, whether Protestantism or Catholicism, they condemned as heretical. Russia, in short, needed to be restored to Europe and Europe needed to be introduced to Russia.

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Russians began to spread southward over the region watered by the Dnieper, the Don, and the Volga. Many emigrants settled in the border country called the Ukraine,¹ which lay on both sides of the lower Dnieper. The Ukrainians (Little Russians) speak a Slavic dialect unlike that of the northern or Great Russians and nourish an independent spirit.

The vanguard of the Ukrainian colonists was led by the mounted warriors known as Cossacks.² Like the frontiersmen of the American West, the Cossacks lived a wild and independent life, now as herdsmen and farmers, now as hunters and fighters. They became in time subjects of the tsar, but still preserve a warlike organization, the tenure of land by military service (a form of feudalism), and the privilege of electing their own *hetman*, or supreme leader.

The Russian plain, between the Ural Mountains and the Caspian Sea, merges insensibly into the steppes of northern Asia. A steady stream of emigrants passed along this route into Siberia, much of which the Mongols had earlier subdued. Their power declined, however, and the Cossacks had little difficulty in capturing Sibir, the Mongol capital from which the whole region takes its name. Before the middle of the seventeenth century the Russians had penetrated to the Arctic Ocean and the Sea of Okhotsk. By the close of the century they occupied Kamchatka and faced the Pacific. The foundations of Russian supremacy were thus laid throughout northern Asia, a vast wilderness previously inhabited only by half-savage, heathen tribes.

Over these dominions in Europe and Asia reigned the monarch who called himself the tsar and autocrat of all Russia. The family of tsars, descended from the Northman Ruric, became

¹ From the Russian *krai*, a frontier.

² From the Turkish word, *kazak*, an adventurer or freebooter.

extinct at the close of the sixteenth century, and disputes over the succession led to civil wars and foreign invasions. The Russians then proceeded to select a new tsar, and for this purpose a general assembly of nobles and delegates from the towns met at Moscow. Their choice fell upon one of their own number, Michael Romanov by name, whose family was related to the old royal line. He proved to be an excellent ruler in troublous times. His grandson was the celebrated Peter the Great.

Accession
of the
Romanov
dynasty,
1613

150. Russia under Peter the Great, 1689-1725

Peter became sole ruler of Russia when only seventeen years of age. His character almost defies analysis. An English contemporary, who knew him well, described him as "a man of a very hot temper, soon inflamed, and very brutal in his passion." Deeds of fiendish cruelty were congenial to him. After a mutiny of his bodyguard he edified the court by himself slicing off the heads of the culprits. In order to quell opposition in his family, he had his wife whipped by the knout and ordered his own son to be tortured and executed. He was coarse, gluttonous, and utterly without personal dignity. The companions of his youth were profligates; his banquets were orgies of dissipation. Yet Peter could be often frank and good-humored, and to his friends he was as loyal as he was treacherous to his foes. At heart, too, he was deeply religious, for he believed himself to be an instrument for good in the hands of God. Whatever his weaknesses, few men have done more than Peter to change the course of history, and few have better deserved the appellation of "the Great."

Tsar Peter

Peter grew up wild and undisciplined, and he had to educate himself. The practical bent of his mind disclosed itself in the interest he took in mechanics, ship-building, siege-craft, and military drill. Association with foreigners at Moscow gave him some knowledge of European arts and sciences and first suggested to him the need of introducing western culture into Russia.

Peter's
education

Soon after becoming tsar Peter sent fifty young Russians of the best families to England, Holland, and Venice to absorb all they could of European ideas. Afterwards he came himself, traveling incognito as "Peter Mikhailov." He spent two years abroad, particularly in Holland and England, where he studied ship-building and navigation. He also collected miners, mechanics, engineers,

Peter in
western
Europe

architects, and experts of every sort for the roads and bridges, the ships and palaces, the schools and hospitals which were to arise in Russia.



PETER THE GREAT

A portrait of the tsar in Russian dress. Painted in England in 1698.

Many of Peter's reforms were intended to introduce the customs of western Europe into Russia. The long Asiatic robes of Russian nobles had to give way to short German jackets and hose. Long beards, which the people considered sacred, had to

be shaved, or else a tax paid for the privilege of wearing one. Women, previously kept in seclusion, were permitted to appear in public without veils and to mingle at dances and entertainments with men. A Russian order of chivalry — that of St. Andrew — was founded. The Bible was translated into the vernacular and sold at popular prices. Peter adopted the "Julian calendar," in place of the old Russian calendar, which began the year on the first of September, supposed to be the date of the creation. He also improved the Russian alphabet by omitting some of its cumbersome letters and by simplifying others. Such innovations were accepted only by the upper classes. The peasants clung tenaciously to their old ways and remained

little affected by the sudden inrush of European ideas and manners.

Peter found in Russia no regular army; he organized one after the German fashion. The soldiers (except the Cossacks) were uniformed and armed like European troops. He found no fleet; he built one, modeled upon that of Holland. He opened mines, cut canals, laid out roads, introduced sheep breeding, and fostered by protective tariffs the growth of silk and woollen manufactures. He instituted a police system and a postal service. He established schools of medicine, engineering, and navigation, as well as those of lower grade. He also framed a code of laws based upon the legal systems of western Europe.

The tsar's reforming measures encountered much opposition on the part of the clergy. He endeavored, therefore, to render them harmless by making the Russian Church entirely a state institution. All ecclesiastical authority was vested in the Holy Synod, whose members were chosen by himself. The head of the Russian state thus became, in effect, the head of the Russian Church as well. Like the clergy, the old nobility had opposed Peter's innovations. He consequently transformed it into an aristocracy of office-holders whose rank depended, not upon their birth or wealth, but upon their service to the tsar. Any family which for two generations had not taken part in the government ceased to be noble. In place of an ancient assembly (Duma) of nobles, Peter instituted a Council of State, directly responsible to himself. Peter in these ways established an absolutism as unlimited as that of his contemporary Louis XIV.

Very different views have been expressed as to the value of Peter's work. It is said, on the one side, that Russia could only be made over by such measures as he used; that the Russian people had to be dragged from their old paths and pushed on the broad road of progress. On the other side, it is argued that Peter's reforms were too sudden, too radical, and too little suited to the Slavic national character. The upper classes acquired only a veneer

of western civilization, and with it many vices. The nobles continued to be indolent, corrupt, and indifferent to the public welfare. The clergy became merely the tools of the tsar. The common people remained as ignorant and oppressed as ever and without any opportunity of self-government. Whatever may be the truth as to these two views, no one disputes the fact that in a single reign, by the action of one man, Russia began to pass from semi-barbarism to civilization.

As the ancient capital, Moscow, formed a stronghold of conservatism, Peter determined to build a new capital, less Asiatic in character and more susceptible to European influence. The site chosen was an unhealthy swamp on the river Neva, not far from the Gulf of Finland. The laborers perished by thousands, but Peter cared little for human life and with resistless energy urged forward the work of draining the marshes and digging canals to carry away the stagnant waters. Russian traders were forced to settle in the city and all the great landowners were required to build mansions there. To this northern Venice Peter gave the German name of (St.) Petersburg.¹

Peter's foreign policy The remaking of Russia according to European models formed only a half of Peter's program. His foreign policy was equally ambitious. He realized that Russia needed readier access to the sea than could be found through the Arctic port of Archangel. Peter made little headway against the Turks, who controlled the Black Sea, but twenty years of intermittent warfare with the Swedes enabled him to carry the western frontier of Russia to the Baltic. Russian history at this point connects closely with the history of Sweden.

151. Sweden and the Career of Charles XII

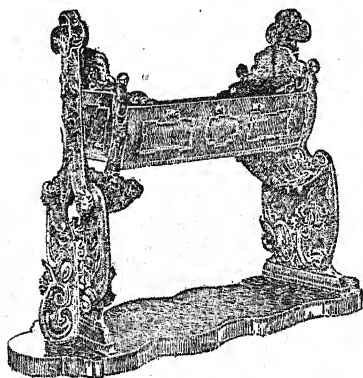
The Baltic has sometimes been called a secondary Mediterranean. It resembles that sea in its narrow entrance, numerous

¹ In 1914, at the outset of the World War, the name was changed to the Slavic equivalent, Petrograd. In 1918 the Bolshevik government of Russia removed the capital back to Moscow.

during the storms of the Reformation. It was finally dissolved in 1524, and Sweden again became independent.

The kings of Sweden were both patriotic and able, and under them the country, though thinly populated and poor in natural resources, rose to a leading place among European states. Finland had been a Swedish dependency since the twelfth century. Esthonia, on the southern shore

of the Gulf of Finland, was conquered in the sixteenth century. Three other provinces, namely, Karelia, Ingria, and Livonia, were acquired by Gustavus Adolphus. His participation in the Thirty Years' War also secured for Sweden, at the Peace of Westphalia, western Pomerania and other possessions in the north of Germany. Sweden at this time controlled all the islands and nearly all the coast of the



CRADLE OF CHARLES XII

Baltic. The mouths of the Neva, Düna, Oder, Elbe, and Weser were under the Swedish flag.

The greatness of Sweden culminated and then declined during the spectacular reign of Charles XII. His youth was prophetic of his career. Indoors he read the exploits of Alexander the Great; out of doors he devoted himself to hunting and warlike exercises. He came to the throne a lad of only fifteen, but already daring, ambitious, and eager for military glory. Events soon thrust into his hand the sword he was never to relinquish.

Sweden could not be mistress of the Baltic without provoking the jealousy of various neighboring states, in particular, Russia, Poland, and Denmark. Shortly after the accession of Charles XII they formed a coalition to seize and dismember the Swedish possessions. The boy-king,

Greatness
of Sweden

Reign of
Charles XII,
1697-1718

Exploits of
Charles

far from being dismayed by the odds against him, turned fiercely upon his enemies before they could unite. He invaded Denmark, appeared before the walls of Copenhagen, and compelled the terrified Danes to conclude a separate peace. He won almost fabulous victories in Russia and Poland, at one time overthrowing a Russian army five times as large as his own. The Poles, also badly beaten, were required to depose their ruler and accept the nominee of the Swedish king.

But Charles was like a meteor which flashed across the European sky to disappear as quickly as it came. Rejecting all overtures for peace, he determined to march on Moscow and dictate terms to Peter the Great. The Russian resistance stiffened as the Swedes

Battle of .
Poltava,
1709

approached the capital along much the same route which the French under Napoleon followed one hundred years later. Charles had to turn south to the Ukraine, where he hoped to raise the Cossacks against the tsar. Here, however, he was defeated by Peter in the decisive battle of Poltava. Charles afterwards returned to his kingdom, but soon perished in an obscure conflict in Norway.

Exhausted Sweden had now no choice but to make terms with her foes. She lost nearly all her foreign possessions except Finland.¹ The greater part of western Pomerania went to Prussia, which thus secured valuable territory at the mouth of the Oder. Russia profited even more, for she took the four Swedish provinces on the eastern shores of the Baltic. Much of this region had been colonized in the Middle Ages by the knights of the Teutonic Order.² It was now to become a Slavic land. Here Peter the Great founded his new capital, thus realizing a long-cherished dream of opening a "window" through which the Russian people might look into Europe.

Partition of
Swedish
territories

¹ A small part of Finland, lying along the gulf of that name, was ceded to Russia. The rest of the country did not enter the Russian Empire until 1809.

² See page 222.

152. Russia under Catherine II, 1762-1796; the Decline of Turkey

Shortly after the death of Peter the Great, at the early age of fifty-three, the male line of the Romanov dynasty became extinct. The succession now passed to women, who intermarried with German princes and thus increased enormously the German influence in Russia. It was a German princess, Catherine II, who completed Peter's work of remaking Russia into a European state. She, also, has been called "the Great," a title possibly merited by her achievements, though not by her character. Catherine came to Russia as the wife of the heir-apparent. Once in her adopted country,



CATHERINE II

A painting by Van Wilk.

she proceeded to make herself in all ways a Russian, learning the language and even conforming, at least outwardly, to the Orthodox Church. Her husband was a weakling, and Catherine managed to get rid of him after he had reigned only six months. She then mounted the throne and for thirty-four years ruled Russia with a firm hand.

The overthrow of Sweden left Poland and Turkey as the two coun-

tries which still blocked the path of Russia toward the sea.

Catherine's
foreign
policy

Catherine warred against them throughout her reign. She took the lion's share of Poland, when that unfortunate kingdom, as we shall shortly learn, was divided among Russia, Austria, and Prussia. Cath-

erine also secured from the Turks an outlet for Russia on the Black Sea, though she never realized her dream of expelling them from European soil.

When Constantinople fell to the Turks in 1453, their European dominions already included a considerable part of the Balkan peninsula. The two centuries following witnessed the steady advance of the Ottoman arms. What are now Bulgaria, Rumania, Serbia, Bosnia, Albania, and Greece were incorporated within the Turkish Empire. Only tiny Montenegro, protected by mountain ramparts and a heroic soldiery, preserved its independence. Pressing northward, the Turks conquered part of Hungary and made the rest of that country a dependency. They overran the Crimea and bestowed it upon a Mongol khan as a tributary province. They annexed Egypt, Syria, Armenia, Mesopotamia, and the coast of northern Africa. The Black Sea and the eastern Mediterranean became Turkish lakes.

Growth
of the
Ottoman
power

Two dramatic events showed that the Christian peoples of Europe could still oppose a successful resistance to the warriors of the Crescent. The first was the battle of Lepanto (1571), which checked the further advance of Turkey in Mediterranean waters.¹ The second was the defeat suffered by the Turks under the walls of Vienna (1683). They marched on the Austrian capital, two hundred thousand strong, laid siege to it, and would have taken it but for the timely appearance of a relieving army under the Polish king, John Sobieski. Poland at that time saved Austria from destruction and earned the praise of Christian Europe. A few years later all Hungary shook off the Turkish yoke.

Decline
of the
Ottoman
power

Catherine's two wars with the Turks mark a further stage in the decline of the Ottoman power. Russia secured the Crimea, as well as the northern coast of the Black Sea. Russian merchant ships were also granted free access through the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles

Russian
acquisitions
from Turkey

¹ See page 355.

to the Mediterranean. Catherine in this way opened another "window" on Europe.

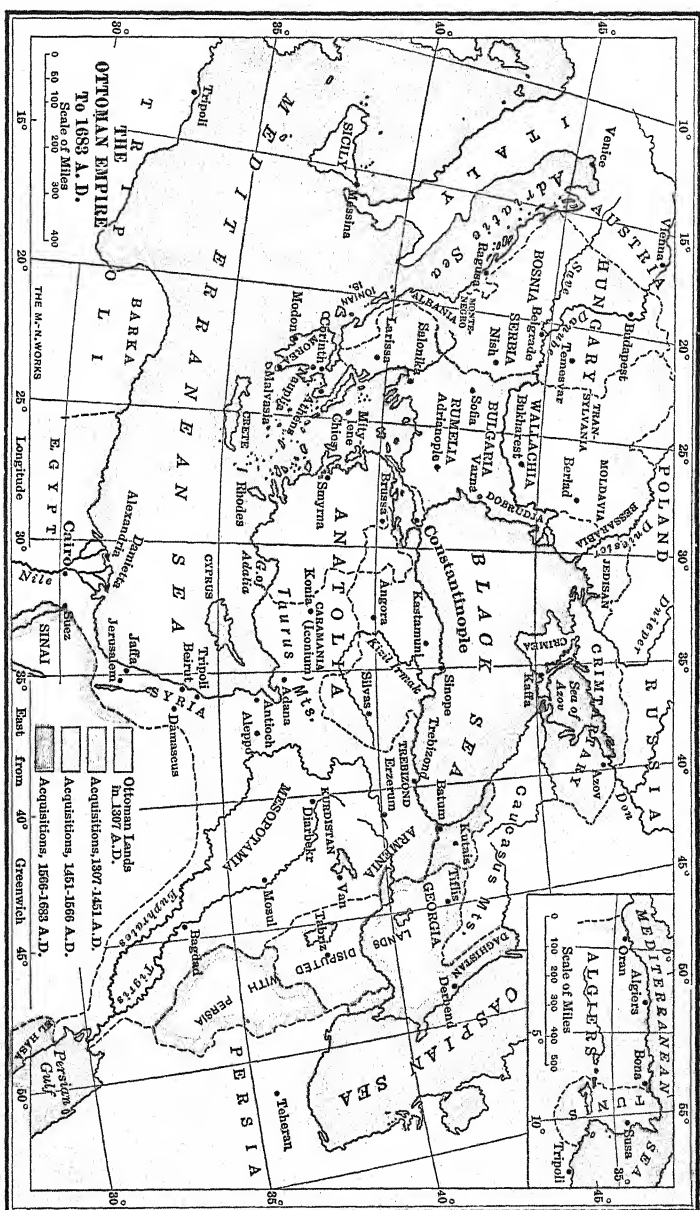
Turkey lost more than territory. The Sultan gave to Russia the right to control a new Russian church in Constantinople, thus recognizing the claim of the tsars to be the natural protectors of Orthodox Christians throughout his dominions. Russia from this time interfered constantly in Turkish affairs. The Sultan became the "sick man" of Europe, the disposition of whose possessions among his envious neighbors would henceforth form one of the thorny problems of European diplomacy. In a word, what is called the "Eastern Question" began.

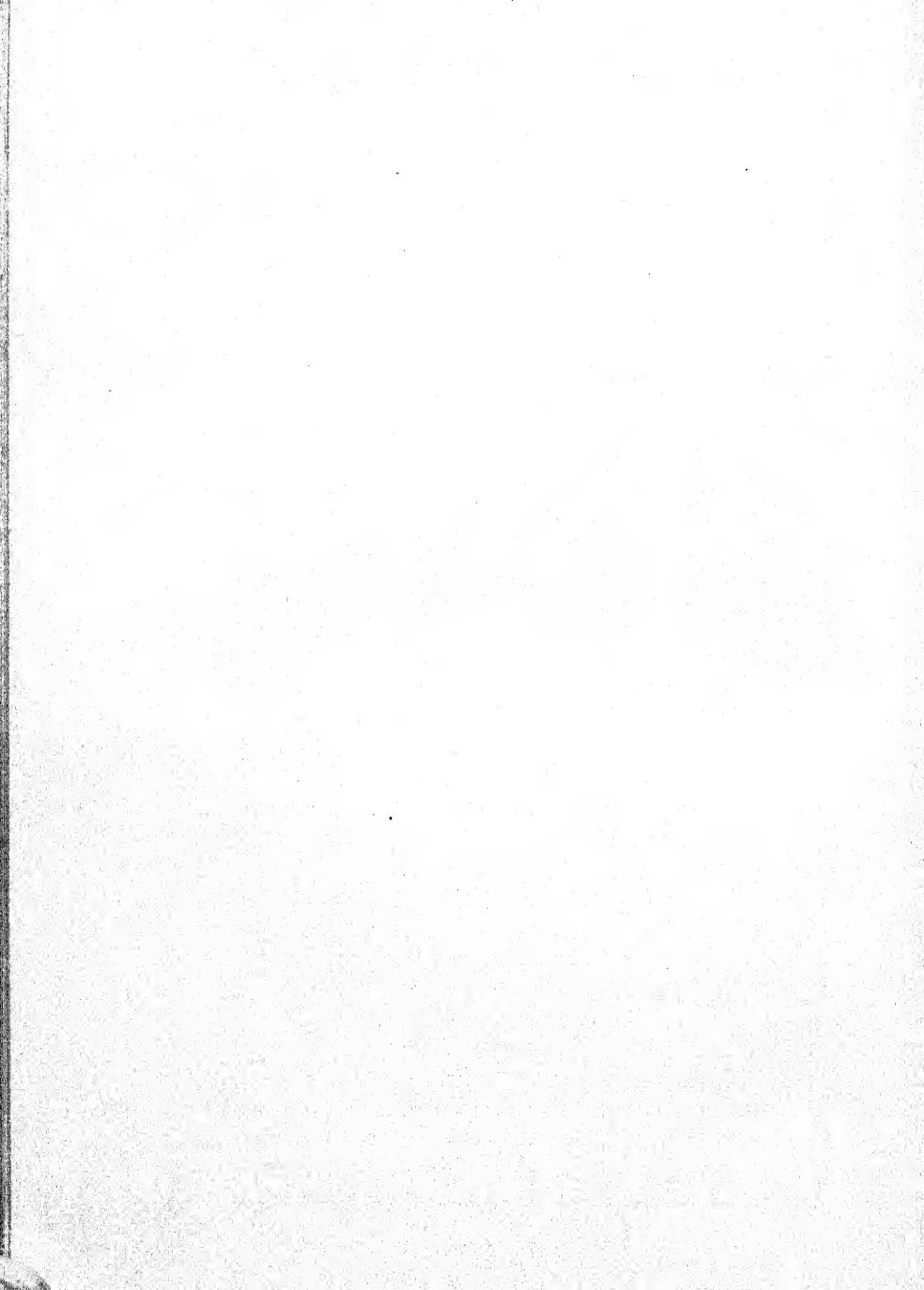
153. The Partitions of Poland, 1772-1795

Our first glimpse of the Poles reveals them as a Slavic people, still wild and heathen, who occupied the region between the upper waters of the Oder and the Vistula. They began to adopt Roman Christianity toward the close of the tenth century, thus coming into contact with the more civilized nations of the West. Poland suffered terribly from the Mongol invasions, but, unlike Russia, never bowed to the yoke of the Great Khan. The Poles in the sixteenth century united with the Lithuanians, under a common king. After the union the ancient Polish capital of Cracow gave way to Warsaw, now one of the largest and finest cities of eastern Europe.

Poland was geographically badly made. It formed an immense, monotonous plain, reaching from the Baltic almost to the Black Sea. No natural barriers of rivers or mountains separated the country from Russia on the east and Austria and Prussia on the west.

Poland was not racially compact. Besides Poles and Lithuanians, the inhabitants included many Russians, a considerable number of Germans and Swedes, and a large Jewish population in the towns. The differences between them in race and language were accentuated by







THE PARTITION OF POLAND

A contemporary cartoon which represents Catherine II, Joseph II, and Frederick II pointing out on the map the boundaries of Poland as divided between them. Stanislaus II, the Polish king, is trying to keep his crown from falling off his head.

religious dissensions. The Poles and most of the Lithuanians belonged to the Roman Catholic Church, the Germans and Swedes adhered to Lutheranism, while the Russians accepted the Greek Orthodox faith.

Feudalism, though almost extinct in western Europe, flourished in Poland. There were more than a million Polish

nobles, mostly very poor, but each one owning a share of the land. No large and wealthy middle class existed. The peasants were miserable serfs over whom their lords had the power of life and death.

Social
conditions
in Poland

The Polish monarchy was elective, not hereditary, an arrangement which converted the kings into mere puppets of the noble electors. A Polish sovereign could neither make war or peace, nor pass laws, nor levy taxes without the consent of the Polish national assembly. In this body, which was composed of representatives of the nobility, any member by his single adverse vote — "I object" — could block proposed legislation. The result was that the nobles seldom passed any measures except those which increased their own power and privileges. The wonder is, not that Poland collapsed, but that it survived so long under such a system of government.

Russia, Austria, and Prussia had long interfered in the choice of Polish rulers. Now they began to annex Polish territory.

First
partition,
1772

It was not necessary to conquer the country, but only to divide it up like a thing ownerless and dead.

In 1772 Catherine II joined with the Austrian empress, Maria Theresa, and the Prussian king, Frederick the Great, in the first partition of Poland. Russia took a strip east of the Dūna and Dnieper rivers inhabited entirely by Russians. Austria took Galicia and neighboring lands occupied by Poles and Russians. Prussia received the coveted West Prussia, whose inhabitants were mainly Germans. Altogether Poland lost about one-third of its territory.

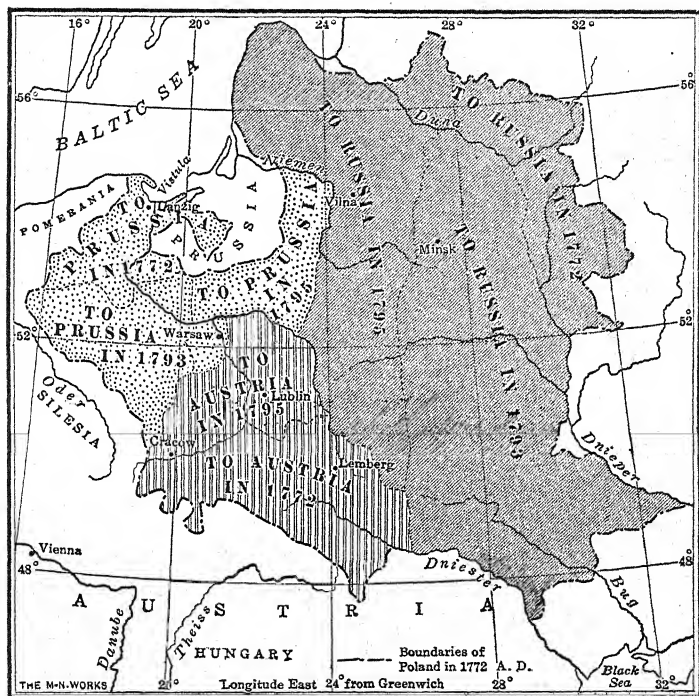
The first partition opened the eyes of the Polish nobles to the ruin which threatened their country. Something like a patriotic

Second and
third
partitions,
1792, 1795

spirit now developed, and efforts began to remove the glaring absurdities of the old government.

The reform movement encountered the opposition of the neighboring sovereigns, who wished to keep Poland as weak as possible in order to have an excuse for further spoliation. The second partition (1793), in which only Russia and Prussia shared, cut deeply into Poland. Two years later

came the final dismemberment of the country among its three neighbors. The brave though futile resistance of the Polish patriots, led by Kosciuszko, who had fought under Washington



PARTITIONS OF POLAND, 1772, 1793, 1795 A.D.

in the Revolutionary War, threw a gleam of glory upon the last days of the expiring kingdom.

The suggestion for the dismemberment of Poland came from Frederick the Great, who with his usual frankness admitted that it was an act of brigands. In Catherine II he found an ally as unprincipled as himself. Maria Theresa expressed horror at the crime, but her scruples were easily overcome. Indeed, her chief complaint

Responsibility for the partitions

was that the other two monarchs had taken the best shares of the plunder.

This shameful violation of international law produced a "Polish Question." From the eighteenth century to the twentieth century the Poles never ceased to be restless and unhappy under foreign overlords. They developed a new national consciousness after the loss of their freedom, and the severest measures of repression failed to break their spirit. One happy result of the World War has been the restoration of Poland as an independent country.

154. Rise of Prussia

Germany, at the end of the Thirty Years' War, was merely a geographical name for a collection of more than three hundred states owing only a nominal allegiance to the Holy Roman Empire. Yet the German people, who had once formed such efficient organizations as the Teutonic Order and the Hanseatic League, were manifestly destined for union under a single government. They could not always remain weak and defenseless, with their country the battle-ground of Europe. It was to be the work of Prussia to achieve the unification of the Fatherland.

Prussia, the creator of modern Germany, was the creation of the Hohenzollerns.¹ Excepting Frederick the Great, no Hohenzollern deserves to be ranked as a genius; but it would be hard to name another dynasty with so many able, ambitious, and unscrupulous rulers. The Hohenzollerns prided themselves on the fact that almost every member of the family enlarged the possessions received from his ancestors. They did this by purchase, by inheritance, by shrewd diplomacy, and, most of all, by hard fighting.

The veil of obscurity hanging over the early history of the Hohenzollerns lifts early in the fifteenth century, when one of them received the mark of Brandenburg from the Holy Roman Emperor, as

¹ The name is derived from that of their castle on the heights of Zollern in medieval Swabia. Emperor William II was the twenty-fourth ruler of the line.

compensation for various sums of money advanced to him. Brandenburg in earlier days had formed a German colony planted among the Slavs beyond the Elbe.¹ With the margravate went the electoral dignity, that is to say, the ruler of Brandenburg was one of the seven German princes who enjoyed the privilege of choosing the emperor.²

The Hohenzollerns as yet had no connection with Prussia. That country received its name from the Borussi, a heathen people who once occupied the Baltic coast east of the Vistula. Prussia was conquered in the thirteenth century by the knights of the Teutonic

Duchy of
Prussia,
1618

Order, who exterminated many of the original inhabitants and kept the rest in subjection by force and terrorism.³ The dominant class of Prussian nobles (*Junkers*) largely descended from these hard-riding, hard-fighting, fierce, cruel knights. They made Prussia a thoroughly German land in speech, customs, and religion. The decline of their order in the fifteenth century enabled the king of Poland to annex West Prussia. During the Reformation the Teutonic grand master, who was a near relative of the Hohenzollerns of Brandenburg, dissolved the order and changed East Prussia into a secular duchy. His family became extinct early in the seventeenth century, and the duchy then passed to the elector of Brandenburg.

The period between the close of the Thirty Years' War and the accession of Frederick the Great saw many additions to the Hohenzollern domains. The most important were eastern Pomerania, the acquisition of which extended Brandenburg to the Baltic (1648);

Kingdom of
Prussia,
1701

certain districts along the lower Rhine (1666); and most of western Pomerania, which was secured after the defeat of Sweden (1720). The Hohenzollerns were now powerful enough to aspire to royal dignity. At the outbreak of the War of the Spanish Succession, the emperor, who was anxious to receive the elector's support, allowed him to assume the title of "king." Prussia, rather than Brandenburg, gave its name to the new kingdom, because the former was an independent

¹ See page 19.

² See page 218, note 2.

³ See pages 221-222.

state, while the latter was a member of the Holy Roman Empire.

Only a strong government could hold together the scattered possessions of the Hohenzollerns. Such a government they supplied. No rulers of the age exercised a more unlimited authority. They exacted passive obedience from their subjects; *nicht raisonniren* — “no reasoning here” — was their motto. According to the Hohenzollern principle a monarchy could not be too absolute, provided it was efficient. The king, working through his ministers, who were merely his clerks, must foster agriculture, industry, and commerce, promote education, and act as the guide of his people in matters of religion and morals.

This type of Prussian ruler was well exemplified in the person of Frederick William, commonly called the Great Elector.

**The Great
Elector,
1640-1688**

Unattractive in character, cunning and deceitful, he showed, nevertheless, a single-hearted devotion to the interests of the state and spared neither himself nor others in its service. His long reign of forty-eight years marked out the paths which Prussia henceforth followed. He suppressed such representative assemblies as existed in his dominions, replacing them by a central council of his ministers and provincial governors. A Hohenzollern could not tolerate free institutions; the will of the ruler must be supreme. In religious matters the Great Elector adopted a wise policy of toleration. Though Brandenburg was staunchly Protestant, he opened it to Jews from Austria and Huguenots from France and thus added many useful citizens to the population. His domestic measures were equally wise. By building roads, draining marshes, cutting canals, and encouraging scientific farming, he did much to develop the resources of a country little favored by nature. Finally, he managed to form a standing army, supported by taxation and entirely dependent on himself.

**Prussian
militarism**

The Hohenzollerns, from the time of the Great Elector, devoted themselves consistently to the upbuilding of their military forces. Prussia was to have

an army sufficiently strong to defend a kingdom without natural boundaries and stretching in detached provinces all the way from the Rhine to the Niemen. The soldiers at first were volunteers, recruited in different parts of Germany, but it became necessary to fill up the gaps in the ranks by compulsory levies among the peasants. This marked the beginning of universal military service in Prussia. Carefully trained officers, appointed from the nobility and advanced only on merit, enforced an iron discipline. The soldiers, it was said, feared their commanders more than they did the enemy.

The Great Elector's grandson, Frederick William I, may stand as the representative of Prussian militarism. His brother monarchs were greatly amused when he formed a company of giant grenadiers, whom he treated as his pets and for whom he ransacked Europe. It was the king's sole indulgence; otherwise he lived with the utmost frugality and saved every possible penny for his army and his war chest. At the end of Frederick William's reign, Prussia, with a population of only two and a half millions, could put eighty thousand men in the field, half as many as France and nearly as many as Austria. The king himself did almost no fighting. He was too fond of his well-drilled regiments, his "blue children," as he called them, to risk them in battle. What could be done with them was shown by his son and successor, Frederick the Great.

Frederick
William I,
1713-1740

155. Prussia under Frederick the Great, 1740-1786

As crown prince of Prussia Frederick had led a hard life. His stern and crabbed father wished to make him only a soldier and discouraged every pursuit which did not contribute to this end. But the young man developed other tastes. He learned to play the flute, received secret lessons in Latin, read French plays, and filled his mind with the speculations of French philosophers. William, seeing his son apparently absorbed in frivolity, treated him

The
youthful
Frederick

with such harshness that he even tried to run away. The attempt failed, and the crown prince lay for a time under sentence of death as a deserter. His punishment took the



FREDERICK THE GREAT

A painting by H. Pataky.

form of an arduous, slavlike training for the duties of future kingship.

"If he kicks or rears again," said his father, "he shall forfeit the succession to the crown, and even life itself." But Frederick did not kick or rear again. Henceforth he labored so diligently as to win back the esteem of his father, who no longer feared to leave the throne to one unworthy of occupying it.

Frederick's personality and character became king at the age of twenty-

eight. He was rather be-

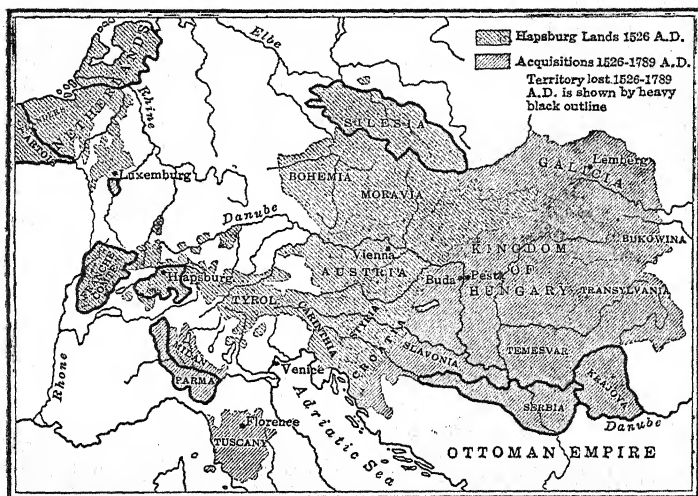
low the average height and inclined to stoutness, good looking, with the fair hair of North Germans and blue-gray eyes of extraordinary brilliancy. His character had been shaped by the stern experiences of his youth, which left him selfish and unsympathetic, cynical and crafty. He was not a man to inspire affection among his intimates, but with the mass of his subjects he was undeniably popular. Innumerable stories circulated in Prussia about the simplicity, good humor, and devotion to duty of old "Father Fritz."

In the same year, 1740, in which Frederick became king of Prussia, the Hapsburg emperor died, leaving no son or brother to succeed him. The emperor, however, had secured the solemn promise of Prussia and the

Maria
Theresa

other European powers to recognize his daughter, Maria Theresa, as the sole heir of his undivided dominions. She was a strikingly handsome woman, deeply religious, and unusually able; in every respect a worthy antagonist to Frederick, who became her almost lifelong foe.

The Hapsburg possessions, scattered over a great part of



HAPSBURG POSSESSIONS, 1526-1789 A.D.

Europe and inhabited by Hungarians, Bohemians, Netherlanders, Italians, and Germans, seemed ready to break up when Maria Theresa assumed the crown. Frederick chose as his share of the spoils the large and rich province of Silesia, whose population was mainly German. He suddenly led his army into Silesia and overran the country without much difficulty. It was sheer robbery, without a shadow of justification. As the king afterwards confessed in his *Memoirs*, "Ambition, interest, and the desire of making people talk about me carried the day; and I decided for war."

Frederick's action precipitated a general European conflict.

War of the
Austrian
Succession,
1740-1748

France, Spain, and Bavaria allied themselves with Prussia, in order to dismember the Hapsburg possessions, while Great Britain and Holland, anxious to preserve the balance of power, took the side of Austria. Things might have gone hard with Maria Theresa but for the courage and energy which she displayed and the support of her Hungarian subjects. She had to cede Silesia to Frederick, but lost no other territory. In 1748 all the warring countries agreed to a mutual restoration of conquests (with the

exception of Silesia) and signed the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.¹

Maria Theresa still hoped to recover her lost province.

As most of the European sovereigns were either afraid or jealous

of Frederick, she found no great difficulty in forming a coalition against him. Russia, France, Sweden, and Saxony all entered it. Most of Europe thus united in arms to dismember the small Prussian state.



MARIA THERESA

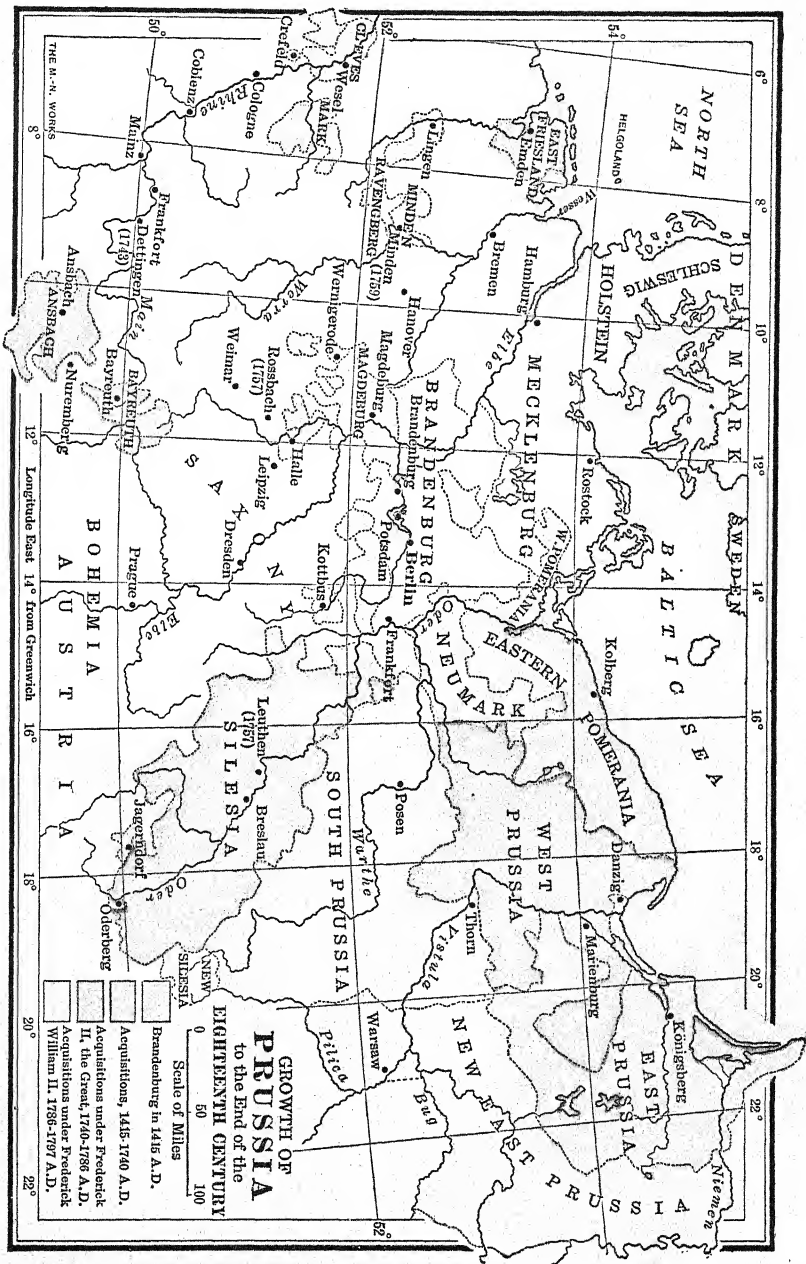
After a painting formerly in the possession of the Archduke Frederick, Vienna.

It happened, however, that at the head of this small state was a man of military genius, capable of infusing into others his own undaunted spirit and supported by subjects disciplined, patient, and loyal. Furthermore, Great Britain in the Seven Years' War was an ally of Prussia. British gold subsidized the Prussian armies, and British troops, by fighting the French in Germany, India, and America, weakened Prussia's most dangerous enemy. Frederick conducted a purely defensive warfare, thrusting now here and now there against his slower-

Outbreak of
the Seven
Years' War
1756

Course
of the war

¹ For the War of the Austrian Succession outside of Europe, see pages 447 and 469.



moving adversaries, who never learned to act in concert and exert their full force simultaneously. Even so, the struggle was desperately unequal. The Russians occupied East Prussia, penetrated Brandenburg, and even captured Berlin. Faced by the gradual wearing-down of his armies, an empty treasury, and an impoverished country, Frederick more than once meditated suicide. What saved him was the accession of a new tsar. This ruler happened to be a warm admirer of the Prussian king and at once withdrew from the war. Maria Theresa, deprived of her eastern ally, now had to come to terms and leave Frederick in secure possession of Silesia. Soon afterwards the Peace of Paris between France and Great Britain brought the Seven Years' War to an end (1763).¹

This most bloody contest, which cost the lives of nearly a million men, seemed to settle little or nothing in Europe except the Silesian question. Yet the Seven Years' War really marks an epoch in European history. The young Prussian kingdom appeared henceforth as one of the great powers of the Continent and as the only rival in Germany of the old Hapsburg monarchy. From this time it was inevitable that Prussia and Austria would struggle for predominance, and that the smaller German states would group themselves around one or the other. Frederick, of course, like all the Hohenzollerns, fought simply for the aggrandizement of Prussia, but the results of his work became manifest a century later when the German Empire came into being.

156. Constitutional Monarchy in Great Britain

At a time when absolute monarchs held sway in Prussia, Russia, Austria, France, and other Continental countries, the people of Great Britain had a constitutional monarchy, limited by Parliament and the courts. The concessions which they had wrung from their reluctant sovereigns were embodied in various state papers, such

Issue of
the war

Act of
Settlement,
1701

¹ For the Seven Years' War outside of Europe, see pages 448 and 469.

as the Great Charter, the Petition of Right, the Habeas Corpus Act, and the Bill of Rights. To these documents of political liberty there was now added the Act of Settlement. It provided that in case William III or his sister-in-law Anne died without heirs, the crown should pass to Sophia, electress of Hanover, and her descendants. She was the granddaughter of James I and a Protestant. This arrangement deliberately excluded a number of nearer representatives of the Stuart house from the succession, because they were Roman Catholics. Parliament thus asserted in the strongest way the right of the British people to choose their own rulers.

Queen Anne died in 1714, and in accordance with the Act of Settlement the son of Sophia of Hanover, George I, ascended the throne. He was the first member of the Hanoverian dynasty, which has continued to reign in Great Britain to the present time. George I could not speak English and preferred Hanover to his adopted country. His son, George II, was also much more a German than an Englishman. Both these kings took little interest in British affairs and gave to their ministers a free hand in the conduct of the government.

During the reigns of the first two Georges the cabinet system assumed very much its present form. The cabinet consists of a small number of ministers, who sit in Parliament and form what is really a parliamentary committee. This body received its name because it met, not in the larger council chamber, but in a "cabinet," or smaller room, apart. The rise of political parties made it desirable for the king to select all his cabinet ministers from that party — either Whigs or Tories — which commanded a majority in the House of Commons, for otherwise the royal measures would be pretty sure to be frustrated. Until the accession of George I the king always attended cabinet meetings; George did not do so because he could not either understand or be understood in the deliberations. Since his time the British sovereign has not been a member of the cabinet.

The first two Hanoverians naturally favored the Whigs,

who had brought about the "Glorious Revolution" and passed the Act of Settlement. The Whig party included the great lords, most of the bishops and town clergy, the Nonconformists, and the merchants, shopkeepers, and other members of the middle class. The Tories at this time were very unpopular, being supposed to desire a second restoration of the Stuarts. England now came under the rule of the Whigs, who had a large majority in the House of Commons.

The Whig
ascendancy

The most eminent of the Whig leaders was Wil-
liam Pitt
the Elder,

Ministry of
William Pitt,
1757-1761

a fiery orator, an ardent patriot, and an incorruptible statesman. He became the real, though not the nominal, head of the cabinet shortly after the opening of the



WILLIAM PITT, EARL OF CHATHAM

A painting by Richard Brompton in the possession of Earl Stanhope at Chevening, England.

Seven Years' War. It was a dark hour for the British. Frederick the Great, their ally on the Continent, had met severe reverses, and the French under Montcalm threatened to overrun the American colonies. But Pitt had confidence in his ability. "I am sure," he said, "that I can save the country, and that no one else can." Save it he did. The "Great Commoner" infused new vigor into the conduct of the war; aroused the martial spirit of the nation; and selected the commanders who gained victory after victory over the French.

on the sea, in India, and in America. Great Britain, as Frederick the Great said, had at length "borne a man." Thanks to Pitt's memorable ministry, that country emerged from the Seven Years' War a world-power and great imperial state.

The accession in 1760 of George III marked a notable attempt to revive in Great Britain the ideas of personal rule associated with the Stuarts. "George, be a king," his German mother had told him, and this advice he tried his best to follow. Taking advantage of a House of Commons then utterly unrepresentative of the people and packed with his supporters (the "king's friends"), George III set about the restoration of absolutism. His money, patronage, and influence were liberally used to bribe and reward the men who would do the royal bidding.

After ten years of unremitting effort the triumph of George III appeared to be complete. The Whigs retired to the back-ground, and a Tory ministry, headed by Lord North, came into office. North was a mere figure-head; behind the scenes and moving them as he willed stood the sinister figure of the king. To this would-be despot, therefore, belongs the chief responsibility for the measures of oppression which provoked the resistance of the Thirteen Colonies and resulted in their separation from the mother country. The American Revolution was to a large extent the work of George III.

The failure of George III and his subservient Parliament to subdue the colonists led to a political upheaval. Lord North's ministry resigned, and the discredited king became the most unpopular of sovereigns. Great Britain now returned to the principles of constitutional or limited monarchy, which have since been adopted by so many countries in the Old World. In the New World, as we shall shortly learn, the American Revolution gave birth to a nation dedicated to the principles of republican government.

Personal

rule of

George III

Lord North's
ministry,
1770-1782

Restoration
of constitu-
tional
monarchy

Studies

1. On an outline map indicate the territorial gains made by Russia in Europe under Peter the Great. 2. On an outline map indicate the additions to the Hohenzollern dominions made by Frederick the Great. 3. What illustrations of international immorality are found in this chapter? 4. Who were Charles XII, Maria Theresa, William Pitt the Elder, and the Great Elector? 5. How was Russia until the time of Peter the Great rather an "annex of Asia" than a part of Europe? 6. What did Peter the Great mean by saying, "It is not land I want, but water"? 7. "The Dnieper made Russia Byzantine, the Volga made it Asiatic. It was for the Neva to make it European." Can you explain this statement? 8. Why has Charles XII been called the "last of the Vikings"? 9. Why has the defeat of Charles XII at Poltava been included among the world's decisive battles? 10. Compare the respective boundaries of the Arabian and Ottoman empires (maps facing pages 78 and 424). 11. How did Russia's share of Poland compare in size with the shares of Austria and Prussia (map on page 427)? 12. Show that the geographical situation of West Prussia made it an extremely important addition to the Hohenzollern possessions. 13. Account for the development of both absolutism and militarism in Prussia. 14. How did Frederick II win the designation of "the Great"? 15. In what respects does the President's cabinet in the United States differ from the British cabinet? 16. What are some of the accusations against George III as set forth in the Declaration of Independence?



A POLITICIAN

After a cartoon by W. Hogarth.

CHAPTER XVIII

COMMERCE AND COLONIES IN THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES¹

157. Mercantilism and Trading Companies

UNTIL 1600 Spain and Portugal had chiefly profited by the geographical discoveries and colonizing movements of the preceding century. The decline of these two countries enabled other European nations to step into their place as rivals for colonial empire and the sovereignty of the seas. The Dutch were the first in the field, followed later by the French and the English.

New rivals
for colonial
empire

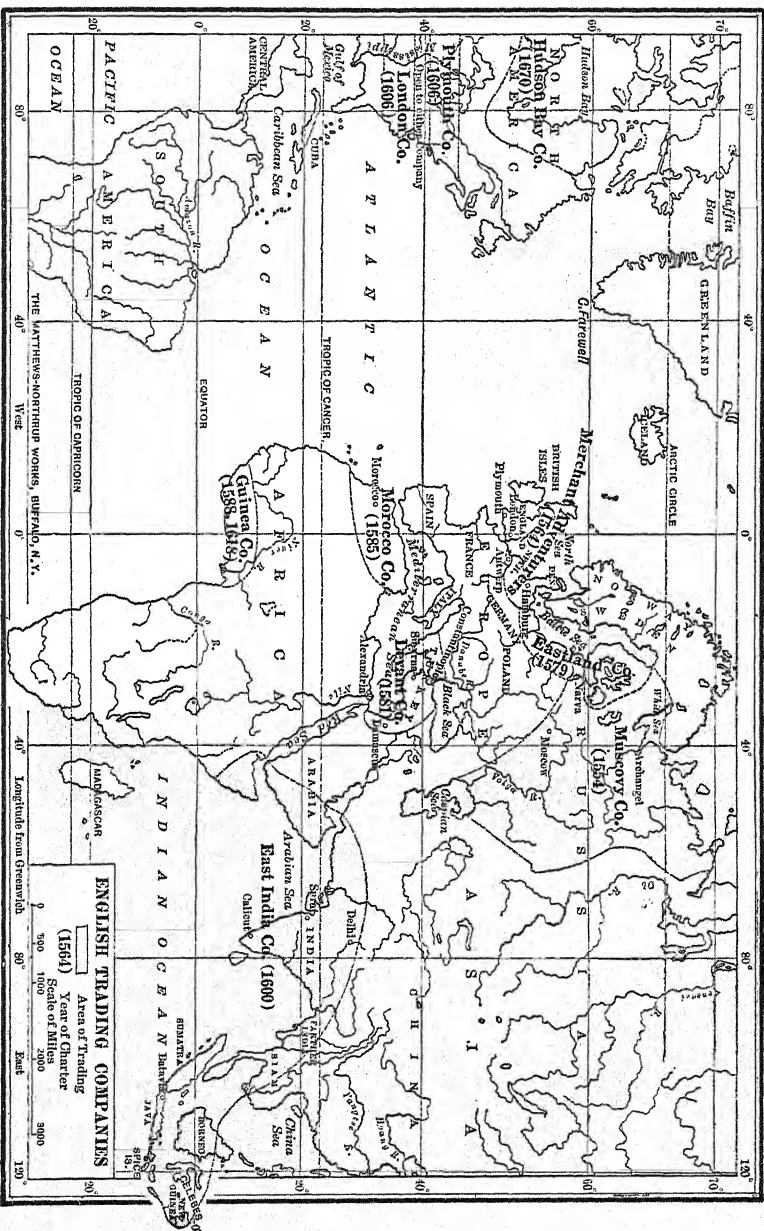
Many motives inspired the colonizing movement of the seventeenth century. Political aims had considerable weight.

Motives for
colonization

Both France and England, for instance, desired colonial dependencies in order to restrict the overweening power of Spain in America. The religious impulse also played a part, as when Jesuit missionaries penetrated the American wilderness to convert the Indians to Christianity and when the Pilgrim Fathers sought in the New World a refuge from persecution. But the main motive for colonization was economic in character. Colonies were planted in order to furnish the home land with raw materials for its manufactures, new markets, and favorable opportunities for the investment of capital in commerce and industry.

Most European statesmen in the seventeenth century accepted the principles of the mercantile system. Mercantilism is the name given to an economic doctrine which emphasized the importance of manufactures and foreign trade, rather than agriculture and

¹ Webster, *Readings in Medieval and Modern History*, chapter xxix, "The Aborigines of the Pacific." Webster, *Historical Source Book*, No. 3, "Mayflower Compact, 1620"; No. 5, "New England Confederation, 1643"; No. 10, "Resolutions of the Stamp Act Congress, 1765"; No. 11, "Virginia Bill of Rights, 1776"; No. 12, "Declaration of Independence, 1776"; No. 13, "Articles of Confederation, 1777"; No. 14, "Northwest Ordinance, 1787"; No. 15, "Constitution of the United States, 1789."



domestic trade, as sources of national wealth. Some Mercantilists even argued that the prosperity of a nation is in exact proportion to the amount of money in circulation within its borders. They urged, therefore, that each country should so conduct its dealings with other countries as to attract to itself the largest possible share of the precious metals. This could be most easily done by fostering exports of manufactures, through bounties and special privileges, and by discouraging imports, except of raw materials. If the country sold more to foreigners than it bought of them, then there would be a "favorable balance of trade," and this balance the foreigners would have to make up in coin or bullion.

Large and flourishing colonies seemed essential to the success of the mercantile system. Colonies were viewed simply as estates to be worked for the advantage of the country fortunate enough to possess them. The home government did its best to prevent other governments from trading with its dependencies. At the same time it either prohibited or placed serious restrictions on colonial manufactures which might compete with those of the mother country. Portugal and Spain in the sixteenth century, and now Holland, France, and England in the seventeenth century, pursued this colonial policy.

The home government did not itself engage in colonial commerce. It ceded this privilege to private companies organized for the purpose. A company, in return for the monopoly of trade with the inhabitants of a colony, was expected to govern and protect them.

The first form of association was the regulated company. Each member, after paying the entrance fee, traded with his own capital at his own risk and kept his profits to himself. After a time this loose association gave way to the joint-stock company. The members contributed to a common fund and, instead of trading themselves, intrusted the management of the business to a board of directors. Any one who invested his capital would then receive a "dividend" on his "shares" of the

Mercantilism
and colonial
policy

Trading
companies

Regulated
and joint-
stock
companies

joint stock, provided the enterprise was successful. The joint-stock companies of the seventeenth century thus formed a connecting link with modern corporations.

Trading companies were very numerous. For instance, Holland, France, England, Sweden, and Denmark, as well as Scotland and Prussia, each chartered its own "East India Company." There were English companies organized for trade with Russia, the Baltic lands, Turkey, India, China, Morocco, Guiana, the Bermudas, the Canaries, and Hudson Bay. Still other companies colonized North America.

Examples of
trading
companies

158. The Dutch Colonial Empire

Holland lies at the mouths of the largest rivers of western Europe, the Scheldt, Meuse, and Rhine, thus securing easy communication with the interior. It is not far distant from Denmark and Norway and is only a few hours' sail from the French and English coasts. These advantages of position, combined with a small, infertile territory, never capable of supporting more than a fraction of the inhabitants by agriculture, naturally turned the Dutch to the sea. They began their maritime career as fishermen, "exchanging tons of herring for tons of gold," and gradually built up an extensive carrying trade between the Mediterranean and Baltic lands. After the discovery of the Cape route to the Indies, Dutch traders met Portuguese merchants at Lisbon and there obtained spices and other eastern wares for distribution throughout Europe.

Rise of
Holland as
a commercial
power

But the Dutch were soon to become seamen on a much more extensive scale. The union of Portugal with Spain in 1581¹ enabled Philip II to close the port of Lisbon to the Netherlanders, who had already begun their revolt against the Spanish monarch. Philip also seized a large number of Dutch ships lying in Spanish and Portuguese harbors, thus disclosing his purpose

Dutch
expeditions
to the East
Indies

¹ See page 355.

to destroy, if possible, the profitable commerce of his enemies. The Dutch now began to make expeditions directly to the East Indies, whose trade had been monopolized by Portugal for almost a century. They captured many Portuguese and Spanish ships, obtained ports on the coasts of Africa and India, and soon established themselves securely in the Far East.



EAST INDIES

In 1602 the Dutch government chartered the East India Company and gave to it the monopoly of trade and rule from the Cape of Good Hope eastward to the Strait of Magellan. The company operated chiefly in the rich islands of the Malay Archipelago.

Dutch
East India
Company

Here much bitter fighting took place with the Portuguese, who were finally driven from nearly all of their eastern possessions. Ceylon, Malacca, Sumatra, Java, Celebes, and the Moluccas, or Spice Islands, passed into the hands of the Dutch. The headquarters of the Dutch East India Company were located at Batavia in Java. This city still remains one of the leading commercial centers of the East Indies.

The Dutch possessions included the Cape of Good Hope, which they took from the enfeebled Portuguese in 1652. At first there was no intention of founding a colony, for the Cape region seemed valuable only as a way-station on the route to the Indies. Before long, however, Dutch emigrants began to arrive in increasing numbers, together with Huguenots from France after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. These farmer-settlers, or Boers, passed slowly into the interior and laid there the foundation of Dutch sway in South Africa. The Cape of Good Hope became a British possession at the end of the eighteenth century, but the Boer republics retained their independence until our own day.

Fired by their success and enriched by their gains in the East, the Dutch started out to form another colonial empire in the West. It was an agent of the Dutch East India Company, Henry Hudson, who, seeking a northwest passage to the East Indies, discovered in 1609 the river which bears his name. The Dutch sent out ships to trade with the natives and built a fort on Manhattan Island. In 1621 the Dutch West India Company received a charter for commerce and colonization between the west coast of Africa and the east coast of the Americas. The company's little station on Manhattan Island became the flourishing port of New Amsterdam, from which the Dutch settlement of New Netherland spread up the Hudson River. The company also secured a large part of Guiana, as well as some of the West Indies. New Netherland before long passed into the hands of the English, but Holland has still a foothold in America in the island of Curaçao and the rich province of Surinam or Dutch Guiana.

The Dutch in the seventeenth century were the leaders of commercial Europe. They owned more merchant ships than any other people and almost monopolized the carrying trade from the East Indies and between the Mediterranean and the Baltic. Yet with the advent of the eighteenth century the Dutch had clearly begun

The Dutch
in South
Africa

The
Dutch in
America

Commercial
decline of
Holland

to fall behind their French and English rivals in the race for commerce and colonies. Their possessions were trading posts for merchants rather than real colonies. They also suffered from trade warfare with England during the Commonwealth and the reign of Charles II. The War of the Spanish Succession,¹ in which Holland was a member of the Grand Alliance against Louis XIV, struck a further blow at Dutch prosperity. Though Holland fell from the first rank of commercial states, it has kept most of its dominions overseas to the present time.

159. Rivalry of France and England in India (to 1763)

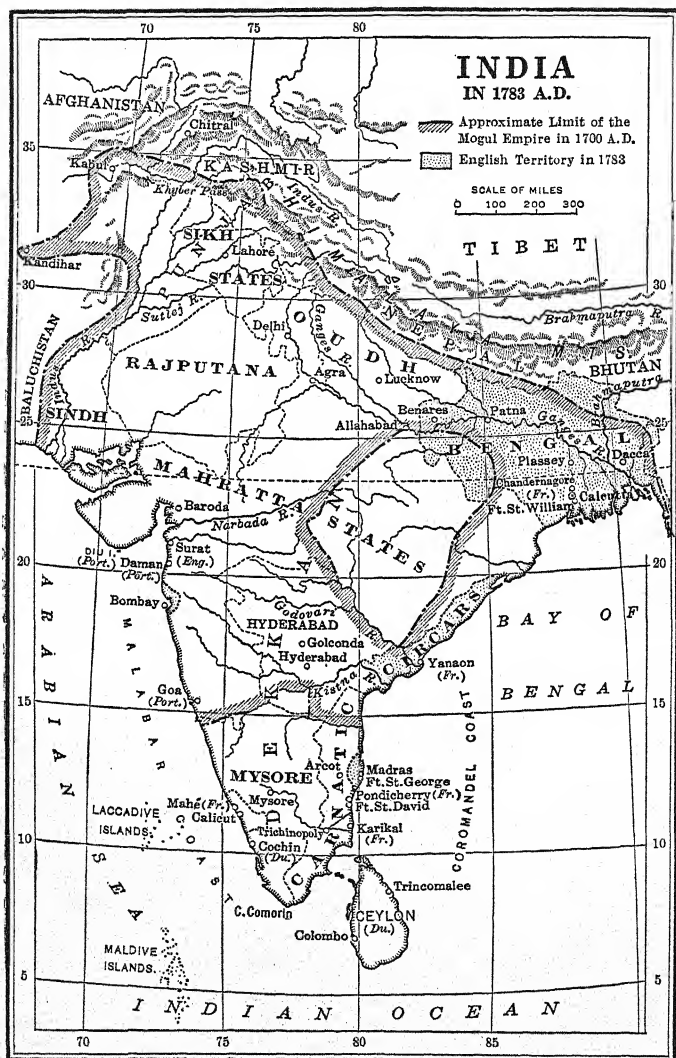
The Indian Ocean forms a vast gulf of crescent shape, having on the western side Africa and Madagascar and on the eastern side Australia and the Malay Islands, while directly opposite its northern extremity lies Asia. The Red Sea and Persian Gulf, which form the two most important offshoots of the Indian Ocean, approach within a short distance of the Mediterranean. These maritime thoroughfares furnished the Mediterranean peoples with the shortest and most convenient routes to India, until the discovery of the Cape route by the Portuguese.

The Portuguese and Dutch enjoyed a profitable trade with India, which supplied them with cotton, indigo, spices, dyes, drugs, precious stones, and other articles of luxury in European demand. In the seventeenth century, however, the French and English became the principal competitors for Indian trade, and in the eighteenth century the rivalry between them led to the defeat of the French and the secure establishment of England's rule over India. A region half as large as Europe, with a population of about two hundred millions, began to pass under the control of a single European power.

The conquest of India was made possible by the decline of the Mogul Empire, founded by the Turkish chieftain Baber.² That empire, though renowned for its luxury and magnificence, never achieved a real unification

¹ See page 404.

² See page 184.



of India. The country continued to be a collection of separate provinces whose inhabitants were isolated from one another by differences of race, language, and religion. The Indian peoples had no feeling of nationality, no spirit of resistance to foreign rule, and when the Mogul Empire broke up they were ready, with perfect indifference, to accept any other government able to keep order among them.

Neither France nor England began by making annexations in India. Each country merely established an East India company, giving to it a monopoly of trade between India and the home land. The French company, chartered during the reign of Louis XIV, had its headquarters at Pondicherry, on the southeastern coast of India. The English company, which received its first charter from Elizabeth in 1600, possessed three widely separated settlements at Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta.

The East
India
companies

The French were the first to attempt the task of empire-making in India, under the leadership of Dupleix, the able governor-general of Pondicherry. Dupleix saw clearly that the dissolution of the Mogul Empire and the defenseless condition of the native states opened the way to the European conquest of India. In order that the French should profit by this unique opportunity, he entered into alliance with some of the Indian princes, fortified Pondicherry, and managed to form an army by enlisting native soldiers ("sepoys"), who were drilled by French officers. The English afterwards did the same thing, and to this day "sepoys" comprise the bulk of the Indian forces of Great Britain. Upon the outbreak of the War of the Austrian Succession the French captured Madras, but it was restored to the English by the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. Dupleix continued, however, to extend French influence in the south and east of India.

Dupleix

The English could not look unconcernedly upon the progress of their French rivals, and it was a young Englishman, Robert Clive, whose genius checkmated Dupleix's ambitious schemes. To Clive, more than any other man, Great Britain owes the beginning of her present Indian

Clive

Empire. Clive had been a clerk in the employ of the East India Company at Madras, but he soon exchanged his office stool for an ensign's commission and entered upon a military career. His first success was gained in southeastern India. Here he managed to overthrow an upstart prince whom Dupleix supported and to restore English influence in that part of

the peninsula. Dupleix was recalled in disgrace to France, where he died a disappointed man.

Clive soon found an opportunity for even greater service.

Battle of Plassey, 1757 The native ruler of Bengal, a man ferocious in

temper and consumed with hatred of the English, suddenly captured Calcutta. He allowed one hundred and forty-six prisoners to be confined in a tiny room, where they passed the sultry night without water. Next morning only twenty-three came forth alive from the "Black Hole." This atrocity was sufficiently avenged by the



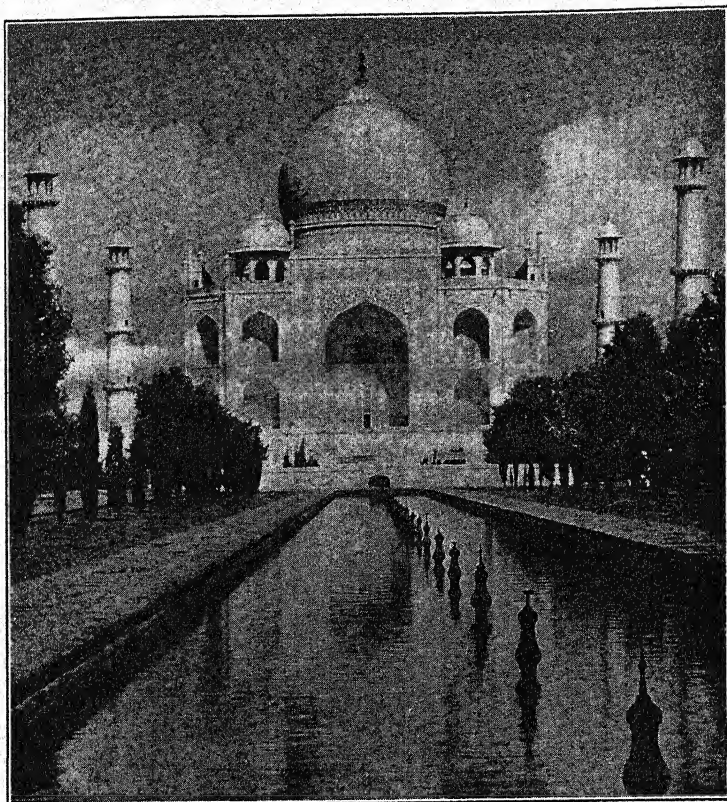
A MOGUL EMPEROR

wonderful victory of Plassey, in which Clive with a handful of soldiers overthrew an Indian army of fifty thousand men. Plassey showed conclusively that native troops were no match for Europeans and made the English masters of Bengal, with its rich delta, mighty rivers, and teeming population.

Meanwhile, the outbreak of the Seven Years' War in Europe renewed the contest between France and England on Indian soil. The English were completely successful, for their control of the sea prevented the French government from sending reinforcements to India.

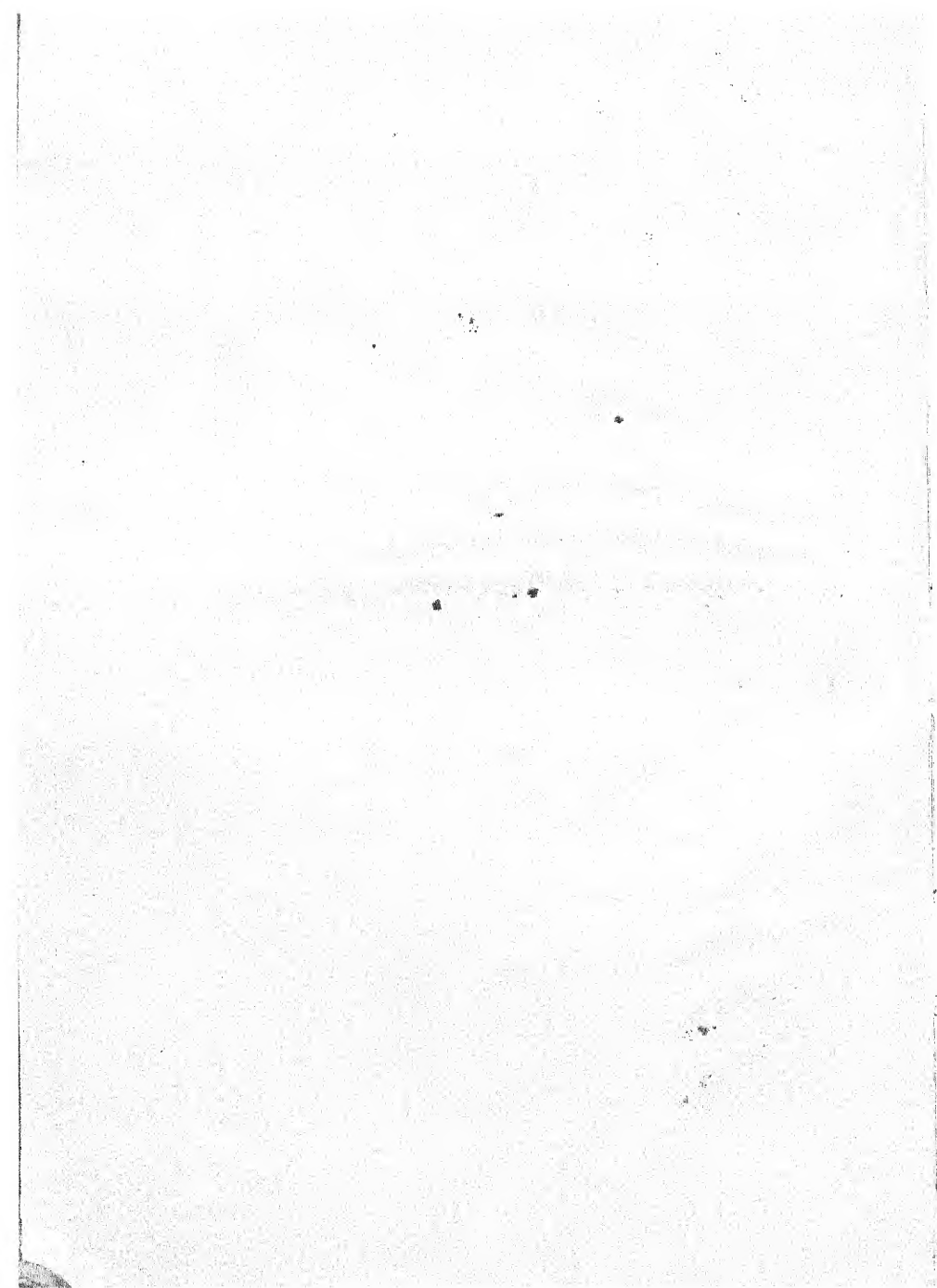
France recovered her territorial possessions by the Peace of

**The Seven
Years' War
in India**



THE TAJ MAHAL, AGRA

Erected by the Mogul emperor, Shah Jehan, as a tomb for his favorite wife, Muntaz Mahal. It was begun in 1632 A.D. and was completed in twenty-two years. The material is pure white marble, inlaid with jasper, agate, and other precious stones. The building rests on a marble terrace, at each corner of which rises a tall, graceful minaret. The extreme delicacy of the Taj Mahal and the richness of its ornamentation make it a masterpiece of architecture.



Paris in 1763, but agreed not to fortify them. This meant that she gave up her dream of an empire in India. England henceforth enjoyed a free hand in shaping the destinies of that vast region.

160. The English Settlement of Virginia and Massachusetts

Englishmen, under the Tudors, had done very little as colonists of the New World. Henry VII, indeed, encouraged John Cabot to make the discoveries of 1497-98, on which the English claims to North America were based. During Elizabeth's reign Sir Martin Frobisher explored the coasts of Greenland and Labrador, and another "sea-dog," Sir Humphrey Gilbert, sought without success to colonize Newfoundland. Gilbert's half-brother, Sir Walter Raleigh, planned a settlement in the region then called Virginia, but lack of support from home caused it to perish miserably.¹ The truth was that sixteenth-century Englishmen had first to break the power of Spain in Europe before they could give much attention to America. The destruction of the Spanish Armada in 1588² at length enabled them to establish American colonies without interference from Spain.

Lateness of
English
colonization

Having found the task of private colonization too great for his energies and purse, Raleigh assigned his interests in Virginia to a group of merchants and adventurers. Nothing was done for several years, but at last in 1606 they obtained from James I a charter for the incorporation of two joint-stock companies, one centering in London and the other in Plymouth. The charter claimed for England all the North American continent from the thirty-fourth to the forty-fifth degree, north latitude. The London Company had the exclusive right to colonize the territory between Cape Fear and the Potomac River, and the Plymouth Company had a similar right in the area between the Hudson River and the Bay of Fundy. Both companies

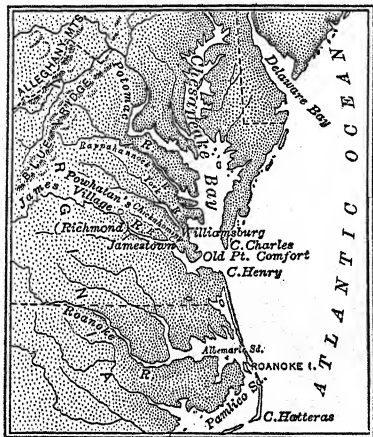
The London
and
Plymouth
companies,
1606

¹ See page 327.

² See page 365.

might occupy the intervening region, but neither was to establish a colony within one hundred miles of a settlement made by the other.

The London Company promptly took steps to colonize its share of Virginia. A party of one hundred and twenty men



The
Jamestown
settlement,
1607

left the shores of

England on New
Year's Day, 1607,

and after four

wearisome months on the ocean reached the capes of Chesapeake Bay.¹ They entered the bay, and on a peninsula in the broad river which they named after the king who gave them their charter founded Jamestown, the first permanent settlement of Englishmen in the New World.

VIRGINIA

Colonization in the seventeenth century formed a

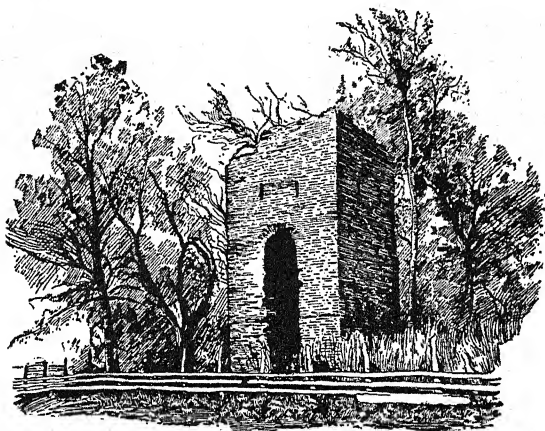
death-struggle with nature; and the privations endured by the settlers of Virginia are a familiar story in American history. Of more than six thousand people who arrived between 1607 and 1624, four-fifths died of hunger and disease or at the hands of the Indians. The future of Virginia was not assured until the colonists turned to tobacco raising, for which the yellow soil is unsurpassed. "The weed," as King James called it in derision, brought a high price abroad, and its cultivation quickly became the principal industry of Virginia. It was the only staple product which the colony exported to England.

The London Company did not long enjoy the favor of James I. He had no liking for the Puritans who controlled it and turned the meetings of the stockholders into political gath-

¹ Named Cape Henry and Cape Charles, for the two sons of James I.

erings for resistance to the king's measures. James finally brought suit against the company in the courts and had its charter annulled. Virginia now became a royal province and so remained throughout the colonial period, except for a few years of Puritan supremacy in England. The English king appointed

Virginia a
royal
province,
1624



RUINS OF THE BRICK CHURCH AT JAMESTOWN

Jamestown is now an island, for the sandy beach which once connected it with the mainland has disappeared. Only the ruins of the brick church erected in 1639 and some of the tombs in the churchyard remain.

the governor, but as a rule allowed the settlers to manage their own affairs.

The colonization of New England was begun by the Pilgrims, who belonged to the sect of Independents or Separatists.¹ Persecuted by Elizabeth and James I, many Separatists went to Holland, where liberty of conscience was allowed. The prospect of losing their English speech and customs among the Dutch did not please them, and presently the exiles began to long for another home, where "they might more glorify God, do more good to their country, better provide for their posterity, and live to be more refreshed

The Pilgrims

¹ See page 385 and note 2.

by their labors, than ever they could do in Holland." One congregation, dwelling at Leyden, decided to emigrate to America. Having obtained from the London Company a patent to colonize within the limits of Virginia, a party of one hundred and two men, women, and children set sail in the *Mayflower*. They intended to settle somewhere south of the



CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH'S MAP OF NEW ENGLAND

In 1614 Captain John Smith explored the American coast from Maine to Cape Cod and called the country New England. On the map which he drew, the young son of James I, afterward Charles I, gave English and Scottish names to more than thirty places. Of these, Charles River, Cape Ann, and Plymouth still remain as originally designated.

Hudson River, but when they sighted land it was the peninsula of Cape Cod. After exploring the coast, the emigrants came to the sheltered harbor which John Smith had already named Plymouth on his map, and here they landed.

The Pilgrims found themselves outside the territory granted

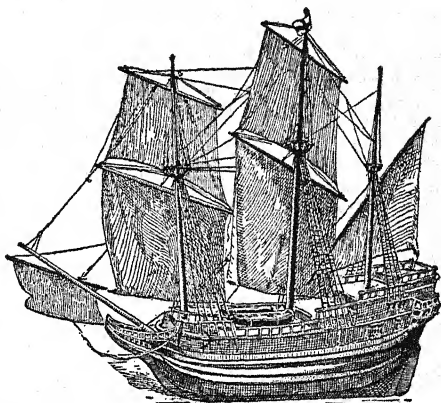
to the London Company and hence could not use their patent for colonization. Before leaving the *Mayflower*, therefore, they took steps to provide for the orderly rule of their little community. The leaders of the party signed their names to an agreement establishing a "civil body politic," and they promised to obey all laws necessary for the "general good." The *Mayflower Compact* reveals the Pilgrim instinct for self-government.

To settle on the New England coast in mid-winter was a grim business.

The
Plymouth
settlement,
1620

More than half of the Pilgrims died before spring came, and after ten years they had increased to little more than three hundred. Yet the Pilgrims did not despair, for they were determined to found a religious asylum in the American wilderness. "Let it not be grievous to you," said their friends in England, "that you have been instruments to break the ice for others; the honor shall be yours to the world's end." Instruments they were. The Pilgrim settlement at Plymouth formed the forerunner of that great Puritan exodus which in the third decade of the seventeenth century colonized Massachusetts.

The colony of Massachusetts¹ had its origin in the desire of the Puritans to found a self-governing community far removed from Stuart absolutism in politics and religion. Some Puritan leaders purchased a large tract of land from the



THE "MAYFLOWER"

From the model in the Smithsonian Institution
at Washington.

¹ An Algonkin Indian word meaning "Great Hills."

Plymouth Company and obtained from Charles I a charter incorporating them as the Company of Massachusetts Bay. The "great emigration" began in 1630 under the guidance of John Winthrop, who served as the first governor. The settlers established themselves at Salem, Boston, Charlestown, and other places on Massachusetts Bay. More than twenty thousand Puritans

Massachusetts,
1630-1640

Wee name of god Amen. We whose names are underwritten, the loyal subjects of our dread sovereign Lord King James by the grace of god, of great Brittain, France, & Ireland King, defender of the faith, &c
Having undertaken, for the glory of god, and advancement of the Christian, and honour of our King & Country, a voyage to plant the first Colonie in the Northern parts of Virginia. Do by these presents solemnly & mutually in the presence of god, and one of another, Covenant, & combine our selves together into a Civill body politick; for the better ordering, & preservation & furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by vertue hereof to enacte, constitute, and frame such just & equall lawes, ordinances, statutes, constitutions, & offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meete & convenient for the generall good of the Colonie: unto which we promise all due submission and obedience. In witness whereof we have hereunder subscribed our names at Cape Codd the 11 of November, in the year of the raigne of our sovereign Lord King James of England, France, & Ireland the eighteenth and of Scotland the fiftie fourth, Anno Dom. 1620.

THE MAYFLOWER COMPACT

Facsimile from *History of Plimoth Plantation* by Governor Bradford; State House, Boston.

left England for America during the next ten years. This was the period when Charles I ruled without a Parliament, and when Archbishop Laud harried so cruelly all who did not conform to the Anglican Church. After the opening of the Long Parliament in 1640 the Puritans found enough to do at home, and Massachusetts received few more immigrants during the colonial period.

The charter which Charles I gave to the Puritans did not require that the seat of government should be in England,

as had been the case with previous grants. Accordingly, the company decided to take its charter to Massachusetts and to found there an almost independent state. King Charles was too busy with domestic problems to interfere with these bold Puritans overseas, and their friend, Cromwell, after his rise to power, did not molest them. Charles II, however, took away their cherished charter, and James II treated the liberties of Englishmen in America with the same contempt with which he treated their liberties at home. Soon after his accession William III granted them a new charter. It allowed the people to have a representative assembly, but required them to accept a governor appointed by the king. Massachusetts henceforth formed a royal province.

Massachusetts a royal province, 1691

161. The Thirteen Colonies

Massachusetts was the foremost of the Puritan settlements. Before the end of the seventeenth century it had absorbed Plymouth and had thrown out the offshoots which presently became Rhode Island, Connecticut, and New Hampshire.¹ These four New England colonies formed a distinct geographical group, while the circumstances of their foundation also gave them a political and religious character unlike that of the other colonies.

The New England colonies

Another group of colonies grew up around Virginia as their center. To the north of Virginia arose the colony of Maryland, which Charles I granted to George Calvert, Lord Baltimore. He died before the charter was actually issued, and it was given to his son, Cecil, who established the first settlement. Maryland, so called in honor of the queen of England, became a refuge for persecuted Roman Catholics, as well as a great family estate of the barons of Baltimore. The charter conferred upon them the rights and privileges of feudal lords. They owned the land, appointed

Maryland

¹ The territory now included within Vermont was claimed by both New York and New Hampshire in colonial times. Maine continued to be a part of Massachusetts until 1820.

officers, and made the laws with the assistance of the free settlers. Maryland, therefore, stands as the type of a proprietary colony.

To the south of Virginia arose the colony of Carolina, out of a grant by Charles II to a number of nobles whose property had been confiscated in the Great Rebellion. The charter created a proprietary form of government similar to that of Maryland. It proved to be very unpopular, however, and in the eighteenth century the two Carolinas—for they had now divided—voluntarily put themselves under the king's protection as royal colonies.

The most important colonial achievement of the reign of Charles II was the filling up of the gap between the northern and southern colonies. English settlement in this central region began as the result of conquest from another European power. New York was originally New Netherland, a Dutch colony planted by the Dutch West India Company. In 1664 the colony passed into the hands of the English. Charles II granted it to his brother James, duke of York and Albany, who afterwards became king of England. James, in turn, bestowed the region between the Hudson and Delaware rivers to two court favorites, and it received the name of New Jersey. The English possessions now stretched without a break along the whole Atlantic coast from Nova Scotia to Florida.

The colony of Pennsylvania likewise dated from the time of Charles II, who granted it to William Penn, the Quaker, as an asylum for his sect. Penn was made proprietor, with much the same rights which Lord Baltimore possessed in Maryland. The small Swedish settlement on the Delaware had been established by the South Company of Sweden, under the auspices of Gustavus Adolphus, who hoped that it would become the "jewel of his kingdom." The Dutch soon annexed New Sweden, only to relinquish it, together with their own colony, to the English. William Penn secured a grant of the Delaware country, but at the opening of the eighteenth century it became a separate colony.

The southernmost of the Thirteen Colonies was also the last to be settled. James Oglethorpe, a gallant English soldier, founded Georgia in 1733, partly as a military outpost against the Spaniards, but chiefly as a resort for poor debtors. The colony received its name in honor

A brief Account of the
Province of Pennsylvania,
Lately Granted by the
K I N G,
Under the GREAT
Seal of England,
TO
WILLIAM PENN
AND HIS
Heirs and Assigns.

Since (by the good Providence of God, and the Favour of the King) a Country in America is fallen to my Lot, I thought it not less my Duty, than my Honest Interest, to give some publick notice of it to the World, that those of our own or other Nations, that are inclin'd to Transport Themselves or Families beyond the Seas, may find another Country added to their Choice; that if they shall happen to like the Place, Conditions, and Government, (so far as the present Infancy of things will allow us any prospect) they may, if they please, fix with me, in the Province, hereafter described.

I. *The KING'S Title to this Country before he granted it.*
It is the *Jus Gentium*, or Law of Nations, that what ever Waste, or uncultivated Country, is the Discovery of any Prince, it is the right of that Prince that was at the Charge of the Discovery; Now this *Province* is a Member of that part of *America*, which the King of England's Ancestors have been at the Charge of Discovering, and which they and he have taken great care to preserve and improve.

II. *William*

FIRST PAGE OF PENN'S "ACCOUNT OF
PENNSYLVANIA"

Reduced facsimile.

English and a sprinkling of Celtic Scotch and Irish, it comprised Dutch in New York, Swedes in Delaware, and Germans in Pennsylvania. But neither France, Holland, Sweden, nor Germany contributed largely to the settlement of the Thirteen Colonies.

of the reigning king, George II.

Both New England and the southern colonies were chiefly Anglo-Saxon in blood. Many immigrants also came from other parts of the British Isles, especially the so-called Scotch-Irish — really Englishmen who had settled in the Lowlands of Scotland and afterwards in north-eastern Ireland. The emigrants from Continental Europe included French Huguenots, after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and Germans from the Rhenish Palatinate. The population of the middle colonies was far more mixed. Besides Eng-

162. Transit of Civilization from England to America

The English language prevailed almost everywhere in the colonies, not, however, without quaint modifications of spelling and pronunciation introduced by emigrants from different parts of the mother country. The emigrants also brought many proverbs and traditional sayings, some of which were afterwards printed by Benjamin Franklin in *Poor Richard's Almanac*. Old ballads, once sung in medieval England, were chanted in colonial America. Old fairy tales and nursery rhymes, which had delighted generations of English children, found equally appreciative audiences in the American wilderness. These varieties of folk-literature were not at first written down, but were carried in the memory by young and old.

Nearly all the popular festivals of the colonists came from England. The only important exception was Thanksgiving Day, which the Pilgrims began to celebrate immediately after their first harvest. Many superstitions of the Middle Ages, including those relating to astrology, unlucky

Language
and folk-
literature

Poor Richard, 1733.

A N

Almanack

For the Year of Christ

1733,

Being the First after LEAP YEAR:

<i>And makes since the Creation</i>	Years
By the Account of the Eastern Greeks	7241
By the Latin Church, when \odot ent. γ	6932
By the Computation of <i>W.W.</i>	5742
By the Roman Chronology	5682
By the Jewish Rabbits	5494

Wherein is contained

The Lunations, Eclipses, Judgment of the Weather, Spring Tides, Planets Motions & mutual Aspects, Sun and Moon's Rising and Setting, Length of Days, Time of High Water, Tides, Courts, and observable Days

Fitted to the Latitude of Forty Degrees, and a Meridian of Five Hours West from London, but may without sensible Error, serve all the adjacent Places, even from Newfoundland to South Carolina.

By **RICHARD SAUNDERS**, Philom.

PHILADELPHIA:
Printed and sold by **B. FRANKLIN**, at the New
Printing Office near the Market.

The Third Impression.

A TITLE-PAGE OF "POOR RICHARD'S
ALMANACK"

Reduced facsimile.

Popular
festivals and
superstitions

days, demons, and magic, crossed the Atlantic to the New World. The belief in witchcraft was likewise very common, and at Salem, Massachusetts, in 1692, twenty persons suffered death for this supposed crime. Witchcraft persecutions also occurred in several other colonies.

Almost every variety of Protestantism was represented in the colonies. The Church of England from the start had its strongholds in Virginia, Maryland, and the Carolinas, and later in New York. After the Revolutionary War it took the name of the Protestant Episcopal Church, but retained nearly all the Anglican doctrines and ceremonies. Puritanism flourished in New England, especially in Massachusetts and Connecticut. The Puritan churches usually had the Congregational form. Baptists were numerous in Rhode Island, and Quakers in Pennsylvania. Wherever the Scotch-Irish settled, they established Presbyterian churches.

The Toleration Act of 1689¹ commended itself to the colonists, many of whom were Dissenters or Nonconformists.² It was generally reenacted by the colonial assemblies, including those of Massachusetts, New York, and Virginia. Religious toleration, however, did not extend to Roman Catholics, who encountered much suspicion. Rhode Island, which Roger Williams had founded as "a shelter for persons distressed for conscience," disfranchised Roman Catholics in the eighteenth century. Maryland began with a broad measure of toleration, for Lord Baltimore had opened the colony to Anglicans and Puritans, as well as to members of his own faith. Later, when the Protestants became a majority in Maryland, severe anti-Catholic laws were passed. Outside of these two colonies, Roman Catholics were under many disabilities until after the Revolution. Jews were never numerous in colonial America. They enjoyed freedom of worship, but did not possess political rights.

The Puritan clergy were generally well educated; and some of them were very learned. They introduced into the New World the English tradition in favor of higher education.

¹ See pages 393-394.

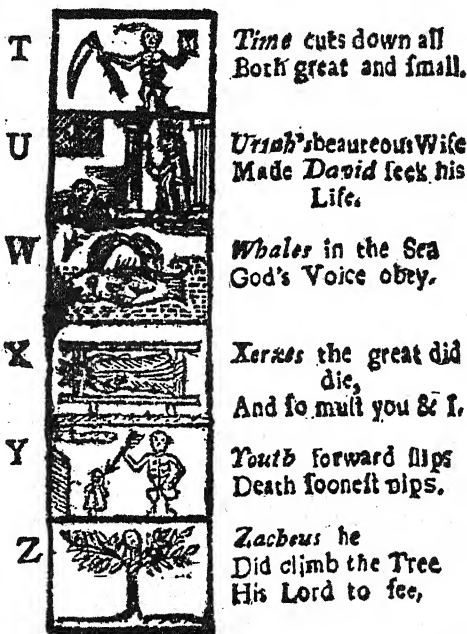
² See page 391.

Harvard College was founded as early as 1636, and Yale, in 1701. Before the Revolution colleges or universities also existed in Rhode Island (Brown), New Hampshire (Dartmouth), New York (King's, later Columbia), New Jersey (Rutgers and Princeton), Pennsylvania (University of Pennsylvania), and Virginia (William and Mary¹). These institutions devoted themselves chiefly to the training of ministers.

New England led the other colonies in popular education. A Massachusetts law, enacted as early as 1647, required every town of fifty families to establish an elementary school where children could learn to read and write. The teachers were to be paid either by

the parents of the children or by public taxation. Every town of one hundred families was further required to set up a grammar school, in which students might be prepared for college. This law became the model for similar legislation throughout the United States. The middle and southern colonies did not have a system of popular education. A Virginia governor could even thank God that there were no free schools or printing presses in the colony. Learning, he believed, bred heresies, and books spread them.

¹ Named after King William III and his queen.



A PAGE FROM THE "NEW ENGLAND PRIMER"

Common
schools

All the colonists possessed the private rights which Englishmen had won during centuries of struggle against despotic kings. Free speech, freedom from arbitrary imprisonment as secured by the writ of *habeas corpus*, and trial by jury formed part of our legal inheritance from England. These and other private rights were embodied in the Common law,¹ as introduced into colonial America. At the time of the Revolution the Common law was adopted by the several states, thus becoming the foundation of our own system of jurisprudence.

The English principle of representation was also carried to the New World. Each colony had a representative assembly modeled after the House of Commons. Virginia early led the way. The Puritans, who had gained control of the London Company, permitted the Virginia colonists to form an assembly consisting of two deputies freely elected by the inhabitants of each settlement. The House of Burgesses, as it soon came to be called, met for the first time in 1619, in the chancel of the little church at Jamestown. A few years later (1634) the freemen of each Massachusetts town were allowed to send two deputies to act for them at the General Court of the colony. New York, which had been a Dutch possession, was the last of the colonies to receive representative self-government (1684).

The separation of Parliament into two houses, which had prevailed in England since the fourteenth century,² accustomed the colonists to the bicameral system. In all but two of the colonies the legislature consisted of a representative assembly, forming a lower house, and a small council, forming an upper house.³ The council assisted the governor and had some power of amending the acts of the assembly.

The governor served as the link between the colonists and England. In Rhode Island and Connecticut he was elected

¹ See page 198.

² See page 203.

³ Pennsylvania and Georgia did not adopt the two-house arrangement until after the Revolution.

by the people; in Maryland and Pennsylvania he was appointed by the hereditary proprietor; and in the other (royal) colonies he was named by the king. The governor might veto the bills passed by a colonial legislature. Just as quarrels between king and Parliament were frequent in England, so in colonial America there was constant wrangling between governor and assembly, especially over money matters. The assembly held the purse-strings, however, and usually triumphed by refusing to grant supplies until the governor came to its terms.

The unit of representation in the assemblies of the southern colonies was the county, corresponding to the English shire. The county also formed a judicial area. Justices of the peace, chosen from the more important landowners of the county, met regularly as a court to try cases and assess taxes. The citizens of a New England town, or township, governed themselves directly and sent their own representatives to the colonial assemblies. In frequent town meetings they discussed all local affairs, made appropriations for all local expenses, and chose the town officials. The titles of these officials, as well as their functions, were often borrowed from the mother-land, showing that the colonists reproduced on American soil the characteristic features of old English local government.¹ The middle



JOIN OR DIE

A device printed in Franklin's newspaper, the "Pennsylvania Gazette." Shows a wriggling rattlesnake cut into pieces, with the initial letter of a colony on each piece.

colonies adopted a mixture of the New England and southern systems. Here both town and county were found, each with its elective officers. This mixed system now prevails in perhaps most of the American states.

No close political ties united the colonies. The differences between them in industries, religion, manners, and customs

¹ See page 132.

prevented their effective coöperation. Yet preparations for union there had been, and signs of its coming. As early as 1643 Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Haven (then a separate colony), and Plymouth entered into a league "for mutual help and strength in all our future concerns." This league, known as the United Colonies of New England, held together for forty years. Delegates from seven colonies met in the Albany Congress of 1754 and discussed Benjamin Franklin's plan for forming a defensive union of all the colonies. The plan fell through, but it set men to thinking about the advantages of federation. After the close of the "French and Indian War" the colonists, who had learned the value of concerted action against a common foe, began to unite in defense of their rights against king and Parliament.

163. French Settlements in Canada and Louisiana

The French at the opening of the seventeenth century had gained no foothold in the New World. For more than fifty years after the failure of Cartier's settlement,¹ they were so occupied with the Huguenot wars that they gave little thought to colonial expansion. The single exception was the ill-starred colony which Admiral de Coligny² attempted to establish in Florida (1564). The Spaniards quickly destroyed it, not only because the settlers were Protestants, but also because a French settlement in Florida directly threatened their West Indian possessions. The growing weakness of Spain, together with the cessation of the religious struggle, made possible a renewal of the colonizing movement. The French again turned to the north, attracted by the fur trade and the fisheries, and founded Canada during the same decade that the English were founding Virginia.

The first great name in Canadian history is that of Samuel de Champlain, who enjoyed the patronage of Henry IV. Champlain explored the coast of Maine and Massachusetts as far south as Plymouth, discovered the

¹ See page 325.

² See page 367.

beautiful lake now called after him, traced the course of the St. Lawrence River, and also came upon lakes Ontario and Huron. He set up a permanent French post at Quebec in 1608 and three years later founded Montreal. Champlain served as the first governor of Canada.

The seventeenth century was an era of missionary zeal in the Roman Catholic Church, and Canada became the favorite mission field. Champlain brought in the Franciscans, who were followed in greater numbers by the Jesuits. The story of the Jesuits in North America is an inspiring record of self-sacrifice and devotion. Many of them suffered martyrdom at the hands of the Indians. The journeys made by the Jesuits in the wilderness of the Northwest added much to geographical knowledge, while their mission stations often grew into flourishing towns. After Cardinal Richelieu had forbidden the Protestants to settle in Canada, the Jesuit influence became dominant there. It has not yet entirely disappeared, in spite of a century and a half of English rule.

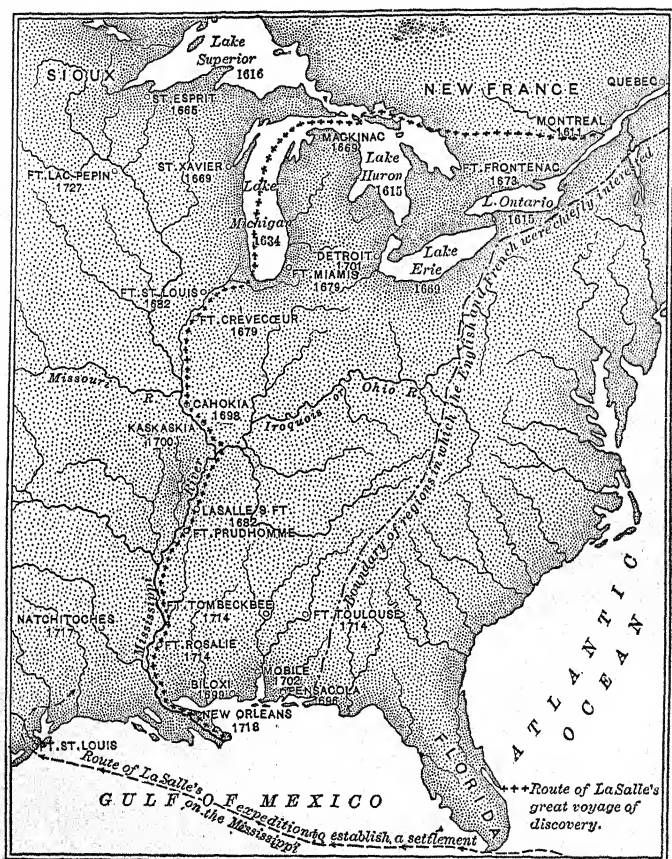
Jesuit
missions in
Canada

When Colbert, the able minister of Louis XIV, came to power, the exploration of Canada went on with renewed energy. The French, hitherto, had been spurred by the hope of finding in the Great Lakes a western passage to Cathay. Joliet, the fur trader, and Marquette, the Jesuit missionary, believed they had actually found the highway uniting the Atlantic and the Pacific when their birchbark canoes first glided into the upper Mississippi. It was reserved for the most illustrious of French explorers, Robert de La Salle, to discover the true character of the "Father of Waters" and to perform the feat of descending it to the sea (1682). He took possession of all the territory drained by the Mississippi for Louis XIV, naming it Louisiana.

La Salle
and
Louisiana

Where La Salle had shown the way, missionaries, fur traders, hunters, and adventurers quickly followed. The French now began to realize the importance of the Mississippi Valley, which time was to prove the most extensive fertile area in the world. Efforts were made to occupy

New France



LA SALLE'S EXPLORATIONS

it and to connect it with Canada by a chain of forts reaching from Quebec and Montreal on the St. Lawrence to New Orleans¹ at the mouth of the Mississippi. All of the continent west of the Alleghenies was to become a New France, a Roman Catholic and despotic empire after the pattern of the mother country.

¹ Founded in 1718 and named after the Duc de Orléans, who was regent of France during the minority of Louis XV. See page 406, note 2.

However audacious this design, it seemed not impossible of fulfillment. New France, a single royal province under one military governor, offered a united front to the divided English colonies. The population, though small compared with the number of the English colonists, consisted mostly of men of military age, good fighters, and aided by numerous Indian allies. Lack of home support offset these real advantages. While the French were contending for colonial supremacy, they were constantly at war in Europe. They wasted on European battle-fields the resources which might otherwise have been expended in America. The failure of France at this time to become a world-power must be ascribed, therefore, chiefly to the mistaken policies and bad government of Louis XIV and Louis XV.

Strength and
weakness of
New France

164. Rivalry of France and England in North America (to 1763)

The struggle between France and England began, both in the Old World and the New, in 1689, when the "Glorious Revolution" drove out James II and placed William of Orange on the English throne as William III. The Dutch and English, who had previously been enemies, now became friends and united in resistance to Louis XIV. The French king not only threatened the Dutch, but also incensed the English by receiving the fugitive James and aiding him to win back his crown. England at once joined a coalition of the states of Europe against France. This was the beginning of a new Hundred Years' War between the

A new
Hundred
Years' War



MONTCALM

After the portrait in possession of the present Marquis of Montcalm, Château d'Avèze, France.



NORTH AMERICA AFTER THE PEACE OF UTRECHT, 1713 A.D.

two countries.¹ The struggle extended beyond the Continent, for each of the rivals tried to destroy the commerce and annex the colonies of the other.

The first period of conflict closed in 1713, with the Peace of Utrecht, which was as important in the history of colonial America as in the history of Europe. England secured Newfoundland, Acadia (rechristened Nova Scotia), and the extensive region drained by

Provisions of
the Peace of
Utrecht, 1713

¹ War of the League of Augsburg, 1689-1697 ("King William's War").
War of the Spanish Succession, 1702-1713 ("Queen Anne's War").
War of the Austrian Succession, 1740-1748 ("King George's War").
Seven Year's War, 1756-1763 ("French and Indian War").
War of the American Revolution, 1776-1783.

the rivers flowing into Hudson Bay. France, however, kept the best part of her American territories and retained control of the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi. The possession of these two waterways gave her a strong strategic position in the interior of the continent.

The two great European wars which came between 1740 and 1763 were naturally reflected in the New World. The War of the Austrian Succession, known

in American history as "King George's War," proved to be indecisive. The Seven Years' War, similarly

known as the "French and Indian War," resulted in the expulsion of the French from North America. It began as a contest for the Ohio Valley. The French wanted it, in order to join Canada and Louisiana; the English also wanted it, in order not to be shut out from the fertile region immediately west of the Alleghenies.

France had no resources to cope with those of England in America, and the English command of the sea proved decisive. One French post after another was captured: Louisburg, on Cape Breton Island, commanding the Gulf of St. Lawrence; Fort Duquesne,¹ at the junction of the Allegheny and Ohio rivers; Fort Niagara, which guarded the route between Lake Ontario and Lake Erie; and Fort Ticonderoga between Lake George and Lake Champlain. In 1759 Wolfe defeated the gallant Montcalm under the walls of Quebec, and the fall of that stronghold quickly followed. A year later what remained of the French army surrendered at Montreal. The British flag was now raised over Canada, where it has flown ever since.

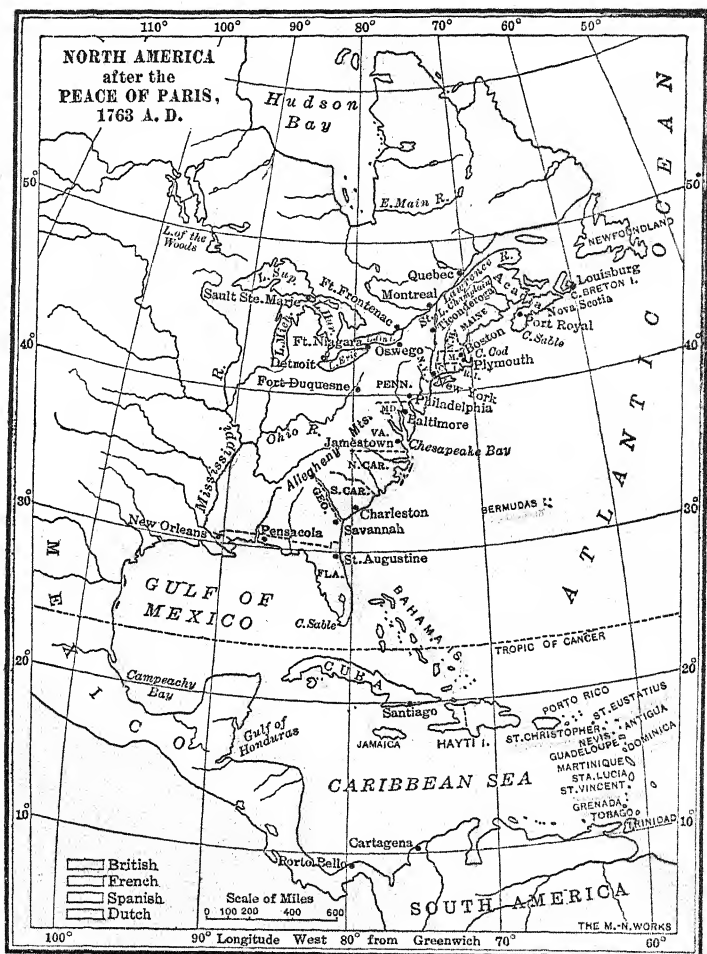
The second period of conflict closed in 1763, with the Peace



JAMES WOLFE

After the portrait by Schaak in the National Portrait Gallery, London.

¹ Renamed Fort Pitt after William Pitt, whence the modern Pittsburg.



of Paris. France ceded to England all her North American possessions east of the Mississippi, except two small islands kept for fishing purposes off the coast of Newfoundland. Spain, which had also been involved in the war, gave up Florida to England, receiving as compensation the French territories west of the

Provisions
of the
Peace of
Paris, 1763

Mississippi. New France was now only a memory. But modern Canada has two millions of Frenchmen, who still hold aloof from the British in language and religion, while Louisiana, though shrunk to the dimensions of an American state, still retains in its laws and in many customs of its people the French tradition.

The Peace of Paris marked a turning point in the history of the Thirteen Colonies. Relieved of pressure from without and free to expand toward the west and south, they now felt less keenly their dependence on England. Close ties, the ties of common interests, common ideals, and a common origin, still attached them to the mother country; but these were soon to be rudely severed during the period of disturbance, disorder, and violence which culminated in the American Revolution.

165. Revolt of the Thirteen Colonies, 1776-1783

Englishmen in the New World for a long time had been drawing apart from Englishmen in the Old World. The political training received by the colonists in their local meetings and provincial assemblies fitted them for self-government, while the hard conditions of life in America fostered their energy, self-reliance, and impatience of restraint. The important part which they played in the conquest of Canada gave them confidence in their military abilities and showed them the value of coöperation. Renewed interference of Great Britain in what they deemed their private concerns before long called forth their united resistance.

Some of the grievances of which the colonists complained were the outcome of the British colonial policy. The home government discouraged the manufacture in the colonies of goods that could be made in England. Parliament, for instance, prohibited the export of woollens, not only to the British Isles and the Continent, but also from one colony to another, and forbade the colonists to set up mills for making wrought iron or its finished products.

England and
the Thirteen
Colonies

Preparation
for inde-
pendence

Restrictions
on colonial
manufactures

Such regulations aimed to give British manufacturers a monopoly of the colonial markets.

The home government also interfered with the commerce of the colonies. As early as 1660 Parliament passed a "Navigation Act" providing that sugar, tobacco, cotton, and indigo might not be exported direct from the colonies to foreign countries, but must be first brought to England, where duties were paid on them. A subsequent act required all imports to the colonies from Continental Europe to have been actually shipped from an English port, thus compelling the colonists to go to England for their supplies. These acts, however, were so poorly enforced for many years that smuggling became a lucrative occupation.

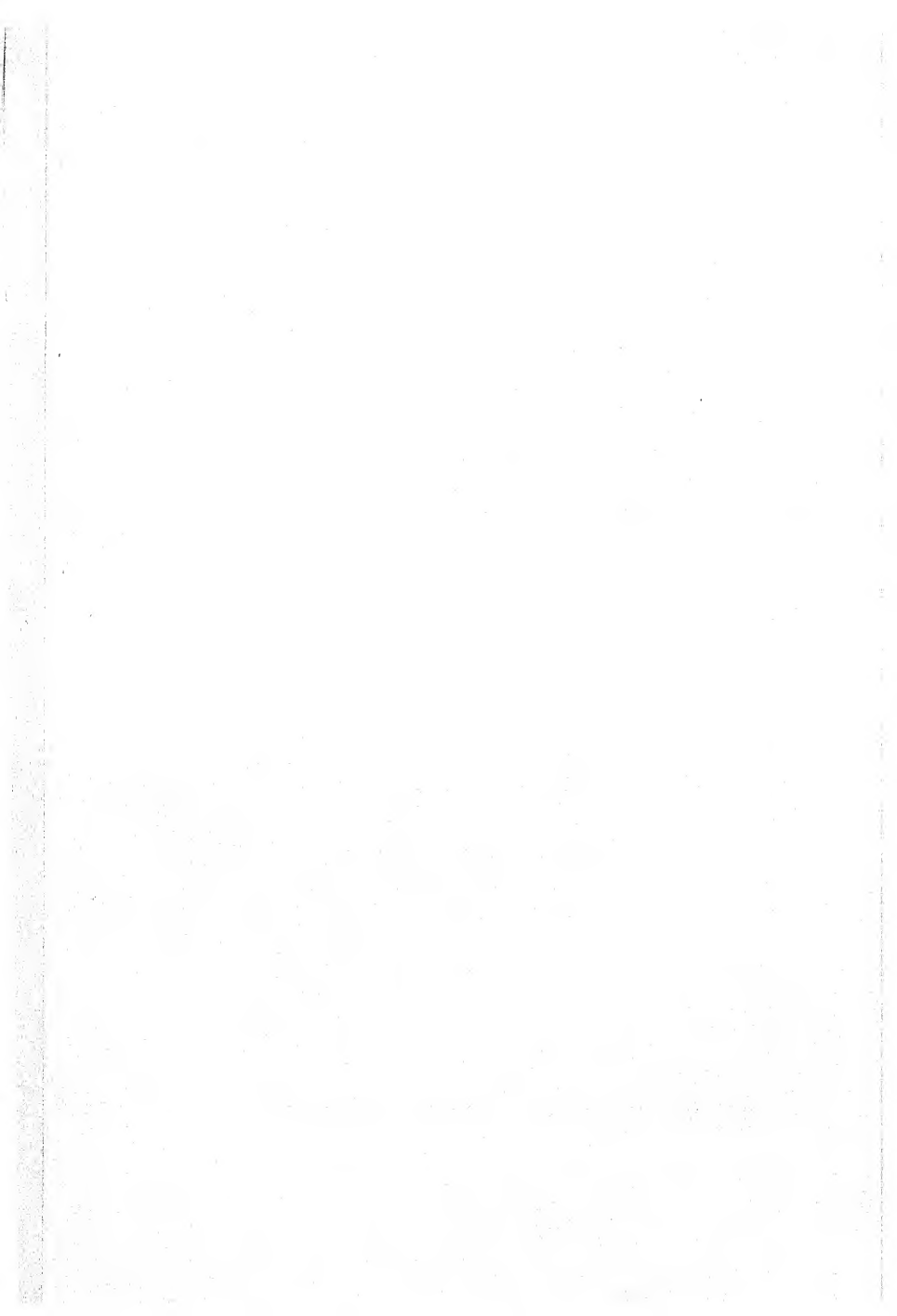
All this legislation was not so repressive as one would suppose, partly because it was so constantly evaded and partly because

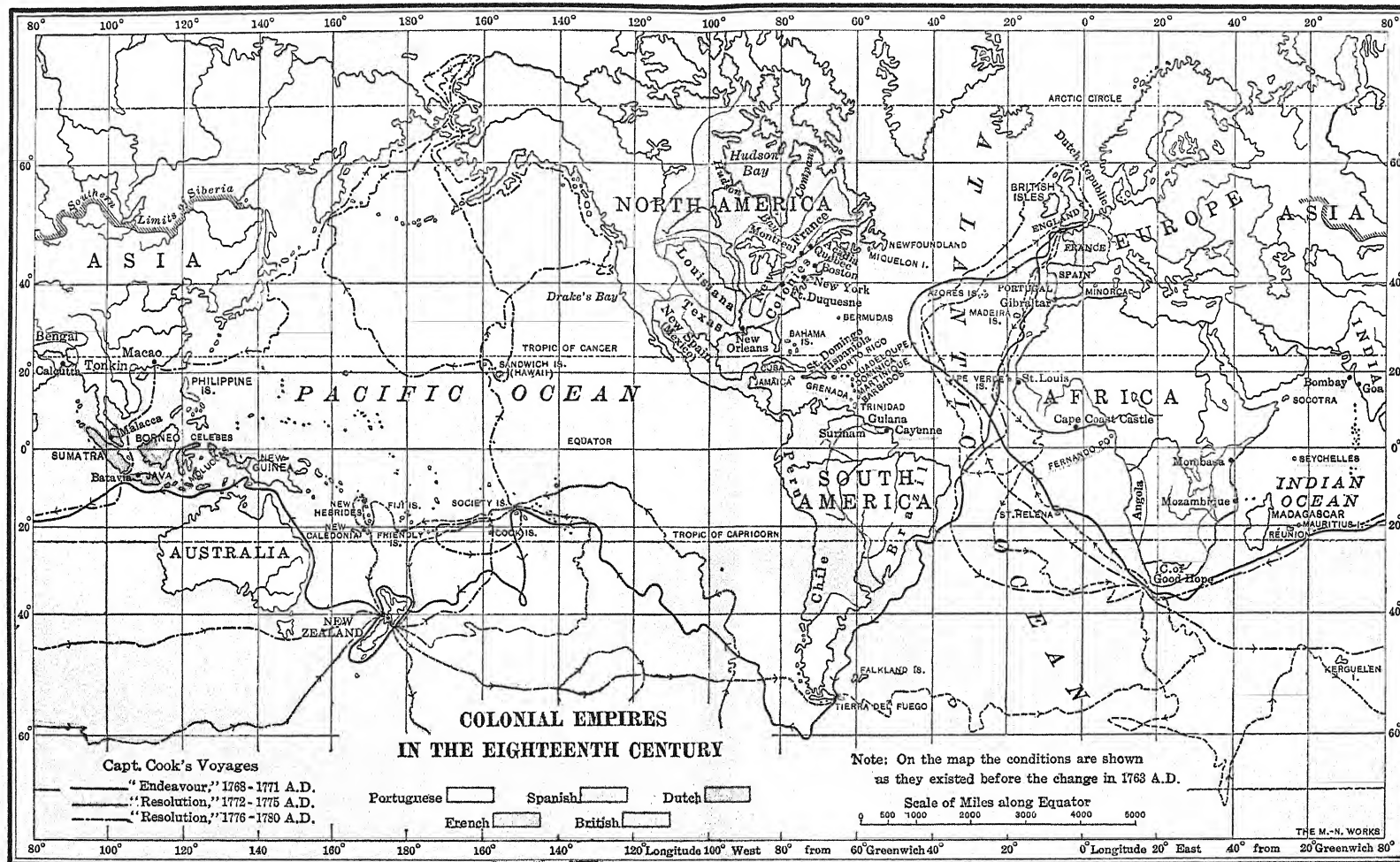
Restrictions on colonial commerce Great Britain formed the natural market for most colonial products. Moreover, the home government gave some special favors in the shape of "bounties," or sums of money to encourage the production of food and raw materials needed in Great Britain. Twenty-four colonial industries were subsidized in this manner. Colonial shipping was also fostered, for ships built in the colonies enjoyed the same exclusive privileges in the carrying trade as British-built ships. In fact, the regulations which the American colonists had to endure were light compared with the shackles laid by Spain and France upon their colonial possessions. It must always be remembered, finally, that Great Britain defended the colonists in return for trade privileges. As long as her help was needed against the French, they did not protest seriously against the legislation of Parliament.

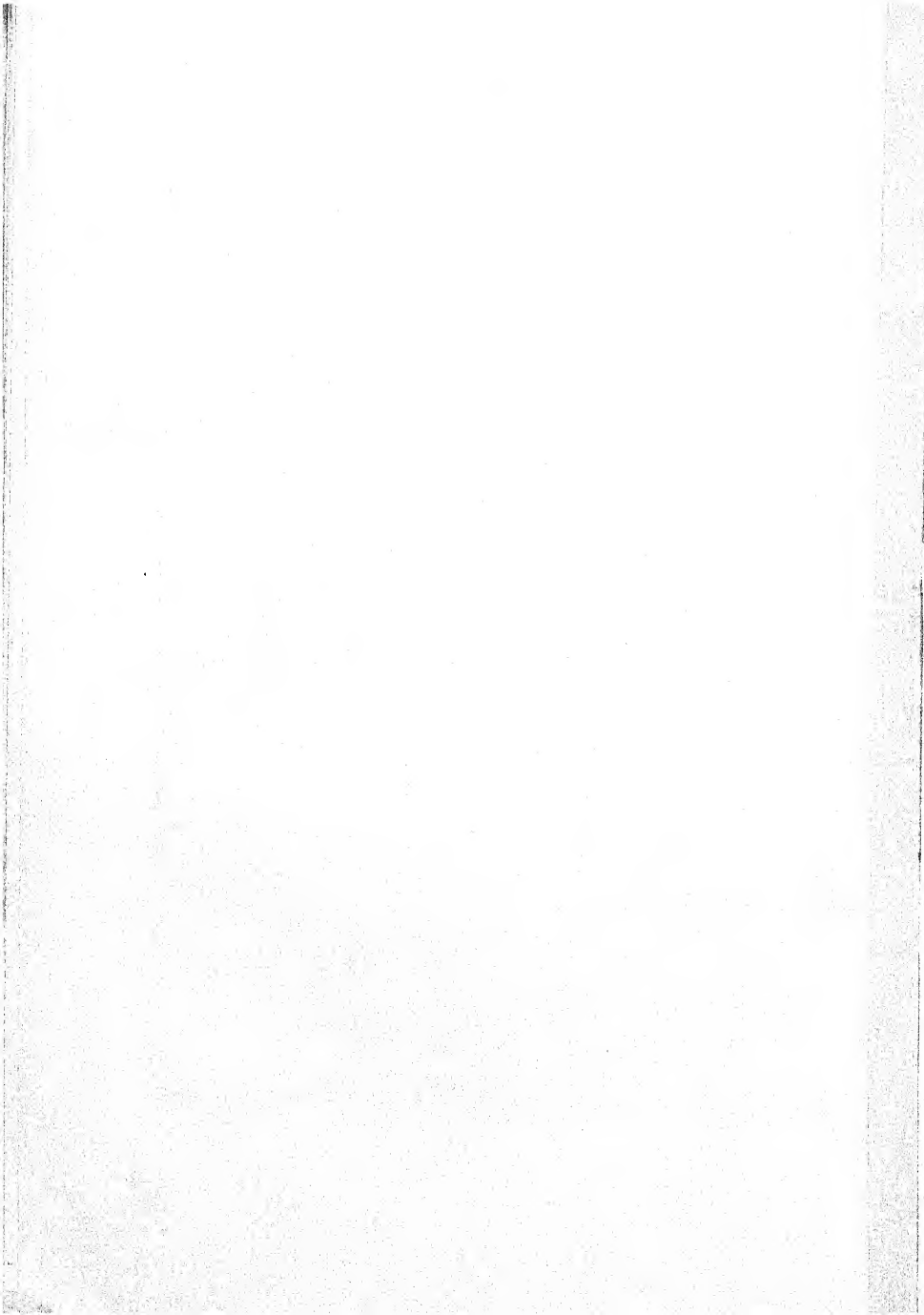
After the close of the Seven Years' War George III and his ministers determined to keep British troops in America as a

Alleviations and compensations protection against outbreaks by the French or Indians. The colonists, to whose safety an army would add, were expected to pay for its partial support. Parliament, accordingly, took steps to enforce the laws regulating colonial commerce and also passed

The Stamp Act and the Townshend Acts







the Stamp Act (1765). The protests of the colonists led to the repeal of this obnoxious measure, but it was soon replaced by the Townshend Acts (1767), levying duties on certain commodities imported into America. These acts, in turn, were repealed three years later. Parliament, however, kept a small duty on

When in the course of human events it becomes necessary ^{one} for a people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature & of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the ~~the~~ separation.

We hold these truths to be ^{self-evident}, that all men are created equal & independent; that ^{they are endowed by their creator with equal} rights, that among these are ~~that~~ ^{life, liberty, & the pursuit of happiness}; that to secure these ^{rights}, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government ^{becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter}

OPENING LINES OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

A reduced facsimile of the first lines of Jefferson's original draft.

tea, in order that the colonists might not think that it had abandoned its assumed right to tax them.

The Stamp Act and the Townshend Acts thus brought up the whole question as to the extent of parliamentary control over the colonists. They argued that taxes could be rightfully voted only by their own representative assemblies. It was a natural attitude for them to take, since Parliament, sitting three thousand miles away, had little insight into American affairs. The English view was that Parliament "virtually" represented all Englishmen and hence might tax them wherever they lived. This view can also be understood, for the "Glorious Revolution" had definitely established the supremacy of Parliament in England.¹ In any case, however, taxation of the colonies

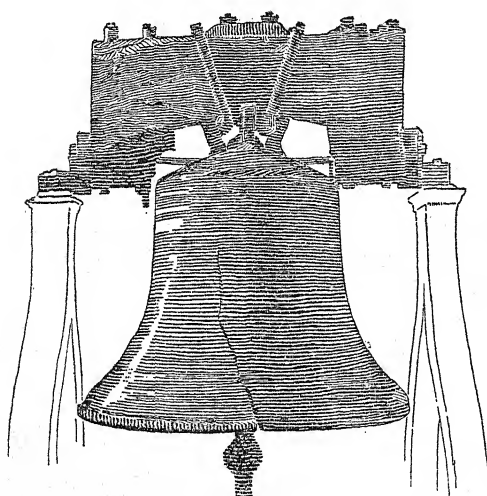
"No taxation without representation"

¹ See page 394.

was clearly contrary to custom and very impolitic in the face of the popular feeling which it aroused in America.

Some British statesmen themselves espoused the cause of the colonists. Edmund Burke, the great Irish orator, declared that the idea of a virtual representation of America in Parliament was "the most contemptible idea that ever entered the head of a man." Even William Pitt (then earl of Chatham), while maintaining the

Attitude
of British
statesmen



THE "LIBERTY BELL"

Now in Independence Hall, Philadelphia. Contrary to popular belief, the "Liberty Bell" was not rung until July 8, 1776, when the Declaration of Independence was read in the State House yard to the assembled soldiers and citizens.

right of Parliament to legislate for America, applauded the "manly wisdom and calm resolution" displayed by the colonists in their resistance to arbitrary power. But these were the voices of a minority, of a helpless minority. Parliament, then under the thumb of George III and the "king's friends,"¹ precipitated, almost light-heart-

edly, the catastrophe which severed the two chief branches of English-speaking peoples.

No colony at first contained a large majority in favor of separation, and even after the Declaration of Independence numerous loyalists, or "Tories," continued to espouse the British cause. Some of them even fought against their native land, while others did everything

The
"Tories"

¹ See page 438.

they could to prevent the success of the Revolution by sowing sedition, spreading false news, concealing spies, and selling goods to the enemy. It was necessary to adopt the sternest measures in dealing with men whom Washington called "execrable parricides," and many were imprisoned or confined in concentration camps. After the conclusion of peace the "Tories" emigrated in great numbers to Canada, where they formed the first English settlers. They prospered in their new home, and their descendants, who form a considerable part of the Canadian population, are to-day among the most devoted members of the British Empire.

Even had the colonists been unanimous in resistance to Great Britain, they stood little chance of winning against a wealthy country with a population nearly three times their own, trained armies supported by German mercenaries, and a powerful navy. When, however, the resources of France were thrown into the scale, the issue became less doubtful. France, still smarting from the losses incurred in the Seven Years' War, desired to recover as much as possible of her colonial possessions and secretly aided the Americans with money and supplies for some time before the victory at Saratoga led her to enter into a formal alliance with them. It must never be forgotten, also, that many Frenchmen felt a genuine sympathy for the colonists in their struggle for liberty. The Marquis de Lafayette was only the most illustrious of the French nobles who crossed the Atlantic to fight side by side with American soldiers.

The war now merged into a European conflict in which France was joined by Spain and Holland. Great Britain needed all her reserve power to prevent rebellion in Ireland, defend Gibraltar, and keep her possessions in the West Indies and India. The struggle in America practically closed in 1781, when Cornwallis, blockaded at Yorktown by a French fleet and closely invested by the combined French and American armies, surrendered the largest British force still in the colonies. Nearly two years passed, however, before the contestants made peace.

The French
alliance,
1778

Close of
the Revolu-
tionary
War

The Treaty of Paris between Great Britain and the United States recognized the independence of the former Thirteen Colonies and fixed their boundaries at Canada and the Great Lakes, the Atlantic Ocean, Florida, and the Mississippi River. The Treaty of Versailles between Great Britain, France, and Spain restored to France a few colonial possessions and gave to Spain the island of Minorca and the Florida territory. Holland, which concluded a separate peace with Great Britain, was obliged to cede to that country some stations in India and to throw open to British merchants the valuable trade of the East Indies.

**Treaties of
Paris and
Versailles,
1783**

The successful revolt of the Thirteen Colonies dealt a staggering blow at the old colonial policy. The Americans continued to trade with the mother country from self-interest, although they were no longer compelled to do so by law. The result was that British commerce with the United States doubled within fifteen years after the close of the Revolutionary War. This formed an object-lesson in the futility of commercial restrictions.

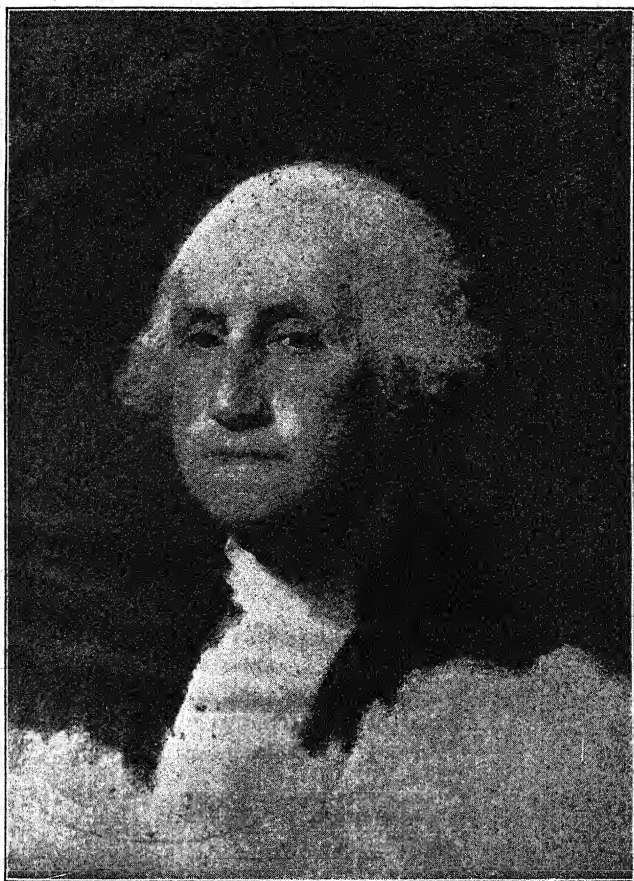
**Effects of
American
independence**

The American War of Independence reacted almost at once on Europe. The Declaration of Independence, setting forth the "unalienable rights of man" as against feudal privilege and oppression, provided ardent spirits in France with a formula of liberty which they were not slow in applying to their own country. The French Revolution of 1789 was the child of the American Revolution. Early in the nineteenth century still another revolutionary movement stripped Spain and Portugal of all their continental possessions in the New World. America was, indeed, teaching by example.

**America
teaching
by example**

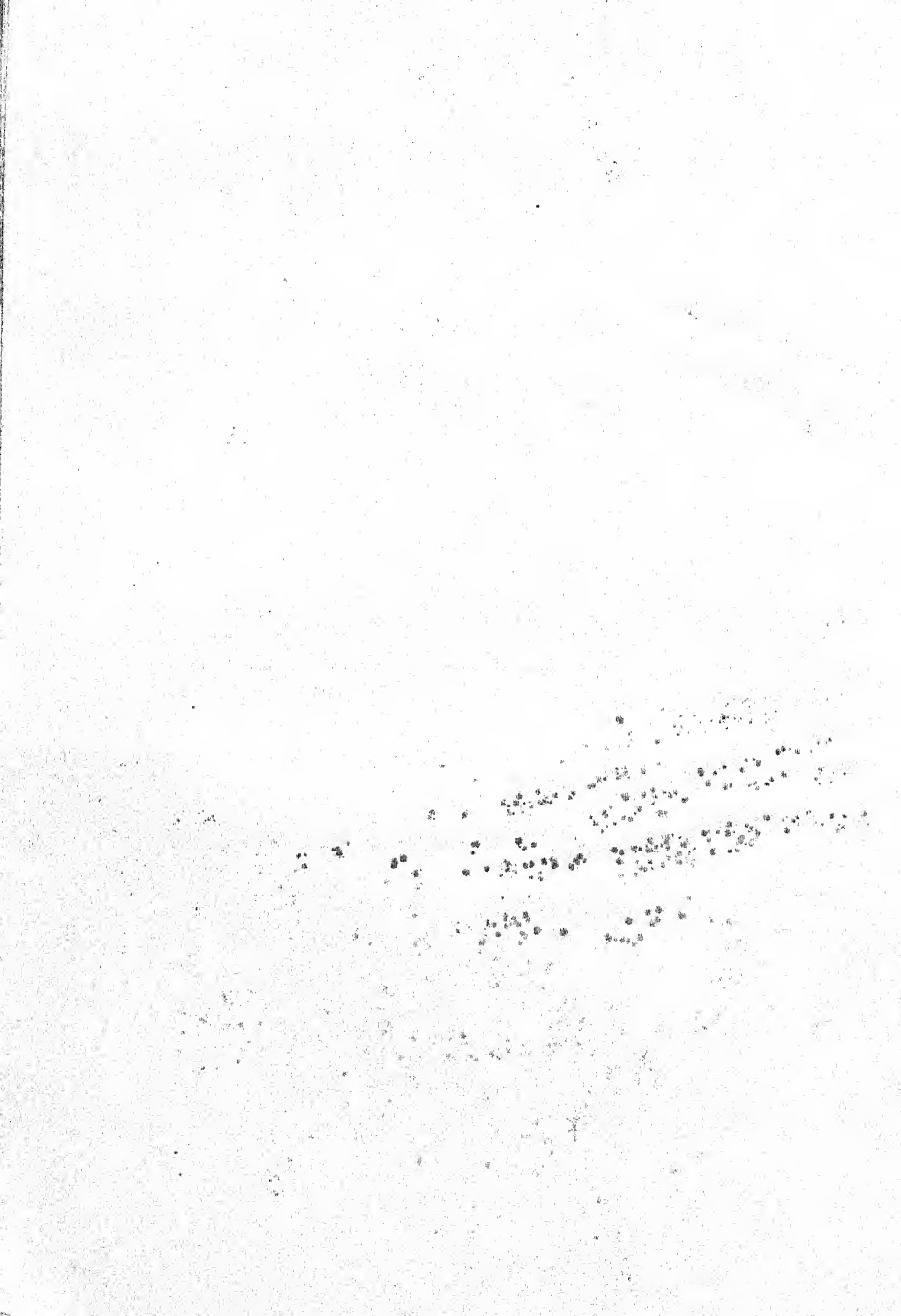
166. Progress of Geographical Discovery

Great Britain soon found at least partial compensation for the loss of the Thirteen Colonies in the occupation of Australia and the islands of the Pacific. That vast ocean, covering



WASHINGTON

After the painting by Gilbert Stuart.
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



more than one-third of the globe, remained little known to Europeans until the latter part of the eighteenth century. Soon after Magellan's voyage in 1520 the Spaniards established a regular commercial route between Mexico and the Philippines and gradually discovered some of the innumerable archipelagoes which stud the intervening seas. Sir Francis Drake's circumnavigation of the world (1577-1580) first drew the attention of Englishmen to the Pacific Ocean, but a long time passed before they began its systematic exploration.

Early exploration
of the
Pacific

The unveiling of the Pacific was closely connected with the Antarctic problem. Geographers from the time of the Greeks had a vague idea that a region of continental proportions lay to the southeast of the Indian Ocean. The idea found expression in Ptolemy's map of the world, and Marco Polo during his stay in China heard about it. After the Dutch became established in the East Indies, they made renewed search for the "Great South Land" and carefully explored the western coast of Australia or "New Holland."

The "Great
South
Land"

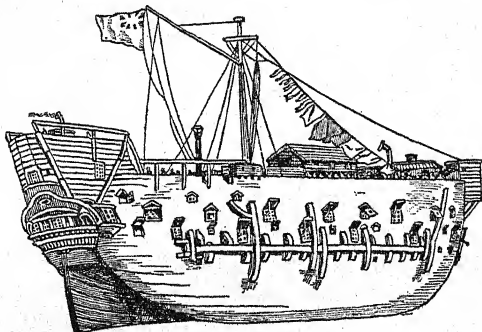
In 1642 the Dutch East India Company sent Abel Tasman from Batavia to investigate the real extent of Australia. Tasman's voyage — one of the most notable on record — led to the discovery of Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania) and New Zealand, and proved conclusively that Australia had no connection with the supposed Antarctic continent. The Dutch, however, manifested little interest in the regions which they had found, and more than one hundred years elapsed before Tasman's work was continued by Captain James Cook.

Tasman's
voyage,
1642

This famous navigator, the son of a farm laborer, entered the British navy at an early age and by his unaided efforts rose to high command. Cook's first voyage in the Pacific resulted in the exploration of the coast of New Zealand and the eastern shore of Australia. The second voyage finally settled the question as to the existence of a southern continent,

Cook's
voyages
in the
Pacific,
1768-1779

for Cook sailed three times across the Pacific Ocean without finding it. At the instance of George III, Cook undertook a third voyage to locate, if possible, an opening on the coast of Alaska which would lead into Hudson Bay. He followed the American coast through Bering Strait until an unbroken ice-field barred further progress. On the return from the Arctic region Cook visited the Hawaiian Islands, where he was murdered by the natives. Thus closed the career of one who, more than any other explorer, revealed to European gaze the island world of the Pacific.



THE "DISCOVERY"

Captain Cook's ship on his last voyage. When this drawing was made, she was being used as a coaling-vessel at Newcastle; hence the addition of steam funnels.

Captain Cook on his third voyage was the first British navigator to sight Alaska.

Here, however, he had been preceded by the Russians, who reached the Pacific by way of Siberia and the Arctic Ocean.

Bering's
voyages,
1728-1729,
1741

It still remained uncertain whether Siberia did not join on to the northern part of the New World. Peter the Great, who showed a keen interest in geographical discovery, commissioned Vitus Bering, a Dane in the Russian service, to solve the problem. Bering explored the strait and sea named after him and made clear the relation between North America and Asia.

The eighteenth century thus added greatly to man's knowledge of the world, especially in the Pacific area. Cook's voyages, in particular, left the main outlines of the southern part of the globe substantially as they are known to-day. From this time systematic exploration for scientific purposes more and more took the place of voyages by private adventurers for the sake of warfare or plunder.

Scientific
exploration

Geographical discovery must be included, therefore, among the influences which made the eighteenth century so conspicuously an age of enlightenment.

Studies

1. On outline maps represent the division of North America (a) after the Peace of Utrecht and (b) after the Peace of Paris.
2. Locate these places: Calcutta; Batavia; Sidney; Madras; Sitka; Bombay; and Pondicherry.
3. Identify these dates in American colonial history: 1607; 1620; 1664; 1713; and 1763.
4. According to the mercantile theory, what constituted a "favorable" and what an "unfavorable" balance of trade?
5. How was the colonial policy based on mercantilism opposed to modern ideas of commercial freedom?
6. What was meant by the saying that colonies were "like so many farms of the mother country"?
7. Why was the joint stock company a more successful method of fostering colonial trade than the regulated company?
8. Show that the seventeenth century belonged commercially to the Dutch, as the sixteenth century had belonged to the Portuguese and Spaniards.
9. On the map (page 443) indicate what East Indian islands still remain Dutch possessions.
10. Why was it possible for European powers to secure dominions in India?
11. State the basis of the claims of England, France, Spain, Holland, and Sweden to territory in North America during the seventeenth century.
12. "The breaking of Spain's naval power is an incident of the first importance in the history of the English colonies." Comment on this statement.
13. Why was the acquisition of New Netherland an important step in the building up of colonial America?
14. Show how the Stuart kings fostered England's expansion in North America.
15. "The expansion of England in the New World and in Asia is the formula which sums up for England the history of the eighteenth century." Comment on this statement.
16. Set forth the importance of the Seven Years' War in the history of India and of colonial America.
17. Show that "no taxation without representation" was a slogan which could hardly have arisen in any but an English country.
18. "The Declaration of Independence was the formal announcement of democratic ideas that had their tap-root in English soil." Comment on this statement.
19. How did the American Revolution become a world war?
20. In what sense was the American Revolution "a civil war within the British Empire"?
21. From what Dutch source were the names Tasmania, Van Diemen's Land, and New Zealand derived?
22. Trace on the map (between pages 472-473) the three voyages of Captain Cook.

CHAPTER XIX

THE OLD RÉGIME IN EUROPE

167. The Eighteenth Century in Culture

PREVIOUS chapters have set forth some of the more significant transformations of European society between 1300 and 1700.

An age of
enlighten-
ment

The revival of classical literature, art, and learning, the progress of geographical discovery, and the Protestant Reformation and Catholic Counter Reformation were all movements which helped to complete the transition from the medieval to the modern world. To these three movements we may now add the extraordinary awakening of the European mind in the eighteenth century. It was an age of reason, an age of enlightenment.

The thinkers of the eighteenth century pursued knowledge not so much for its own sake as for its social usefulness. They felt that the time had come when mankind might well discard many ideas and customs, once serviceable, perhaps, but now outworn. To them the chief obstacle in the way of progress was found in human ignorance, prejudice, and unreasoning veneration for the past. Systematic and accurate knowledge, they believed, would destroy this attachment to "the good old days" and would make it possible to create more reasonable and enlightened institutions. In other words, thinkers were animated by the reforming spirit.

Reform was sorely needed. Absolute monarchies claiming to rule by the will of God, aristocracies in the possession of special rights, privileges, and honors, the masses of the people excluded from any part in the government and burdened with taxes and feudal dues — such were some of the survivals of medievalism which formed the Old Régime.¹ The eighteenth century abolished it in France;

The Old
Régime

¹ In French, *ancien régime*.

the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have done much to abolish it in other European countries. Let us examine it more closely.

168. The Privileged Classes

Where absolutism prevailed, everything depended upon the personal character of the sovereign. A Peter the Great might set his country upon the road to civilization; **The** a Louis XIV, on the contrary, might plunge his **monarchy** people into indescribable misery as the result of needless wars and extravagant expenditures. As time went on, it began to appear more and more unreasonable that a single person should have the power to make the laws, levy the taxes, spend the revenues, declare war, and conclude peace according to his own inclination. England in the seventeenth century had shown that a divine-right monarchy might be replaced by a constitutional monarchy and parliamentary control of legislation. The reformers wished to secure for France and other Continental countries at least an equal measure of political liberty.

Not less insistent was their demand for social equality. The feudal system had bequeathed as part of its heritage to modern Europe a system of class distinctions which **The First and Second Estates** honeycombed society. The highest place was occupied by the clergy and the nobility, who constituted the First and Second Estates, respectively. These two privileged classes formed a very small minority of the population in any European country. Of twenty-five million Frenchmen, for instance, less than half a million were clerics or nobles.

The clergy, especially in Roman Catholic lands, retained much of the power that they had exercised throughout the Middle Ages. Reverence felt by kings and lords for **The clergy** mother Church had dowered her representatives with rich and broad domains. In France, Spain, Italy, and those parts of Germany where Church property had not been confiscated by Protestants, the archbishops, bishops, abbots, and cardinals ruled as veritable princes and paid few or no

taxes to the government. These members of the higher clergy were recruited mainly from the noble families and naturally took the side of the absolute monarchs. The lower clergy, the thousands of parish priests, who came from the common people, just as naturally espoused the popular cause. They saw the abuses of the existing system and supported the demands for its reform.

The nobility consisted, in part, of the descendants of feudal lords. By the eighteenth century, however, the old military nobility had largely disappeared from Europe, except in Germany. A new aristocracy arose, consisting of those who had been ennobled by the king for various services or who had held certain offices which conferred noble rank. The nobles, like the higher clergy, were great landed proprietors, though without the military obligations which rested on feudal lords during the Middle Ages.

England is almost the only modern state where the nobility still keeps an important place in the national life. There are several reasons for this fact. In the first place, British nobles are few in number in consequence of the rule of primogeniture.¹ Only the eldest son of a peer inherits his father's title and estate; the younger sons are commoners. Even the eldest son during his father's lifetime is styled "Lord" simply by courtesy. In the second place, the social distinction of the nobility arouses little antagonism, because a peer is not bound to marry into another noble family but may take his wife from the ranks of commoners. Finally, nobles in Great Britain are taxed as are other citizens and are equally amenable to the laws.

Very different was the situation in eighteenth-century France. Here there were as many as one hundred thousand nobles, for the French did not observe the rule of primogeniture. Their "gentle birth" enabled them to monopolize the important offices in the government, the army, and the Church. They claimed, and largely secured, exemption from taxation. The result was that most of the expense of the

¹ See page 116, note x.

wars, the magnificent palaces, and gorgeous ceremonial of Louis XIV and Louis XV was borne by the middle and lower classes of France. The provincial nobles, who lived on their country estates, usually took more or less part in local affairs and felt an interest in the welfare of the peasantry. But many members of the nobility were absentee landlords, leading a fashionable existence at the court and dancing attendance on the king. Nobles of this type were ornamental rather than useful. Their luxury and idleness made them objects of odium in the minds of all who wished to renovate society. As one reformer declared, "Through all the vocabulary of Adam, there is not such an animal as a duke or a count."

169. The Unprivileged Classes

Such were the two privileged orders, or estates. Beneath them came the unprivileged order known as the The Third Estate Third Estate in France. It consisted of three main divisions.

The middle class, or *bourgeoisie*,¹ included all those who were not manual laborers. Professional men, such as magistrates, lawyers, physicians, and teachers, together The bourgeoisie with bankers, manufacturers, wholesale merchants, and shopkeepers, were bourgeois. The British middle class enjoyed representation in Parliament and frequently entered the nobility. The French *bourgeoisie*, on the contrary, could not hold the positions of greatest honor in the government. Though well educated and often wealthy, they were made to feel in every way their inferiority to the arrogant nobles. They added their voices, therefore, to those who demanded political liberty and social equality.

The next division of the Third Estate comprised the artisans artisans living in the towns and cities. They were not very numerous, except in Great Britain, France, western Germany, The artisans and northern Italy, where industrial life had reached a much higher development than elsewhere in Europe.

¹ See page 227 and note 1.

The craft guilds, which formed so useful a feature of urban life in the Middle Ages, had not disappeared in the eighteenth century. In many places, however, the masters, who owned the shops, machines, or tools, alone belonged to the guilds. Even where journeymen and apprentices became members, they were not admitted to all the privileges of the craft. This exclusive policy of the masters provoked much opposition on the part of the poorer workmen and led to a demand for the abolition of their monopoly of industry.

Survivals
of the
guild
system

The last and by far the largest division of the Third Estate was that of the peasants. In Prussia, Austria, Hungary, Poland, Russia, and Spain they were still serfs. They might not leave their villages or marry without their lord's consent; their children must serve in his family for several years at a nominal wage; and they themselves had to work for a number of days each week on their lord's land. It is said that this forced labor sometimes took so much of the peasant's time that he could only cultivate his own holding by moonlight. Conditions were better in Italy and western Germany, though it was a Hessian prince who sold his subjects to Great Britain to fight as mercenaries in the American War of Independence. In France, serfdom still existed only in Alsace, Lorraine, and Franche Comté,¹ three provinces which had been acquired by Louis XIV and Louis XV. The great majority of the French peasants enjoyed complete freedom, and many of them owned their own farms.

But even the free peasants of France carried a heavy burden. The king taxed their lands and dwellings, and the taxes were increased arbitrarily upon any sign of the owner's prosperity. The clergy demanded tithes, which amounted to perhaps a thirteenth of the produce. The nobles exacted various feudal dues for the use of oven, mill, and wine press, and tolls for the use of roads and bridges. The game laws were especially vexatious, for farmers were obliged to allow the game of neighboring lords to

Survivals
of the
manorial
system

¹ See the map on page 402.

invade their fields and destroy the crops. Slight wonder that the peasants also formed a discontented class, anxious for any reforms which would better their hard lot.

170. Liberal Ideas of Industry and Commerce; the Economists

We have mentioned some of the abuses of the Old Régime. They were not greater in the eighteenth century than for hundreds of years before, but now they were to be seriously attacked by thinkers who applied the test of *reasonableness* to every institution.

Political
economy, or
economics

It was at this time that political economy, or economics, came into being. Economic science, which investigates such subjects as the production of wealth and its distribution as rent, interest, profits, and wages, the functions of money and credit, and the methods of taxation, had been studied in earlier times by those whose chief motive was to increase the riches of merchants and fill the treasuries of kings. Students in the eighteenth century took a wider view and began to search for the true causes of national well-being.

The economists who flourished in France received the name of Physiocrats,¹ because they believed that natural laws ruled in the economic world. In opposition to the Mercantilists, who held that the wealth of a nation comes from industry and commerce, some of the Physiocrats declared that it comes from agriculture. Manufacturers, said they, merely give a new form to materials extracted from the earth, while traders do nothing more than transfer commodities from one person to another. Farmers are the only productive members of society. It was a striking doctrine to enunciate at a time when the peasantry formed, as has been said, the "beast of burden" of the Old Régime. This group of Physiocrats did a real service in insisting upon the importance of agriculture, even though they erred in assuming that it is the sole source of wealth.

The
Physiocrats

¹ A term derived from two Greek words meaning "nature" and "to rule."

Another group of Physiocrats protested against the burdensome restraints imposed upon industry by the guilds and upon commerce by the governments. They advocated economic freedom. Any one should be allowed to make what things he likes; all occupations should be open to everybody; trade between different parts of the country should



ADAM SMITH

A medallion by James Tassie.

not be impeded by tolls and taxes; customs duties should not be levied on the importation of foreign goods. The Physiocratic teaching was summed up in the famous phrase *laissez-faire* — "let alone."

A Scotch professor of philosophy, Adam Smith, who had visited France and knew the Physiocrats, carried their ideas across the Channel. His famous work on the *Wealth of Nations* appeared in 1776,

the year of American independence. It formed a new declaration of independence for industry and commerce. Smith set forth the doctrine of *laissez-faire* so clearly and persuasively as to make a profound impression upon business men and statesmen. His arguments against monopolies, bounties, and protective tariffs did much to secure the subsequent adoption of free trade by Great Britain and even affected Continental legislation. Thus the *Wealth of Nations*, judged by its results, is one of the most important books which has ever been written.

171. The Scientists

Arithmetic, geometry, and algebra (elementary mathematics) had been studied in the schools and universities of the later Middle Ages. It remained to create the higher mathematics, including analytic geometry, loga-

Laissez-faire

Mathematics

rithms, the theory of probabilities, and the infinitesimal calculus. Knowledge of the calculus, which deals with quantities infinitely small, has been of immense service in engineering and other applied sciences. Credit for its discovery is divided between the German Leibniz (1646-1716) and his English contemporary, Sir Isaac Newton (1642-1727).

The profound mind of Newton formulated the so-called law of gravitation. He showed by mathematical calculation that the motion of the planets about the sun, and of the moon about the earth, can be explained as due to the same mysterious force of gravity which makes the apple fall to the ground. This discovery that all the movements of the heavenly bodies obey one simple physical law forms perhaps the greatest achievement in the history of science. Scarcely less important was the nebular hypothesis of the French astronomer Laplace (1749-1827). He conjectured that our own and other solar systems had been produced by the condensation of nebulous matter once diffused through space; in other words, that the nebulae were stages in the formation of stars. The further achievements of eighteenth-century astronomy include the discovery beyond Saturn of a new planet, Uranus, the computation of the distance between the earth and the moon, and the proof that our solar system as a whole is moving toward a point in the constellation Hercules.

Various investigators at this time laid the foundation of modern physics, particularly in the departments of electricity and magnetism. Benjamin Franklin, by his kite experiment, demonstrated that lightning is really an electrical phenomenon. The memory of the Italian Volta is perpetuated whenever an electrician refers to a "voltaic cell" or uses the term "volt." French scientists invented the

Astronomy



DEATH MASK
OF SIR ISAAC
NEWTON

In the possession of
the Royal Society
of London.

Physics

balloon, thus beginning the conquest of the air. The first successful ascents in balloons took place at Paris in 1783.

Chemical research made rapid progress. Greek philosophers had taught that earth, air, water, and fire comprise the original "elements" out of which everything else was made.

Chemistry

The chemists now disproved this idea by decomposing water into the two gases, hydrogen and oxygen. The



LINNAEUS

A painting by Roslin.

Frenchman Lavoisier (1743-1794) also showed that fire is really a union of oxygen with earthy carbon. Until his time it had been supposed that objects burn because they contain a combustible substance known as "phlogiston." We further owe to Lavoisier the modern doctrine of the indestructibility of matter.

Eighteenth-century explorers brought back to Europe from

Biology America and the Pacific many new species of animals and plants, thus greatly encouraging biological study. Here the most eminent

name is that of the Swede Linnæus (1707-1778), whose careful description and classification of plants established botany as a science. In medicine the introduction of vaccination as a preventive of smallpox marked the first step toward securing immunity by inoculation against certain dread diseases. The invention of the compound microscope, following soon after the discovery of the telescope, revealed the existence of a hitherto unsuspected realm of minute life in earth and air and water.

Scientific investigations, in previous times pursued by lonely
 Learned societies thinkers, now began to be carried on systematically by the members of learned societies. Italy led the way with the foundation at Naples and Rome of the

first academies of science, and her example was followed at Paris, Berlin, and other European capitals. Shortly after the "Glorious Revolution" a group of English investigators obtained a charter forming them into the Royal Society of London. It still exists and enrolls the most distinguished scientists of Great Britain. Never before had there been so much interest in science and so many opportunities to uncover the secrets of nature.

172. Liberal Ideas of Religion and Politics; the English Philosophers

The advance of science, which immensely broadened men's conceptions of the universe, could not fail to affect their attitude toward religion. The idea of the reign of **Rationalism** in religion natural law in the physical world was now extended to the spiritual world. Thinking men began to argue that the doctrines of Christianity should not be accepted on the authority either of the Church or of the Bible, but must be submitted to free inquiry. These champions of reason — the rationalists — especially flourished in England, where thought was less fettered than on the Continent. They were not all of one mind. Some of them, such as John Locke (1632-1704), defended Christianity as being the most reasonable of all religions.

Other rationalists questioned the special claims of Christianity. They declared that the questions over which Christian sects had disputed for centuries were really of **The Deists** minor importance; the essential thing was the doctrine common to all mankind. Thus they arrived at the conception of "natural religion," which included simply the belief in a personal God and in man's immortal soul. These thinkers received the name of Deists.¹

By casting doubt on the efficacy of particular religions, the Deists gave an impetus to the demand for **Influence of the Deists** toleration of all. Their speculations found a warm welcome in France, where they helped to undermine reverence

¹ Latin *Deus*, "God."

for the Church among the more intelligent classes. Deism in this way acted as a revolutionary ferment.

Rationalism also invaded politics. English thinkers, of whom Locke formed the most prominent representative, developed a theory of government which, like the Calvinistic theory,¹ was utterly opposed to the old doctrine of the divine right of kings. According to Locke, all men possess certain natural rights to life, liberty, and the ownership of property. To preserve these rights they have entered into a contract with one another, agreeing that the majority shall have power to make and execute all necessary laws. If the government, thus created, breaks the contract by violating man's natural rights, it has no longer any claim to the allegiance of its subjects and may be legitimately overthrown.

To say that all government exists, or should exist, by the consent of the governed is to set up the doctrine of popular sovereignty. How influential it was may be seen from passages in the Declaration of Independence which reproduce the very words of Locke and other English writers. But their ideas found the heartiest reception in France. Enlightened members of the nobility and *bourgeoisie*, weary of royal despotism, took them up, expounded them, and spread them among the people.

173. The French Philosophers

France during the eighteenth century had not been able to maintain the high position among European states to which she had been raised by Louis XIV, and in the struggle for colonial empire she had been defeated by Great Britain. Her intellectual leadership compensated for all that she had lost. Throughout this century France gave birth to a succession of philosophers whose ideas fell like fertilizing rain upon the arid soil of the Old Régime. Some of them had lived for a time in England as refugees from the persecution

¹ See page 376.

which too bold thinking involved at home. Their life there made them acquainted with the British system of constitutional monarchy — so unlike the absolutism of French kings — with the political theories of Locke, and with the ideas of the Deists, from whom they learned to submit time-honored beliefs to searching examination.

A nobleman, lawyer, and judge, Montesquieu, spent twenty years in composing a single book on the *Spirit of Laws*. It is a classic in political science. There was nothing revolutionary in Montesquieu's conclusions. He examined each form of government in order to determine its excellencies and defects.

The British constitution seemed to him most admirable, as combining the virtues of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy. Montesquieu especially insisted upon the necessity of separating the executive, legislative, and judicial functions of government, instead of combining them in the person of a single ruler. This idea influenced the French revolutionists and also had great weight with the framers of the Constitution of the United States.



VOLTAIRE

A statue by J. A. Houdon in the Comédie Française, Paris.

The foremost figure among the philosophers was Voltaire, who sprang from the *bourgeoisie*. He was not a deep thinker like Montesquieu, but was rather a brilliant and somewhat superficial man of letters. For more than half a century he poured forth a succession of poems, dramas, essays, biographies, histories, and other works, so

clearly written, so witty, and so satirical as to win the applause of his contemporaries.

Voltaire devoted a long life to the preaching of enlightenment. He was in no sense a revolutionist, and favored reform by royal decree as being the simplest and most expeditious method. He made it his particular work to bring discredit on ecclesiastical authority. The Church he regarded as an invention of self-seeking priests.



JEAN JACQUES ROUSSEAU

After the painting in the Musée
Carnavalet, Paris.

A typical Deist, Voltaire insisted on the need of toleration. "Since we are all steeped in error and folly," he said, "we must forgive each other our follies." His exposure of bigotry and fanaticism was needed in the eighteenth century. It has helped to create the freer atmosphere in which religious thought moves to-day.

If Voltaire was the destroyer of the old, Rousseau was the prophet of the new. This son of a Geneva watchmaker, who wandered from one European capital to another, made a failure of everything he undertook and died poverty-stricken and

demented. The discouragements and miseries of his career found expression in what he wrote. Rousseau felt only contempt for the boasted civilization of the age. He loved to picture what he supposed was once the "state of nature," before governments had arisen, before the strong had begun to oppress the weak, when nobody owned the land, and when there were no taxes and no wars. "Back to nature" was Rousseau's cry.

Such fancies Rousseau applied to politics in what was his most important book, the *Social Contract*. Starting with the

assertion that "man was born free and is everywhere in chains," he went on to describe a purely ideal state of society in which the citizens are ruled neither by kings nor parliaments, but themselves make the laws directly. The only way to reform the world, according to Rousseau, was to restore the sovereignty of the people, with "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity" for all. As we have just learned, the idea that governments and laws arise by voluntary agreements among men, who may overthrow them for just cause, was not new; but Rousseau first gave it wide currency. Frenchmen of every class read the *Social Contract* with avidity, and during the Revolution they proceeded to put its democratic teachings into effect.

The "Social
Contract,"
1762

Rousseau, Voltaire, and Montesquieu were among the contributors to the famous *Encyclopedia*, a work in seventeen volumes which appeared after the middle of the eighteenth century. As the name indicates, it formed a repository of all the scientific and historical knowledge of the age. But it was more than a monument of learning. The Encyclopedists, as its editors are known, were radical thinkers who combined in a great effort to throw the light of reason on the dark places of the social order. They set in motion a current of revolt which did much to undermine both Church and State in France.

The En-
cyclopedists

174. The Enlightened Despots

The ideas of the philosophers spread throughout those parts of Europe where French models were followed. Even kings and statesmen began to be affected by the spirit of reform. European rulers did not intend to surrender the least fraction of absolute power; they were still autocrats who believed in government by one strong man rather than by the democratic many; but with their despotism they combined a paternal solicitude for the welfare of their subjects. They took measures to secure religious toleration, to relieve poverty, to codify the laws, to provide elementary

Paternalism

education, and to encourage scientific research. These activities have won for them the name of the "enlightened despots."

In Russia Catherine the Great posed as an enlightened despot. Catherine was a learned woman, at least for an empress. She wrote flattering letters to Voltaire and the Encyclopedists and conferred on them gifts and pensions. Montesquieu she especially admired, saying that were she the pope she would canonize him. But Catherine paid little more than lip-service to the ideas of the French philosophers. If she abolished torture, she did not do away with the knout; for capital punishment she only substituted the living death of exile in Siberia. Her toleration of dissenters from the Orthodox Church stopped short of allowing them to build chapels for public worship, and her passion for legislative reform grew cold when she found that she must begin by freeing the serfs. Catherine's real attitude is exhibited in a letter to the governor of Moscow: "My dear prince, do not complain that the Russians have no desire for instruction; if I institute schools it is not for us, it is for Europe, where we must keep our position in public opinion. But the day when our peasants shall wish to become educated both you and I will lose our places."

Catherine's contemporary, Frederick the Great, was a despot more sincere and more enlightened. He worked harder and had fewer pleasures than any other king of his day. Frederick the Great "Monarchs," he once wrote, "are not invested with authority that they may riot in voluptuousness." Although Frederick's resources had been so completely drained by the Seven Years' War that it was necessary for him to melt the silver in the royal palaces and debase the currency, his vigorous measures soon restored the national prosperity. He labored in a hundred ways to make Prussia the best-governed state in Europe. Thus, he founded elementary schools so that his subjects could learn at least to read and write, and reformed the courts so that everybody from high to low might be assured of impartial justice. A Deist in religion, the correspondent and friend of Voltaire, Frederick declared that every one should

be allowed to get to heaven in his own way, and backed up his declaration by putting Roman Catholics on an equality with Protestants throughout the Prussian dominions. No less than thirty volumes, all in French, contain the poems, letters, and treatises on history, politics, and military matters which Frederick managed to compose in the spare moments of a busy life. This philosopher on the throne held the attention of his generation in the world of ideas as well as in that of diplomacy and war.

In Austria, Joseph II,¹ the eldest son of Maria Theresa, presented a less successful type of the enlightened despot. Joseph regarded Frederick the Great as the ideal of a modern ruler. He wished to transform the various peoples in the Hapsburg realm, with all their differences of race, speech, religion, and aspirations, into a single unified nation. German officials sent out from Vienna were to administer the affairs of each province. The army was to be built up by compulsory service after the Prussian model. German was to be used everywhere as the official language. Most unwisely, however, Joseph tried to accomplish in a short lifetime what all the Hapsburg rulers have not succeeded in doing to this day. The result was that his measures to Germanize Hungarians, Bohemians, Italians, and Netherlanders only aroused hostility and did not survive his death. The sentence that the king himself proposed as his epitaph was a truthful summary of his reign: "Here lies the man who, with the best intentions, never succeeded in anything." Joseph II

Paternal government had two serious weaknesses. First, the despots could not determine the policy of their successors. An able and liberal-minded ruler might be followed by a ruler who was indolent, extravagant, and unprogressive. In Prussia, for instance, the weak reign of Frederick the Great's successor undid much of his work. The same thing happened in Spain and Portugal. Second, the despots, however enlightened, treated their subjects as

¹ Holy Roman Emperor, 1765-1790, and sole ruler of the Austrian realm, 1780-1790.

children and enacted reforms without first discovering whether reformation was popularly desired. Because of these weaknesses, the eighteenth-century conception of absolute monarchs ruling for their people's good was certain to be superseded by the modern idea of the people ruling themselves. But to bring this about, a revolution was necessary.

Studies

1. Do monarchy and autocracy necessarily mean the same thing?
2. Compare the European estates or privileged classes with the castes of ancient and modern India.
3. Contrast the leading ideas of mercantilism and physiocracy.
4. Look up in an encyclopedia some account of the life and writings of Adam Smith.
5. What do you understand by laws of nature? Give some examples of such laws.
6. Mention some instances of the international character of science in the eighteenth century.
7. Distinguish between deism (or theism) and atheism.
8. How did Locke's theory of the social contract provide the intellectual justification for the "Glorious Revolution"?
9. Is there any reason to suppose that Rousseau's "state of nature" ever existed anywhere?
10. Why has Rousseau's *Social Contract* been called "the Bible of the French Revolution" and "the gospel of modern democracy"?
11. Show that Rousseau's ideas of government were far more radical than the ideas of Montesquieu.
12. Why did not the reforms of the enlightened despots make a revolution unnecessary?
13. "No reform can produce real good unless it is the work of public opinion, and unless the people themselves take the initiative." Discuss the justice of this statement.
14. Describe those features of the Old Régime which led to the demand for "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity."
15. How do the facts presented in this chapter support the statement that "Great thinkers control the affairs of men, and by their discoveries regulate the march of nations"?

CHAPTER XX

THE REVOLUTIONARY AND NAPOLEONIC ERA, 1789-1815¹

175. Preparation for the French Revolution

WHAT we call the French Revolution refers to a series of events in France, between 1789 and 1799, by which divine-right monarchy gave way to a republic and class distinctions and privileges disappeared in favor of social equality. This revolution started in France, not because the misery of the people had become more intolerable there than in other parts of the Continent, but precisely because France was then the most advanced of Continental countries. French peasants and artisans were free enough and intelligent enough to be critical of their government. Next to Great Britain, France contained the most numerous, prosperous, and influential *bourgeoisie*. Members of this class furnished the Revolution with its principal leaders. Even the nobility and clergy included many men who realized the abuses of the Old Régime and wished to abolish them. In short, the revolutionary impulse stirred all ranks of French society.

That impulse came in part from across the Channel. The spectacle of the Puritan Revolution and the "Glorious Revolution" in the seventeenth century affected Frenchmen in the eighteenth century. The English had put one king to death and had expelled another; they had established the supremacy of Parliament in the state. It was the example of parliamentary England

Revol-
utionary
France

England
and the
Revolution

¹ Webster, *Readings in Medieval and Modern History*, chapter xxx, "France on the Eve of the Revolution"; chapter xxxi, "Scenes of the French Revolution"; chapter xxxii, "Letters and Proclamations of Napoleon"; chapter xxxiii, "Napoleon." Webster, *Historical Source Book*, No. 16, "Decree Abolishing the Feudal System, 1789"; No. 17, "Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen, 1789"; No. 18, "Address to All Peoples, 1792."

which Montesquieu held up to the emulation of his countrymen. And it was the political philosophy of the Englishman, John Locke, upon which Rousseau founded his doctrine of the sovereignty of the people.

A second impulse came from across the Atlantic. After the close of the War of American Independence, the French common soldiers, together with Lafayette and other officers, returned home to spread republican doctrines. It is significant that in 1783 a French nobleman translated and published all thirteen of the constitutions of the American states. Very important was the work of Benjamin Franklin, who for nearly a decade represented the American government in Paris. His engaging manners, practical wisdom, and high principles won general admiration. The portrait of the Philadelphia printer hung in every house, and at republican festivals his bust figured side by side with that of Rousseau. "Homage to Franklin," cried an enthusiastic Frenchman, "he gave us our first lessons in liberty."

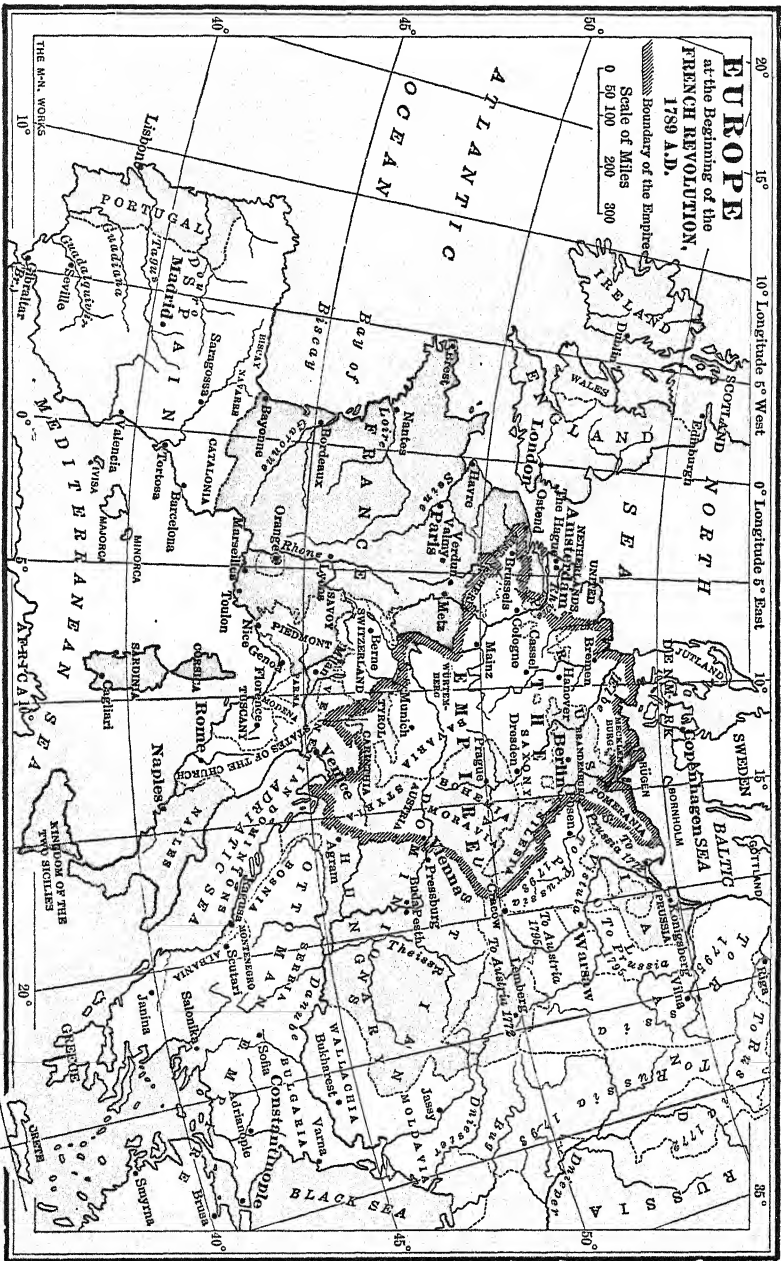
To understand the outbreak of the French Revolution it is necessary to go back to the long reign of Louis XV. France had never had so unkingly a sovereign as this successor of the "Grand Monarch." All his life he was an idler. He hunted, he gambled, he sank deep in the frivolities and immoralities of Versailles, he did everything but rule. The government fell more and more into the hands of courtiers and adventurers, whose main concern was to line their own pockets at the expense of the public treasury.

The foolish alliances and fatal wars upon which Louis XV was persuaded to enter reduced France to the position of a second-rate power. In the Seven Years' War French armies were repeatedly vanquished on Continental battle-fields, and French fleets were swept from the high seas. When the Peace of Paris was signed in 1763, the French flag ceased to fly in North America, and it flew in India only by permission of England. The annexation of Lorraine (1766) and Corsica (1768) did not compensate for the loss of

America
and the
Revolution

Louis XV,
king,
1715-1774

Decline of
France



EUROPE

at the Beginning of the
FRENCH REVOLUTION.
1789 A.D.

Boundary of the Empire
Scale of Miles
0 50 100 200 300

20° 15° 10° Longitude 6° West 0° Longitude 6° East 10° 15° 20°

ATLANTIC OCEAN

SEA

BAY OF BISCAY

PIEDMONT

ADRIATIC SEA

ALBANIA

BLACK SEA

SCOTLAND NORTH

SWEDEN BALTIC

RUSSIA

TO R

TO R

WELSH

ENGLAND

IRELAND

NETHERLANDS

GERMANY

PRUSSIA

AUSTRIA

HUNGARY

PORTUGAL

SPAIN

ITALY

GENOVA

ROMA

VIENNA

BERLIN

LONDON

PARIS

LYON

MARSEILLE

NANTES

TOURNAI

BRUSSELS

AMSTERDAM

ST. PETERSBURG

WARSAW

VIENNA

PRAGUE

BUDAPEST

CONSTANTINOPLE

ISTANBUL

CAIRO

ALGER

TUNIS

TRIPOLI

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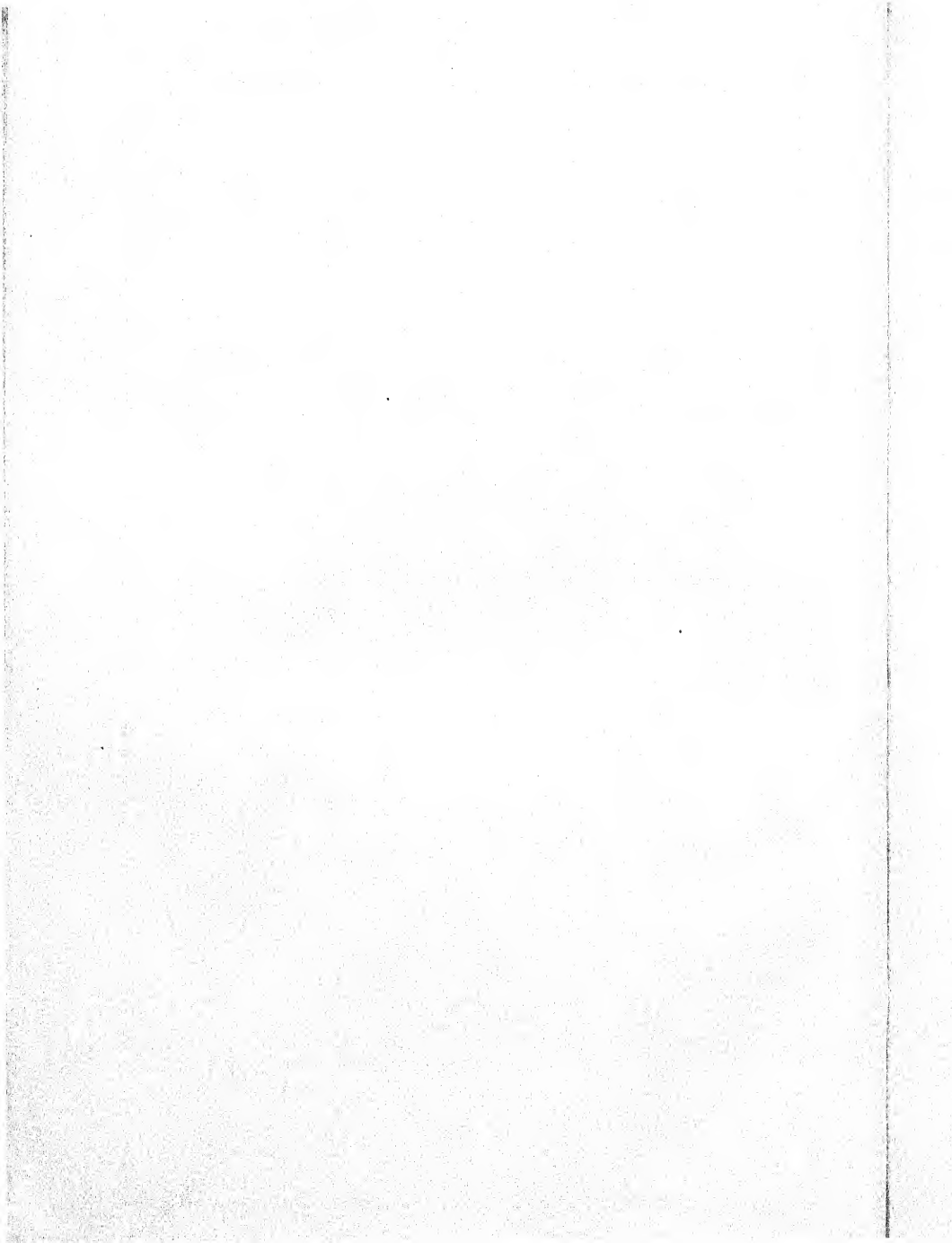
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a colonial empire.¹ The military failures of the king's reign humiliated his subjects and undermined their loyalty to him.

The wars and extravagance of Louis XV added to the legacy of debt with which his predecessor on the throne had saddled France. The treasury every year faced a chronic deficit. It could only be met by the dangerous expedient of fresh loans, involving still larger outlays for interest charges. As long as the government refused to take proper measures of economy and continued to exempt the clergy and nobility from their share of taxation, it was impossible to put the finances of France in a satisfactory condition. A country in natural resources the richest in Europe, with a population greater than that of any rival state, became virtually bankrupt.

Financial
distress

The French monarchy, so despised abroad, had to face a growing volume of complaints at home. Louis XV did his best to stifle them. A rigid censorship muzzled the press. Postoffice officials opened letters passing through the mails and revealed their contents

Complaints
against the
monarchy

to the king. Books and pamphlets, obnoxious to the government, were burned by the common hangman, and their authors were imprisoned. No man's personal liberty was safe, for the police, if provided with an order of arrest signed by the king (a *lettre de cachet*), could send any one to jail. Suspected persons sometimes remained prisoners for years without trial. Yet in spite of all measures of repression, opposition to the monarchy steadily increased.

Louis XV was able to read the signs of the times. He knew that the Old Régime could not last much longer; "After me, but he felt sure that it would last his lifetime. "After me, the deluge," he said. The deluge soon came.

the deluge "

176. Eve of the French Revolution

Louis XVI, the grandson of Louis XV, mounted the throne when only twenty years old. Virtuous, pious, and well-meaning, he was the sort of ruler who in quiet times might

¹ See the map on page 402.

have won the esteem of the French people. He was, however, weak, indolent, slow of thought, and very slow of decision. It has been well said that Louis XVI "could love, forgive, suffer, and die," but that he did not know how to reign.

Louis XVI,
king, 1774-
1792

At his side, presiding over the gay court of Versailles, stood Marie Antoinette of Austria, daughter of Maria Theresa. This beautiful and lovable, though frivolous and light-minded, woman exerted a most unfortunate influence on Louis XVI, whom she surpassed in ability. She constantly interfered in matters of state to support some mistaken

Marie
Antoinette



THE FRENCH PEASANT UNDER TAILLE, TAX, AND CORVÉE

After an engraving of 1789 in Hennin Collection, Paris.

policy or an incompetent minister. The queen had many enemies in France because of her nationality, and she increased them by lavish expenditures on herself and on her favorites. The chief charge later to be hurled against "Madame Deficit" was that she had wasted the resources of France.

The youthful king began his reign auspiciously by appointing a new ministry, in which Turgot held the most responsible position. He was a friend of Voltaire, a contributor to the

Encyclopædia, an economist of the Physiocratic school, and a successful administrator. Turgot drew up a comprehensive program of reforms. He would allow complete freedom of the press, establish a national system of education, recall the Huguenots, and admit the *bourgeoisie* to all public offices.

Turgot summed up his financial policy in the three maxims, "No bankruptcy, no increase of taxation, no loans." Expenses were to be reduced by cutting off the pensions to those whose only merit was, in the words of a contemporary writer, "to have taken the trouble to be born." The taxes bearing most heavily on the Third Estate were to be replaced by a general tax on all landowners. Peasants were to be no longer forced to work without pay on public highways and bridges. The old guilds, which hampered industry, were to be abolished. The vexatious tolls and duties on the passage of grain from one province to another were to be swept away. Could such reforms have been carried out, France would have had a bloodless and orderly revolution.

But they were not carried out. The privileged classes would not surrender their privileges, nor favorites their pensions, nor monopolists their unjust gains, without a struggle. The weak king, who once declared that "the only persons who truly love the people are Monsieur Turgot and myself," failed to support him against the intrigues of Marie Antoinette and the court party. Turgot's dismissal from office after two years of power removed the one man who could have saved absolutism in France.

The finances of the government went from bad to worse after the fall of Turgot. His successors in the ministry relied mainly on fresh loans to cover the deficits of the treasury and avert bankruptcy. From the standpoint of French interests Louis XVI committed a fatal error in allowing himself to be persuaded to intervene in the War of American Independence. America was freed; Great Britain was humbled; but the war forced up the public debt by leaps and bounds. When at last it became impossible to borrow more

Turgot's
ministry
of reform,
1774-1776

Financial
policy of
Turgot

Fall of
Turgot

Financial
chaos

money, the king yielded reluctantly to the popular demand for the convocation of the Estates-General. He appealed to the nation for aid, thereby confessing the failure of absolutism.

177. The Estates-General, 1789

The Estates-General, the old feudal assembly of France, had not met for one hundred and seventy-five years.¹ Suddenly awakened from their long slumber, the representatives of the clergy, the nobles, and the Third Estate appeared at Versailles to take counsel with the king. The written instructions drawn up in every part of the country for the guidance of each representative, though not revolutionary in wording, set forth a long list of abuses to be removed. While Louis XVI would have been satisfied with measures to increase the revenues, most Frenchmen wanted thoroughgoing reforms.

Not quite half of the twelve hundred odd members of the Estates-General belonged to the two privileged orders. About two-thirds of the delegates of the Third Estate were members of the legal profession. A few were liberal nobles. Less than a dozen came from the lower classes. As a whole, the Estates-General represented the most prosperous and the most intelligent people of France.

The Third Estate possessed two very competent leaders, in Count Mirabeau and the Abbé Sieyès. The former belonged by birth and the latter by office to the privileged classes, but both gladly accepted election as representatives of the Third Estate. Mirabeau, a born statesman and orator, had a sincere belief in constitutional government. He wished to set up in France a strong monarchy, limited by a constitution after the English model. Sieyès, a cleric more devoted to politics than to theology, had recently stirred all Frenchmen by a remarkable pamphlet entitled *What is the Third Estate?* He answered, "Everything." "What

¹ See pages 210 and 399.

has it been hitherto?" "Nothing." "What does it desire?" "To be something."

The three estates in former days sat as separate chambers and voted by orders. If this usage were now followed, the clergy and the nobility would have two votes to one for the

Organization
of the
Estates-
General

Third Estate. The commons insisted, however, that the new Estates-General no longer represented feudal France, but the united nation. They wished, therefore, that it should organize as a single body, in which the members voted as individuals. Since the Third Estate had been permitted to send twice as many delegates as either the clergy or



MIRABEAU

the nobility, this arrangement would enable it to outvote the privileged orders and carry any reforming measures desired.

The debate over the organization of the Estates-General continued for several weeks and resulted in a deadlock. At last, on the motion of Sieyès, the Third Estate cut the Gordian knot by boldly declaring itself the National Assembly. Then and there it asserted its right to act for the nation as a whole.

The National
Assembly
declared,
June 17,
1789

Representatives of the clergy and nobility might come in if they pleased, but the National Assembly could do without them.

Louis XVI, left to himself, might have been too inert for resistance, but his wife, his two brothers, and the court party persuaded him to make a stand. Troops were now posted before the doors of the hall which had been set apart in the palace of Versailles for the Third Estate. Finding their entrance barred, the

"Tennis-
Court Oath,"
June 20,
1789

undaunted commoners adjourned to a building nearby, which had been used as a tennis court. Here they took a solemn oath never to separate, but to continue to meet, under all circumstances, until they had drawn up a constitution for France. This resolute action brought to their side the repre-

sentatives of the lower clergy (*curés*), who were inclined to the popular cause.

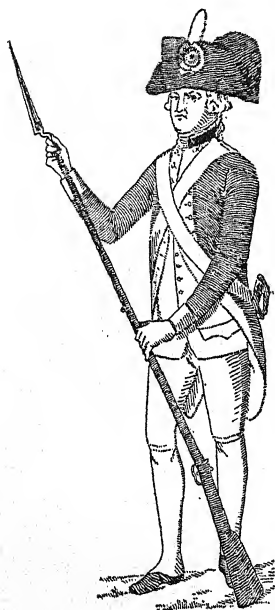
But the king persisted in his opposition. Summoning the three es-

The
National
Assembly
recognized,
June 27,
1789

tates before him, he made known the royal will that they should deliberate apart. The higher clergy and no-

bility immediately withdrew to their separate chambers. The Third Estate, with its clerical supporters, did not stir. When the master of ceremonies repeated the king's command, Mirabeau retorted, "We are assembled by the national will; force alone shall disperse us." Louis XVI did not dare to use force, especially after many of the nobles, headed by the Marquis de Lafayette, joined the commoners. The king now gave way

and requested the rest of the clerical and noble representatives to unite with the Third Estate in the National Assembly.



A SOLDIER OF THE NATIONAL
GUARD

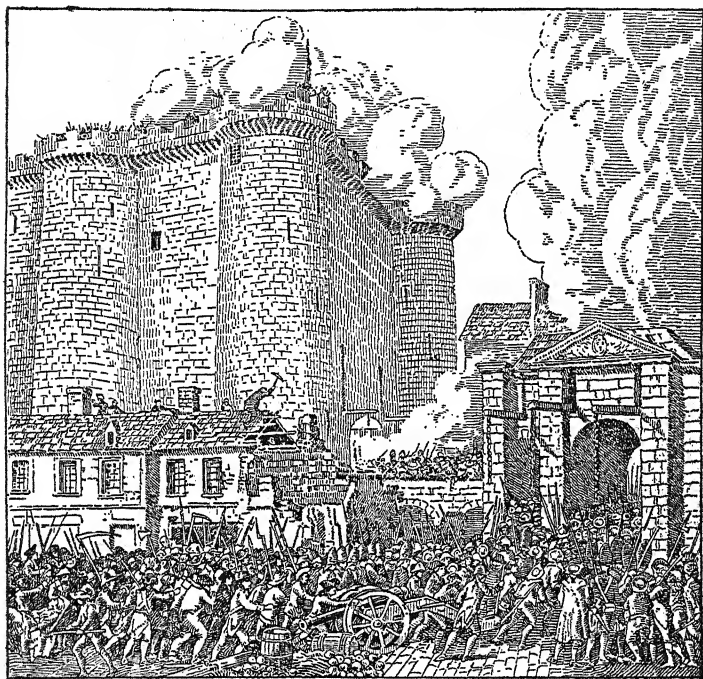
178. Outbreak of the French Revolution

Thus far we have been following a constitutional movement confined to the upper and middle classes of French society.

Revo-
lutionary
Paris

Now, however, the lower classes began to make their influence felt upon the course of events, first in Paris and later in the provinces. Paris was a manufacturing center, with a large population of artisans, very

poor, often idle, and inclined to be turbulent. Their ranks were swelled at this time by crowds of peasants, whom the bad harvests and severe winter of the preceding year had driven into the city. Here, in fact, were all the elements of a dangerous



THE STORMING OF THE BASTILLE

A picture by a contemporary artist. Lafayette sent the key of the Bastille to Washington at Mount Vernon, with these words: "It is a tribute which I owe as a son to my adopted father, as an aide-de-camp to my general, as a missionary of liberty to its patriarch."

mob, on whose ignorance and passion reformers, agitators, and demagogues could play what tunes they willed.

Soon came ominous news. Louis XVI had hardly accepted the National Assembly before he changed his mind and determined to dissolve that body. A large number of troops, mainly German and Swiss regiments in the service of France, were massed near Paris,

Fall of the
Bastille,
July 14,
1789

obviously with intent of awing, perhaps seizing, the representatives of the people. It was then that the Parisians made the cause of the National Assembly their own. Rioting broke out in the capital, and for several days anarchy prevailed. Reinforced by deserters from the army, the mob attacked and captured the Bastille, a fortress where political offenders had been often confined on *lettres de cachet*. The Bastille at this time contained only seven prisoners, all there for just cause, but it symbolized the tyranny of the Old Régime and its fall created an immense sensation throughout France and in other countries. Louis XVI, on hearing the news, exclaimed, "Why this is a revolt!" "No, Sire," replied a courtier, "this is a revolution."

Now that Paris was practically independent of royal control, the more prominent and well-to-do citizens took steps to secure an orderly government. They formed a municipal council, or Commune, made up of representatives elected from the different wards of the city. A militia force, called the National Guard, was also organized, and the popular Lafayette was selected as commander. Meanwhile, Louis XVI had seen the necessity of submission. He withdrew the troops, got rid of his reactionary ministers, and paid a visit of reconciliation to the Parisians. In token of his good intentions, the king put on a red, white and blue cockade, red and blue being the colors of Paris and white that of the Bourbons. This was to be the new tricolor of France.

The example set by Paris was quickly copied by the provinces. Many cities and towns set up communes and formed national guards. In the country districts the peasants sacked and burned those local bastilles, the *châteaux*, taking particular pains to destroy the legal documents by which the nobles exercised their manorial rights. Monasteries, also, were often pillaged. The government showed itself unable to maintain order or to protect life and property. Troops in the garrison towns refused to obey their officers and fraternized with the populace. Royal

The
Commune
and the
National
Guard

Revolution
in the
provinces

officials quitted their posts. Courts of justice ceased to act. Public works stopped, and the collection of taxes became almost impossible. From end to end of France the Old Régime collapsed amid universal confusion.

The revolution in the provinces led directly to one of the



THE DESTRUCTION OF FEUDALISM

A contemporary cartoon representing the French people hammering to pieces with their flails all the emblems of the feudal system, including the knight's armor and sword and the bishop's crosier and miter.

most striking scenes of French history. On the night of August 4-5, while the National Assembly had under consideration measures for stilling the unrest in France, one **August 4-5,** of the nobles — a relative of Lafayette — urged **1789** that it remove the feudal burdens still resting on the peasantry. Then, amid hysterical enthusiasm, noble after noble and cleric after cleric arose in his place to propose equality of taxation, the repeal of the game laws, the freeing of such serfs as were still to be found in France, the abolition of tithes, tolls, and pensions, and the extinction of all other ancient privileges. A decree "abolishing the feudal system" was passed by the National Assembly within the next few days and was signed by

the king. The reforming measures which Turgot labored in vain to secure thus became accomplished facts. It is well to remember, however, that the Old Régime had already fallen in France; the decree of the National Assembly did little more than formally outlaw it.

Times were hard in Paris. Employment was scarce, and food was dear. The discontent grew in proportion, especially **October 5-6, 1789** among the women, who had to stand in line many hours at a time waiting to purchase a few loaves of bread at the bakeries. Rumor accused the court and the aristocrats of deliberately causing famine, nay, of plotting to overturn the revolution by force. A newspaper published the statement—quite unfounded—that during a banquet of army officers at Versailles the national cockade had been insulted and trampled under foot. Here was the spark which caused the explosion. On October 5 a mob of hungry women, armed with every sort of weapon, even scythes and pitchforks, set out for Versailles to demand bread of the king. It was a strange procession that straggled along the twelve miles of highway from Paris to Versailles; an eyewitness declares that it reminded him of an army of crusaders. Early in the morning of October 6, some of the women made their way into the palace, killed the sentinels, and entered the apartments of Marie Antoinette, who escaped with difficulty. Only the arrival of Lafayette at the head of the National Guard prevented further rioting and bloodshed. The women were finally quieted by the king's promise to remove to Paris with his wife and children. That afternoon the royal family set out on their sorrowful journey to the capital, accompanied by a mob which yelled, "We are bringing the baker, the baker's wife, and the baker's little boy." Henceforth Louis XVI lodged in the palace of the Tuileries, where he found himself, in effect, a prisoner in the hands of the Parisians.

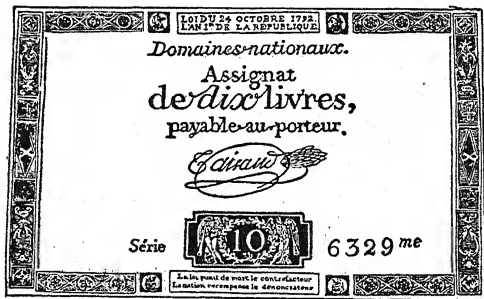
179. The National Assembly, 1789-1791

The National Assembly declared itself inseparable from the king's person and followed him to Paris. It remained in session

there for the next two years. One of its most important undertakings was the reform of local government. During the eight centuries between Hugh Capet and Louis XVI, France had been built up by the gradual welding together of a number of provinces varying greatly in size, and each with its own customs and laws. The old provincial distinctions now gave way to a division of the country into eighty-three departments, approximately uniform in size and population and named after some river, mountain, or other natural feature. A map of contemporary France still shows these departments.

The National Assembly next undertook a reorganization of the Church. It ordered that all Church lands should be declared national property, broken up into small lots, and sold to the peasants at a low price. By way of partial indemnity, the government agreed to pay fixed salaries to the clergy. All appointments to ecclesiastical positions were taken from the hands of king and pope and placed in the hands of the people. The electors of a department chose their bishop, and those of a district their *curé*. The National Assembly also suppressed the monasteries, but undertook to pension the monks and nuns.

The desperate condition of the finances led to the adoption of a desperate remedy. The National Assembly passed a decree authorizing the issue of notes to the value of four hundred million francs on the security of the former Church lands. To emphasize this security the title of *assignats* was given to the notes. If the issue of *assignats*,



AN ASSIGNAT

could have been restricted, as Mirabeau desired, to less than the value of the property pledged to pay for them, they might have been a safe means of raising a revenue; but the continued needs of the treasury led to their multiplication in enormous quantities. Then followed the inevitable consequences of paper money inflation. Gold and silver disappeared from circulation, while prices rose so high that the time came when it needed a basket of *assignats* to buy a pair of boots. The *assignats* in the end became practically worthless. The finances of the government, instead of being bettered by this resort to paper money, were left in a worse state than before.

The National Assembly gave to France in 1791 the written constitution which had been promised in the "Tennis-Court Oath."¹ The constitution established a legislative assembly of a single chamber with wide powers over every branch of the government.

The hereditary monarchy was retained, but it was a monarchy in little more than name. The king could not dissolve the legislature, and he had only a "suspensive veto" of its measures. A bill passed by three successive legislatures became a law even without his consent. Mirabeau wished to accord the king greater authority, but the National Assembly distrusted Louis XVI as a possible traitor to the Revolution and took every precaution to render him harmless. The distrust which the *bourgeois* framers of the constitution felt toward the lower classes was shown by the clause limiting the privilege of voting to those who paid taxes equivalent to at least three days' wages. Almost one-half of the citizens, some of them peasants but most of them artisans, were thus excluded from the franchise.

The National Assembly prefixed to the constitution a Declaration of the Rights of Man, rights which for the most part had been ignored or violated under the Old Régime. No person, so ran the Declaration, shall be arrested or imprisoned except according to law. Any one accused of wrongdoing shall be presumed

The Con-
stitution of
1791

Declaration
of the
Rights of
Man

¹ Hence the National Assembly is also called the Constituent Assembly.

innocent until he is adjudged guilty. Every citizen may freely speak, write, and print his opinions, subject only to responsibility for the abuse of this freedom. All the citizens have the right to decide what taxes shall be paid and how they are to be used. No one shall be deprived of his property, except for public purposes, and then only after indemnification. These and other clauses of the Declaration of Rights followed the precedents set in some of the constitutions of the American states. The document, as a whole, formed a working program of revolution in France.

180. The First French Republic, 1792

The first phase of the French Revolution was now ended. Up to this point it has appeared rather as a reformation, which abolished the Old Régime and substituted a limited monarchy for absolutism and divine right. Many men believed that under the new constitution France would henceforth enjoy the blessings of peace and prosperity. They were quickly undeceived. The French people, unfortunately, lacked all training in the difficult art of self-government. Between their political incapacity and the opposition of the reactionaries and the radicals, the revolutionary movement drifted into its second and more violent phase, which was marked by the establishment of a republic.

Phases of
the revo-
lution

The reactionaries consisted, in part, of nobles who had hastily quitted the country upon the outbreak of the Revolution. Their emigration continued for several years, until thousands of voluntary exiles (*émigrés*) had gathered along the northern and eastern frontier of France. Headed by the king's two brothers, the count of Provence¹ and the count of Artois,² they kept up an unceasing intrigue against the Revolution and even organized a little army to recover by force their titles, privileges, and property.

The
émigrés

¹ Afterwards Louis XVIII (1814-1824).

² Afterwards Charles X (1824-1830).

Had the reactionaries included only the *émigrés* beyond the borders, they might not have proved very troublesome.

The non-juring clergy But they found support in France. The Constitution of 1791 had made the clergy state officials, elected by the people and paid by the government.

Such an arrangement could not be acceptable to sincere Roman Catholics, because it separated the Church from papal control. The pope, who had already protested against the confiscation of Church property and the dissolution of the monasteries, forbade the clergy to take the oath of fidelity to the new constitution. Nearly all the bishops and perhaps two-thirds of the *curés* obeyed him; these were called the non-juring clergy. Until this time the parish priests had generally supported the revolutionary movement. They now turned against it, carrying with them their peasant flocks. The Roman Catholic Church, with all its spiritual influence, was henceforth arrayed against the French Revolution.

To Louis XVI, practically a prisoner in the Tuileries, the new order of things could not but be most distasteful. The constitution, soon to be put into effect, seemed to him a violation of his rights as a monarch, while the treatment of the clergy deeply offended him as a Christian. As long as Mirabeau lived, that statesman had always been able to dissuade the king from seeking foreign help, but Mirabeau's premature death deprived him of his only wise adviser. Louis's opposition to the revolutionists was strengthened by Marie Antoinette, who keenly felt the degradation of her position.

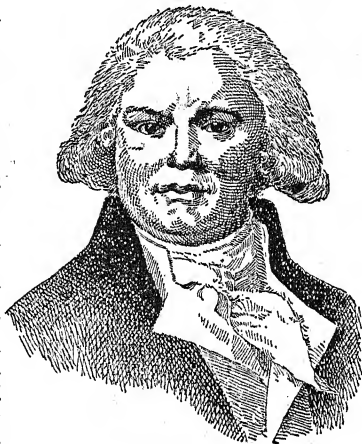
Opposition of Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette The king and queen finally resolved to escape by flight. Disguising themselves, Marie Antoinette as a Russian lady and Louis as her valet, they drove away in the evening from the Tuileries and made straight for the eastern frontier. But Louis exposed himself needlessly on the way; recognition followed; and at Varennes, near the border, excited crowds stopped the royal fugitives and turned them back to Paris. This ill-starred adventure greatly weakened the loyalty of the French people

Flight of the king and queen, June 20-21, 1791

for Louis XVI, while Marie Antoinette, the "Austrian woman," became more detested than ever.

Besides the reactionaries who opposed the Revolution, there were the radicals who thought that it had not gone far enough. The radicals secured their chief following among the poverty-stricken workingmen of the cities, The Radicals those without property and with no steady employment.

Of all classes in France, the urban proletariat,¹ as they may henceforth be called, seemed to have gained the least by the Revolution. No chance of future betterment lay before them, for the *bourgeois* Constitution of 1791 expressly provided that only tax-payers could vote or hold public office. The proletariat might well believe that, in spite of all high-sounding phrases about the "rights of man," they had merely exchanged one set of masters for another, the rule of the privileged classes for that of the *bourgeoisie*.



DANTON

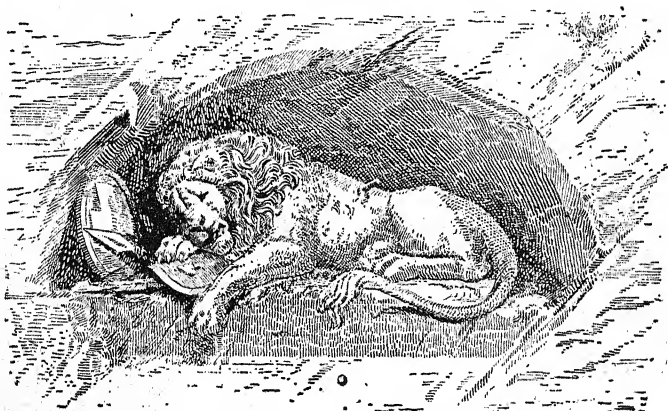
Presumably a portrait by J. L. David, painted either in 1792 or 1793. In the possession of Dr. Robinet.

The radical movement naturally centered in Paris, the brain and nerve center of France. It was fostered by inflammatory newspapers and pamphlets, by the bitter speeches Radical propaganda of popular orators, and especially by numerous political clubs. The control of these clubs lay largely in the hands of young lawyers, who embraced the cause of the masses and soon became as hostile to the *bourgeoisie* as to the aristocracy. The famous Jacobin Club, so named from a former monastery of the Jacobin monks where its meetings were held,

¹ From Latin *proles*, "offspring," "progeny" — referring to those whose only wealth is in their children.

had hundreds of branches throughout France, all engaged in radical propaganda.

The leaders of the Jacobin Club included two men who were destined to influence profoundly the subsequent course of the Revolution. One was Danton, who sprang from the middle class. Highly cultivated, a successful advocate at the bar, Danton with his loud voice and forcible gestures could arouse his audience to wild enthusiasm. The



THE LION OF LUCERNE

This celebrated work at Lucerne in Switzerland was designed by the Danish sculptor Bertel Thorwaldsen and was dedicated in 1821. It represents a dying lion, which, pierced by a lance, still guards with its paw the Bourbon lilies. The figure is hewn out of the natural sandstone. The monument commemorates the officers and men of the Swiss Guard who were slain in 1792, while defending the Tuileries against the Parisian mob.

other was Robespierre, who was also a middle-class lawyer with democratic sympathies. This austere, precise little man, whose youth had been passed in poverty, early became a disciple of Rousseau and the oracle of the Jacobins. Mirabeau once prophesied of Robespierre that he would "go far; he believes all that he says." We shall soon see how far he went.

A new influence began at this point to affect the course of the French Revolution. Continental monarchs, however

"enlightened," felt no sympathy with a popular movement which threatened the stability of their own thrones. If absolutism and divine right were overthrown in France, they might before long be overthrown in Austria and Prussia. The Austrian emperor, a brother of Marie Antoinette, now joined with the Prussian king in a statement to the effect that the restoration of the old monarchy in France formed an object of "common interest to all sovereigns of Europe." The two rulers also agreed to prepare their armies for active service abroad. Their announced intention to suppress the Revolution by force provoked the French people into a declaration of war. Though directed only at the Austrian emperor, it also brought his Prussian ally into the field against France.

War with
Austria
and Prussia
April, 1792



SEAL OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC,
1792-1804

The French began the contest with immense enthusiasm. They regarded themselves as armed apostles to spread the gospel of freedom throughout Europe. But their troops, poorly organized and disciplined, suffered severe reverses, one result of which was further to exasperate public opinion against the monarchy.

The up-
rising of
August 10,
1792

Suspicion pointed to Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette as the traitors who were secretly revealing the French plan of campaign to the enemies of France. Suspicion passed into hatred, when the allied commander-in-chief, as he led his army across the frontier, issued a proclamation threatening Paris with destruction if the slightest harm befell the royal family. At this juncture the Jacobins under Danton organized an uprising of the Parisian proletariat. The mob stormed the Tuileries,

massacred the Swiss Guard, and compelled the National Assembly to suspend the king from office. A new assembly, to be called the National Convention, was summoned to prepare another constitution for France.

Then followed the next scene in the bloody drama. The Commune of Paris, now controlled by the Jacobins, emptied the prisons of suspected royalists and butchered them without mercy. More than one thousand persons perished in the "September massacres." Shortly afterwards the National Convention held its first meetings and by a unanimous vote decreed the abolition of the monarchy. All public documents were henceforth to be dated from September 22, 1792, the beginning of "the first year of the French Republic."

**Proclamation
of the
republic,
September
22, 1792**

181. The National Convention, 1792-1795

The National Convention contained nearly eight hundred members, all republicans, but republicans of diverse shades of opinion. One group was that of the Girondists, so-called because its leaders came from the department of the Gironde. The Girondists represented largely the *bourgeoisie*; they desired a speedy return to law and order. Opposite them sat the far more radical and far more resolute group of Jacobins, who leaned for support upon the turbulent populace of Paris. The majority of the delegates belonged to neither party and voted now on one side and now on the other. Eventually, however, they fell under Jacobin domination.

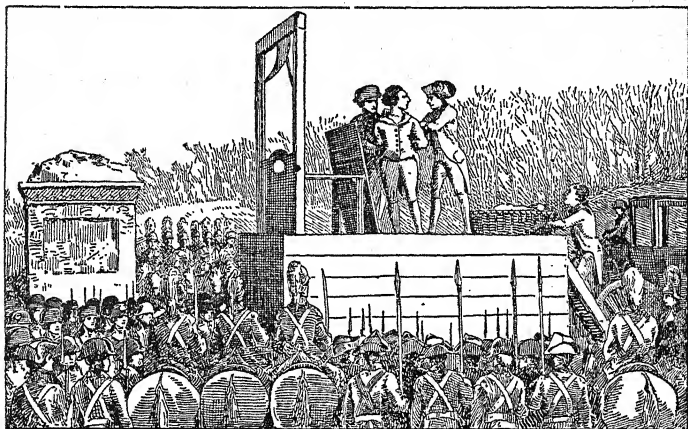
**Parties
in the
National
Convention**

The feud between the two parties broke out in the first days of the National Convention. The Jacobins clamored for the death of Louis XVI as a traitor; most of the Girondists, less convinced of the king's guilt, would have spared his life. Mob influence carried through the assembly, by a small majority, the vote which sent "Citizen Louis Capet" to the guillotine. The king's accusers did not have the evidence, which we now

**Trial and
execution
of Louis
XVI, 1793**

possess, proving that he had been in constant communication with the foreign invaders. His execution was a political measure. "Louis must die," urged Robespierre, "that the country may live." Danton, railing against the enemies of France, could now declare, "We have thrown them as gage of battle the head of a king."

Meanwhile, the tide of foreign invasion receded rapidly.



EXECUTION OF LOUIS XVI

After a contemporary print.

Two days before the inauguration of the republic the French stayed the advance of the allies in the important battle of Valmy. The revolutionary troops then took the offensive and invaded the Austrian Netherlands. Fired by these successes, the National Convention offered the aid of France to all nations which were striving after freedom; in other words, it proposed to propagate the Revolution by force of arms throughout Europe. This was a blow in the face to autocratic rulers and privileged classes everywhere. After the execution of Louis XVI Austria, Prussia, Great Britain, Holland, and Spain leagued together to overthrow republican France.

**Coalition
against
France, 1793**

The republic at the same time was threatened by domestic insurrection. The peasants of La Vendée, a district to the south of the lower Loire, were royalists in feeling and deeply devoted to Roman Catholicism. When an attempt was made to draft them as soldiers, they refused to serve and broke out in open rebellion. The important naval station of Toulon, a royalist center, surrendered to the British. A tremor of revolt also ran through the great cities of Lyons, Marseilles, and Bordeaux, whose *bourgeoisie* resented the radicalism of the Parisian proletariat.

The peril to the republic, without and within, showed the need of a strong central government. The National Convention met this need by selecting twelve of its members to serve as a Committee of Public Safety, in which at first Danton, and later Robespierre, was the leading figure. The committee received almost unlimited authority over the life and property of every one in France. It proceeded to enforce a general levy or conscription, which raised three-quarters of a million men for the national defense. Carnot, another member of the committee, the "organizer of victory" as he came to be called, drilled and disciplined them and sent them forth, singing the *Marseillaise*,¹ to battle.

The mercenary troops of old Europe could not resist the French citizen soldiers, who soon carried the war into enemy territory. The grand coalition dissolved under the shock, and France enlarged her boundaries to include the Austrian Netherlands and that part of Germany lying on the left, or west, bank of the Rhine. Holland was also overrun by the revolutionary armies. The country now became a republic, nominally independent but really subject to French influence.

The Committee of Public Safety likewise dealt effectively with domestic insurrection. It resorted to a policy of terrorism as a means of suppressing the anti-revolutionary elements.

¹ A patriotic song, the words and music of which were composed in 1792 by Rouget de Lisle.

A law was passed which declared "suspect" every noble, every office-holder before the Revolution, every person who had had any dealings with an *émigré*, and every person who could not produce a certificate of citizenship. No one could feel safe under this law. As a wit afterward remarked, all France in those days went about conjugating, "I am suspect, thou art suspect, he is suspect," etc. Special courts were set up in Paris and the provincial cities to try the "suspects" and usually to order them to the guillotine.

Terrorism

France endured the Reign of Terror for over a year. During this time seventeen thousand persons, it has been estimated, were executed under form of law, while many more were massacred without the pretense of a trial. The carnage spread beyond the non-juring clergy and the aristocracy to include the *bourgeoisie* and even many artisans and peasants. Among the distinguished victims at Paris were Marie Antoinette, the sister of Louis XVI, and the principal Girondist leaders. Then the Terror began to consume its own authors. Danton, who had wearied of the bloodshed and counseled moderation, suffered death. "Show my head to the people," he said to the executioner, "they do not see the like every day." The fanatical Robespierre now became the virtual dictator of France. He continued the slaughter for a few months until his enemies in the National Convention secured the upper hand and hurried him without trial to the death to which he had sent so many of his fellow-citizens.

Reign of
Terror,
1793-1794

Robespierre's execution ended the Reign of Terror. The policy of terrorism, however effective in crushing the enemies of the republic, had long since been perverted to party and personal ends. The inevitable reaction against Jacobin tyranny followed. The *bourgeoisie* gained control of the National Convention, which now resumed its task of preparing a constitution for republican France. The new instrument of government provided for a legislature of two chambers and vested the executive authority in a

The Con-
stitution of
1795

Directory of five members, with most of the powers of the former Committee of Public Safety.

Before the constitution went into effect, Paris became the scene of another mob outburst. Royalists and radicals joined forces and advanced to make an attack on the Tuileries, where the National Convention was at that time holding its sessions. Here the rioters met such a cannonade of grape shot that they fled precipitately, leaving many of their number dead in the streets. The man who most distinguished himself as the defender of law and order was the young artillery general, Napoleon Bonaparte.

Napoleon
and the
National
Convention

182. The Directory and Napoleon, 1795-1799

Napoleon Bonaparte was born at Ajaccio, Corsica, in 1769, only a year after that island became a French possession.



NAPOLÉON'S MOTHER

A portrait in the room of Napoleon's birth at Ajaccio.

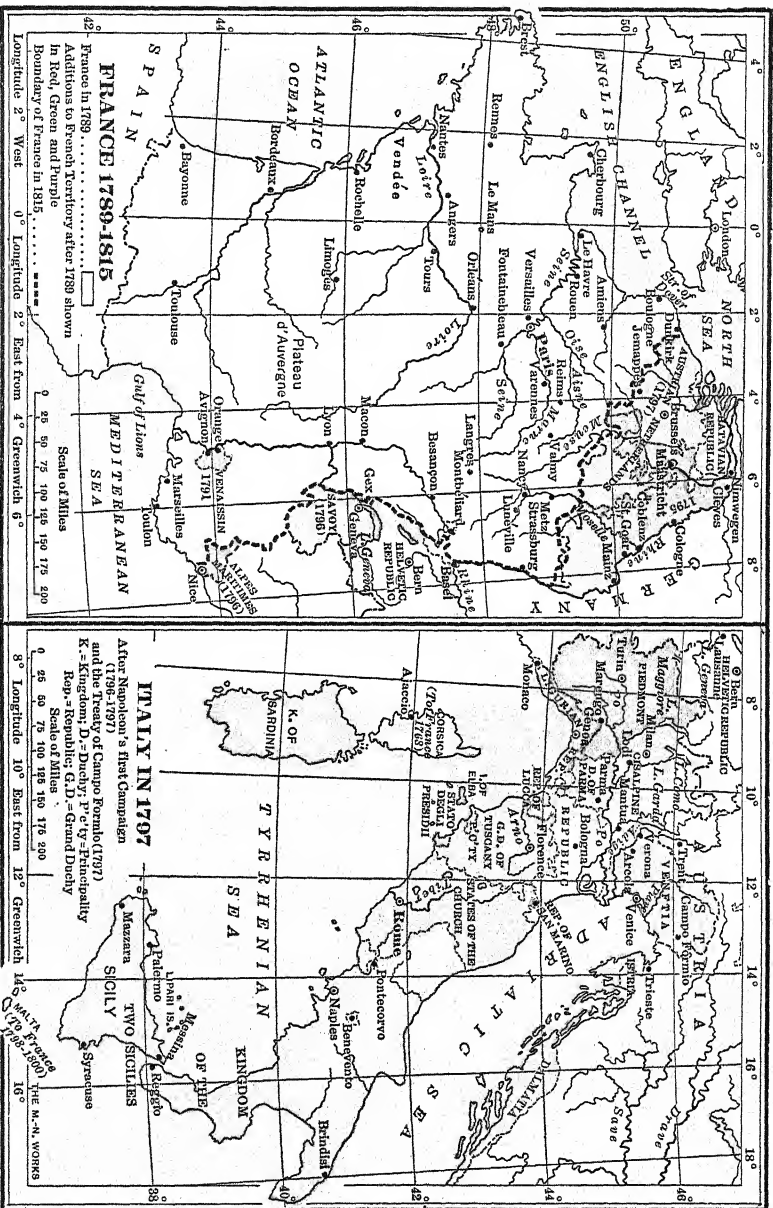
He was the second son of an Italian lawyer of noble birth but decayed

fortunes. Napoleon attended a preparatory school in France and went through the ordinary curriculum with credit, showed proficiency in mathematics, and devoted much of his leisure to reading history. After a brief military training in Paris, he entered an artillery regiment, thus realizing his boyish desire to be a soldier. He was then a youth of only sixteen years, poor, without family influence, and without friends among those in positions of power.

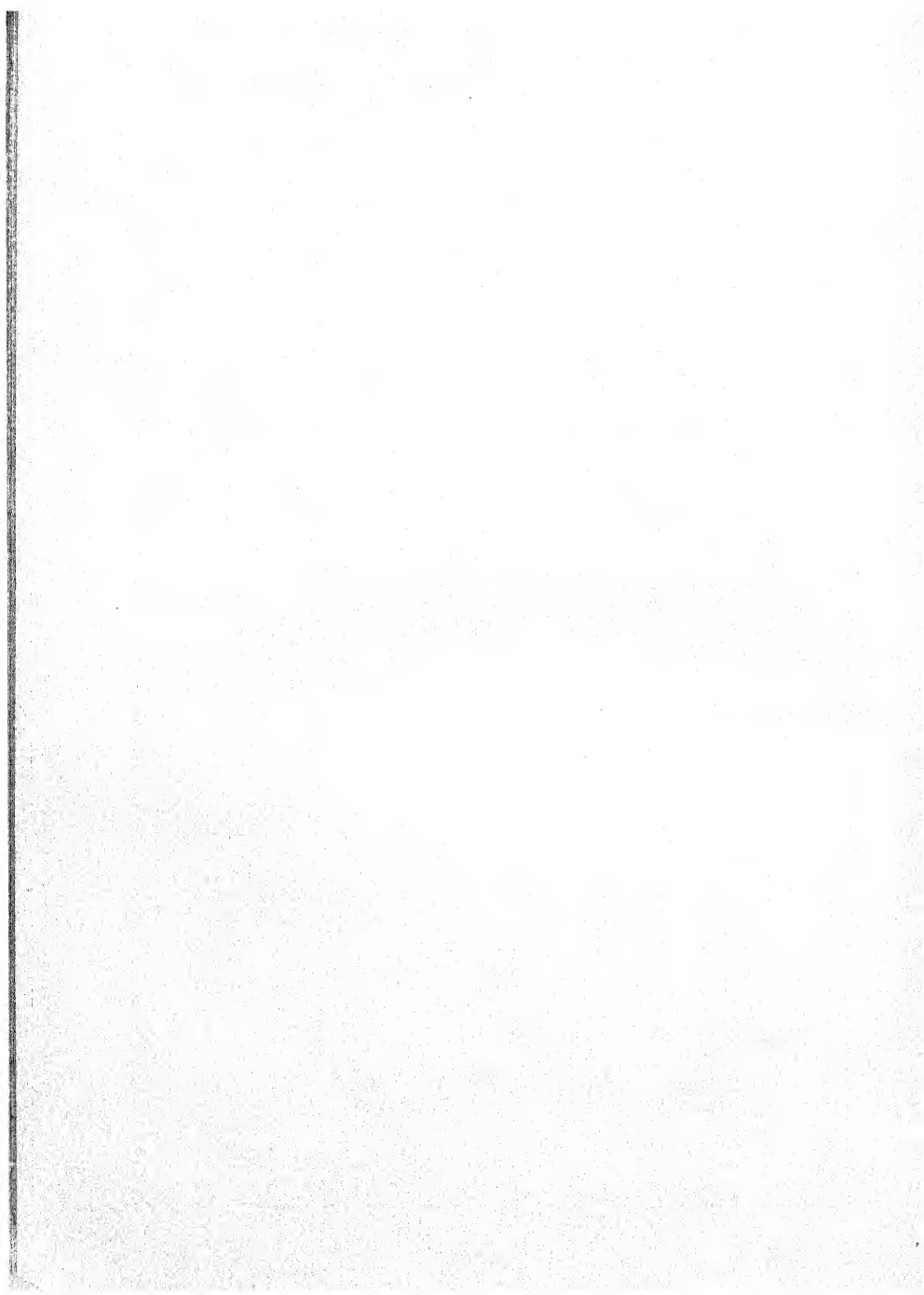
Early life
of Napoleon

Napoleon took a keen interest in the reform movement then stirring France. A devoted admirer of Rousseau's philosophy, he hated all privileges, all aristocracy, and for a time, at least, he became a Jacobin. The Revolution gave him his first opportunities. He commanded the

Rise of
Napoleon



REVOLUTIONARY FRANCE AND ITALY



artillery which compelled the British to evacuate Toulon in 1793 and two years later he helped defend the National Convention against the Parisian mob. Shortly afterwards Carnot, who divined Napoleon's genius, persuaded his colleagues on the Directory to intrust the young man with the command of the French army in Italy.

When the Directory assumed office, France still numbered Great Britain and Austria among her foes. Great Britain could not be attacked, because of the weakness of the French navy, but Austria offered a front vulnerable to an advance both through Germany and Italy. It was Napoleon's task, with a small and shabbily equipped army, to drive the Austrians from their strong positions in Lombardy. He accomplished this task in a campaign of spectacular brilliancy, which only ended when the French were within a hundred miles of Vienna. The Hapsburg emperor, unprepared to withstand a siege of his own capital, then stooped to make terms with the republican general.

Napoleon
in Italy,
1796-1797

Austria ceded to France the Austrian Netherlands, which had already been occupied by the republican armies, agreed to the annexation by France of the Germanic lands west of the Rhine, and recognized the establishment of a sphere of French influence in northern Italy. In return for these concessions, Austria received most of the Venetian territories conquered by Napoleon. Thus passed away the republic of Venice, which had managed through nearly a thousand years to preserve its independence.

Treaty of
Campo
Formio,
1797

Great Britain now remained the only country to contest French supremacy in Europe. Napoleon determined to strike at her through her Oriental possessions. It was necessary, first of all, to wrest Egypt from the Ottoman Turks, for, as Napoleon never tired of asserting, "the power that is master of Egypt is master of India." Napoleon easily persuaded the Directory to give him the command of a strong expedition, which set sail from Toulon and reached Alexandria in safety. The Egyptian campaign

Napoleon
in Egypt,
1798-1799

had hardly begun before Lord Nelson, the British admiral, destroyed most of the French fleet at the battle of the Nile, thus severing the communications of the army with France. Napoleon soon overran Egypt, but met a severe check when he



HORATIO, LORD NELSON
National Portrait Gallery, London

A painting by L. F. Abbott of Nelson in 1797. He wears on his breast the Order of the Bath and round his neck suspended by a ribbon the gold medal for the battle of St. Vincent.

carried the war into Syria. Faced by the collapse of his Oriental dreams, he secretly returned to France. Here his highly colored reports of French victories caused him to be greeted as the conqueror of the East.

Affairs had gone badly for France during Napoleon's absence in Egypt.

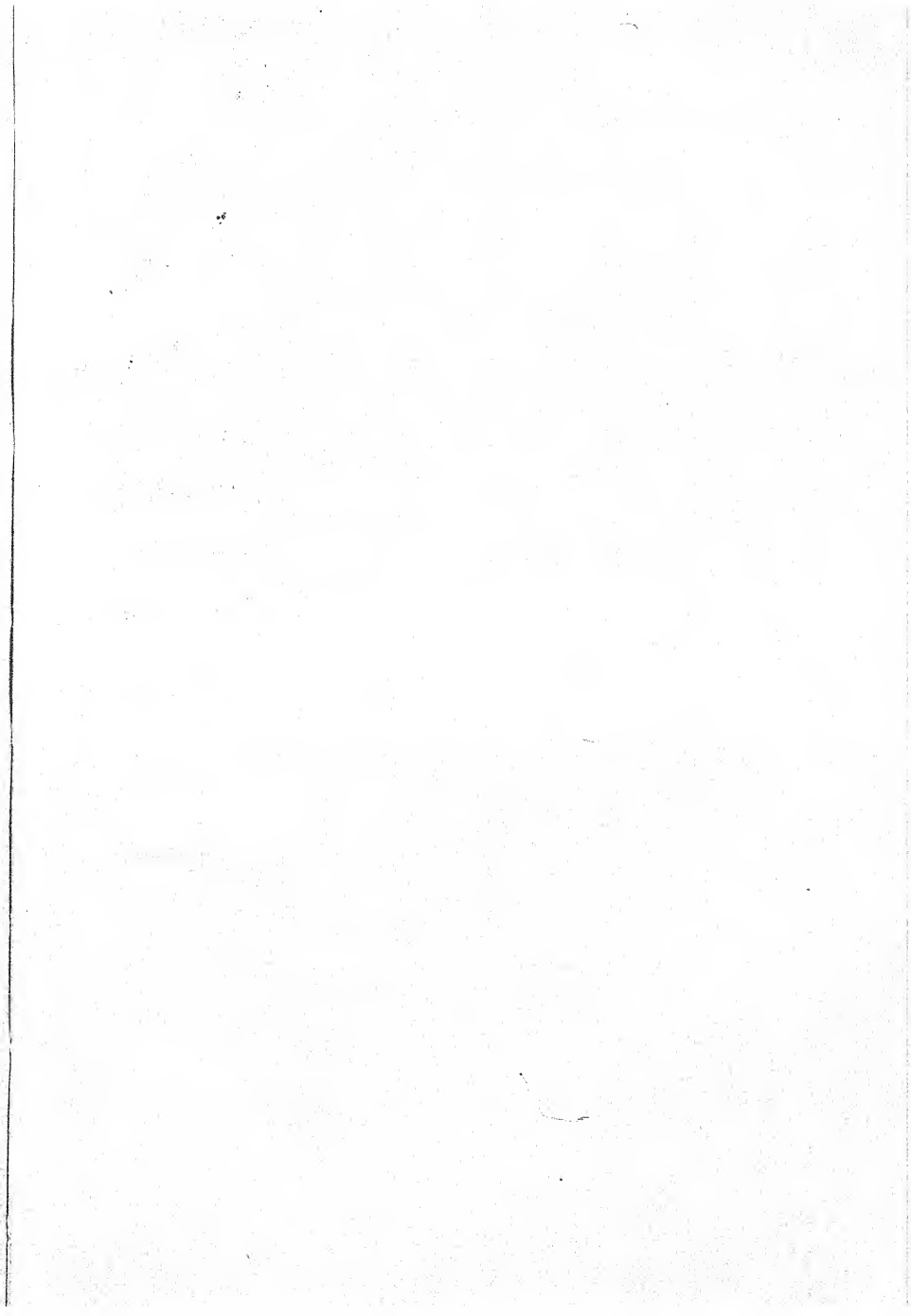
**Overthrow
of the
Directory,
1799**

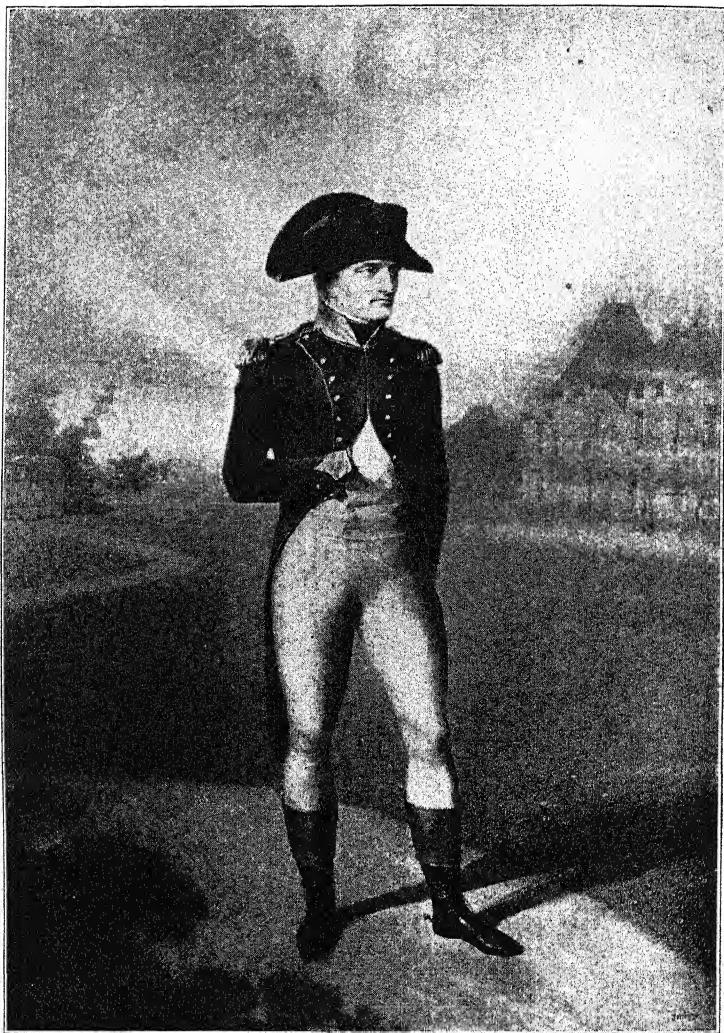
**Great Britain,
Austria, and
Russia** formed

another coalition against the republic, put large armies in the field, and drove the French from Italy. This misfortune sapped the authority of the Directory and turned the eyes

of most Frenchmen to Napoleon as the one man who could guarantee victory abroad and order at home. He took advantage of the situation to plan with Sieyès and other politicians a *coup d'état*.¹ Three of the five directors were induced to resign; the other two were placed under military guard; and the bayonets of Napoleon's devoted soldiers forced the assemblies to dissolve. Napoleon now became virtually master of France. "I found the crown of France lying on the ground," he once remarked, "and I picked it up with the sword." Thus, within little more than ten years from the meeting of the Estates-General at Versailles, popular government gave way to the rule of one man. Militarism supplanted democracy.

¹ French for a "stroke of state."





NAPOLEON AS FIRST CONSUL

After the painting by J.-B. Isabey.
Versailles Gallery.

183. The Consulate, 1799-1804

After the *coup d'état* Napoleon proceeded to frame a constitution. It placed the executive power in the hands of three consuls, appointed for ten years. The First Consul (Napoleon himself) was really supreme. To him belonged the command of the army and navy, the right of naming and dismissing all the chief state officials, and the proposal of all new laws. Napoleon then submitted the constitution to the people for ratification. The popular vote, known as a *plébiscite*, showed an overwhelming majority in favor of the new government.

The Con-
stitution of
1799

The French accepted Napoleon's rule the more readily because of the threatening war-clouds in Italy and on the Rhine. Though Russia soon withdrew from the second coalition, Austria and Great Britain remained in arms against France. Napoleon now led his troops across the Alps by the pass of the Great St. Bernard, a feat rivaling Hannibal's performance, descended unexpectedly into Italy in the rear of the Austrian forces, and won a new triumph at Marengo. A few months later the French general, Moreau, inflicted a crushing defeat on the Austrians at Hohenlinden in Bavaria.¹ These reverses brought the Hapsburg emperor to his knees, and he agreed to a peace which reaffirmed the provisions of the Treaty of Campo Formio.

Marengo
and Hohen-
linden, 1800

Great Britain and France now took steps to end the long war between them. The one country was all-powerful on the sea, the other on the land; but neither could strike a vital blow at the other. The Peace of Amiens, which they concluded, proved to be a truce rather than a peace. However, it enabled the First Consul to drop the sword for a time and take up the less spectacular but more enduring work of administration. He soon showed himself as great in statecraft as in war.

Peace of
Amiens,
1802

¹ Read Campbell's poem, *Hohenlinden*.

One of Napoleon's most important measures put the local government of all France directly under his control. He placed a prefect over every department and a subprefect over every subdivision of a department. Even the mayors of the larger towns and cities owed their positions to the First Consul. This arrangement enabled Napoleon to make his will felt promptly throughout the length and breadth of France. It has survived in that country to the present time.

The same desire for unity and precision led Napoleon to undertake the codification of French law. Voltaire had once remarked that a traveler through France changed his laws as often as he changed his post-horses. This multiplicity of laws — Frankish, Roman, feudal, royal, and revolutionary — was now replaced by a single uniform code to which Napoleon gave his name. The *Code Napoléon* prevails to-day, not only in France, but also in Belgium, Holland, Italy, and western Germany.

Napoleon also healed the religious schism which had divided France since the Revolution. Though not himself an adherent of any form of Christianity, he felt the necessity of conciliating the many French Catholics who remained faithful to Rome. An agreement, called the Concordat, was now drawn up, providing for the restoration of Catholicism as the state religion. Napoleon reserved to himself the appointment of bishops and archbishops, and the pope gave up all claims to the confiscated property of the Church. The Concordat formed a singularly politic measure, for by confirming the peasantry in their possession of the ecclesiastical lands it bound up their interests with those of Napoleon. It continued to regulate the relations between France and the Papacy for more than a century.¹

Nor did Napoleon forget the *émigrés*. A law was soon passed extending amnesty to the nobles who had fled from France. More than forty thousand families now returned to their native land.

¹ From 1802 to 1905.

A long list might be drawn up of the other measures which exhibit Napoleon's qualities as a statesman. Thus, he founded the Bank of France, still one of the leading financial institutions of the world. He established a system of higher education to take the place of the colleges and universities which had been abolished by a decree of the National Convention. Like the Roman emperors, he constructed a system of military highways radiating from the capital city to the remotest departments, in addition to two wonderful Alpine roads connecting France with Italy. Like the Romans, also, he had a taste for building, and many of the monuments which make Paris so splendid a city belong to the Napoleonic era.

Napoleon's
other
measures

184. The First French Empire, 1804

Napoleon's victories in war and his policies in peace gained for him the support of all Frenchmen except the Jacobins, who would not admit that the Revolution had ended, and the royalists, who wished to restore the Bourbon monarchy. When in 1802 the people were asked to vote on the question, "Shall Napoleon Bonaparte be consul for life?" the answering "ayes" numbered over three and a half millions, the "noes" only a few thousands. Another *plébiscite* in 1804 decided, by an equally large majority, that the First Consul should become emperor. Before the high altar of Notre Dame Cathedral at Paris and in the presence of the pope, the modern Charlemagne placed a golden laurel wreath upon his own head and assumed the title of Napoleon I, emperor of the French.

Napoleon,
emperor of
the French

Napoleon also proceeded to erect a monarchy on Italian soil. At Milan he crowned himself king, as Charlemagne had done, with the "Iron Crown" of the Lombards. North Italy thus became practically an annex of France.

Napoleon,
king of
Italy

The emperor-king set up again at the Tuileries the etiquette and ceremonial of the Old Régime. Already he had estab-

lished the Legion of Honor to reward those who most industriously served him. Now he created an imperial nobility. His relatives and ministers became princes, dukes, and counts; his ablest generals became marshals of France. "My titles," Napoleon declared,

The
imperial
glory

"are a sort of civic crown; one can win them through one's own efforts."

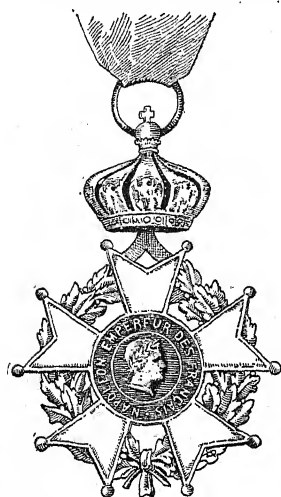
France, intoxicated with the imperial glory, forgot that she had

The
imperial
despotism

come under the rule of one man. What hostile criticism Frenchmen

might have leveled against Napoleon was stifled by the secret police, who arrested and imprisoned hundreds of persons obnoxious to the emperor.

The censorship of books and newspapers prevented any expression of public opinion. Many journals were suppressed; the remainder were allowed to publish only articles approved by the government. Even the schools and churches were made pillars of the new order, and Napoleon went so far as to prepare a catechism setting forth the duty of good Christians to love, respect, and obey their emperor. In all



CROSS OF THE LEGION
OF HONOR

Instituted by Napoleon in 1802; given to both soldiers and civilians for distinguished services to the state. In the present order of the French Republic the symbolical head of the republic appears in the center and a laurel wreath replaces the imperial crown.

these ways he established a despotism as unqualified as that of Louis XIV.

185. Napoleon at War with Europe, 1805-1807

The wars of the French Revolution, beginning in a conflict between democracy and monarchy, gradually became a means of gratifying the French lust for territorial expansion. With the advent of Napoleon they appeared still more clearly as wars of conquest. The "successor of Charlemagne," who carried the Roman

The
Napoleonic
wars

eagles on his military standards, dreamed of universal sovereignty. Supreme in France, he would also be supreme in Europe. No lasting peace was possible with such a man, unless the European nations submitted tamely to his will. They would not submit, and as a result the Continent for ten years was drenched with blood.

Austria in the revolutionary wars had been the chief opponent of France; in the wars of Napoleon Great Britain became his most persistent and relentless enemy. That island-kingdom, which had defeated the grandiose schemes of Philip II and Louis XIV, could never consent to the creation of a French empire dominating western Europe. To preserve the European balance of power Great Britain formed coalition after coalition, using her money, her ships, and her soldiers unsparingly, and at length successfully, in the effort.

Hostility of
Great
Britain to
Napoleon



A NAPOLEONIC MEDAL

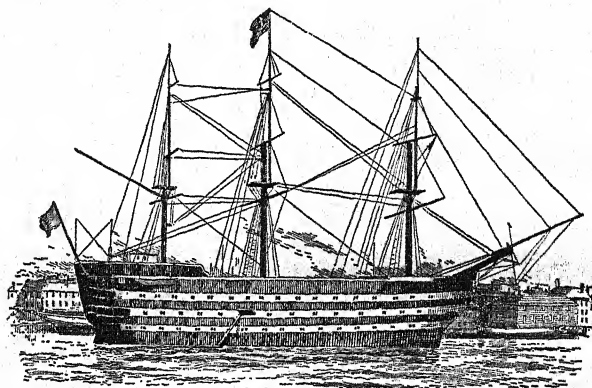
A medal prepared by Napoleon to be issued at London in honor of his expected triumph. It represents Hercules overthrowing a merman and bears the legend *Frapee à Londres*—"Struck in London"—1804. After a cast in the British Museum.

The Peace of Amiens lasted little over a year. The war between Great Britain and France being then renewed, Napoleon made every preparation to overthrow "perfidious Albion." He collected an army and a flotilla of flat-bottomed boats near Boulogne, apparently intending to "jump the ditch," as he called the Channel, and lead his soldiers to London. If this was ever his intention, it became impossible of accomplishment after Lord Nelson's victory off Cape Trafalgar, over the combined French and Spanish fleets. Nelson received a mortal wound in the action, but he died with the knowledge that his country would henceforth remain in undisputed control of the seas.

Trafalgar,
1805

Meanwhile, the British prime minister, William Pitt (son of the earl of Chatham), had succeeded in forming still another coalition. Great Britain, Austria, Russia, and Sweden came together with the declared purpose of forcing France back to her old territorial limits. Before they could strike a blow, Napoleon suddenly broke up his camp at Boulogne, moved swiftly into Germany, captured

Ulm and
Austerlitz,
1805



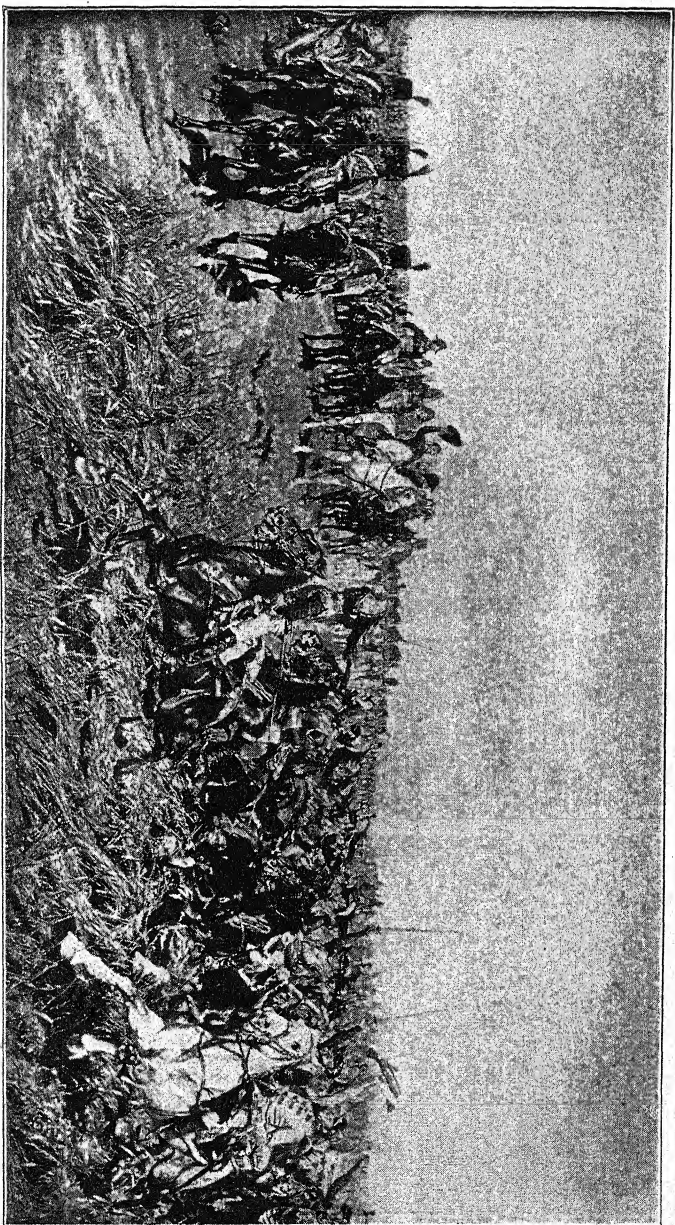
THE "VICTORY"

Nelson's flagship at the battle of Trafalgar. Now moored in Portsmouth Harbor, England.

an entire Austrian army at Ulm, and entered Vienna. These successes were followed by the celebrated battle of Austerlitz, a masterpiece of strategy, at which Napoleon with inferior numbers shattered the Austro-Russian forces. With his capital lost, his territory occupied, his armies destroyed, the Hapsburg emperor once more consented to an ignominious peace. The Venetian lands which Austria acquired by the Peace of Campo Formio, were now added to Napoleon's kingdom of Italy.

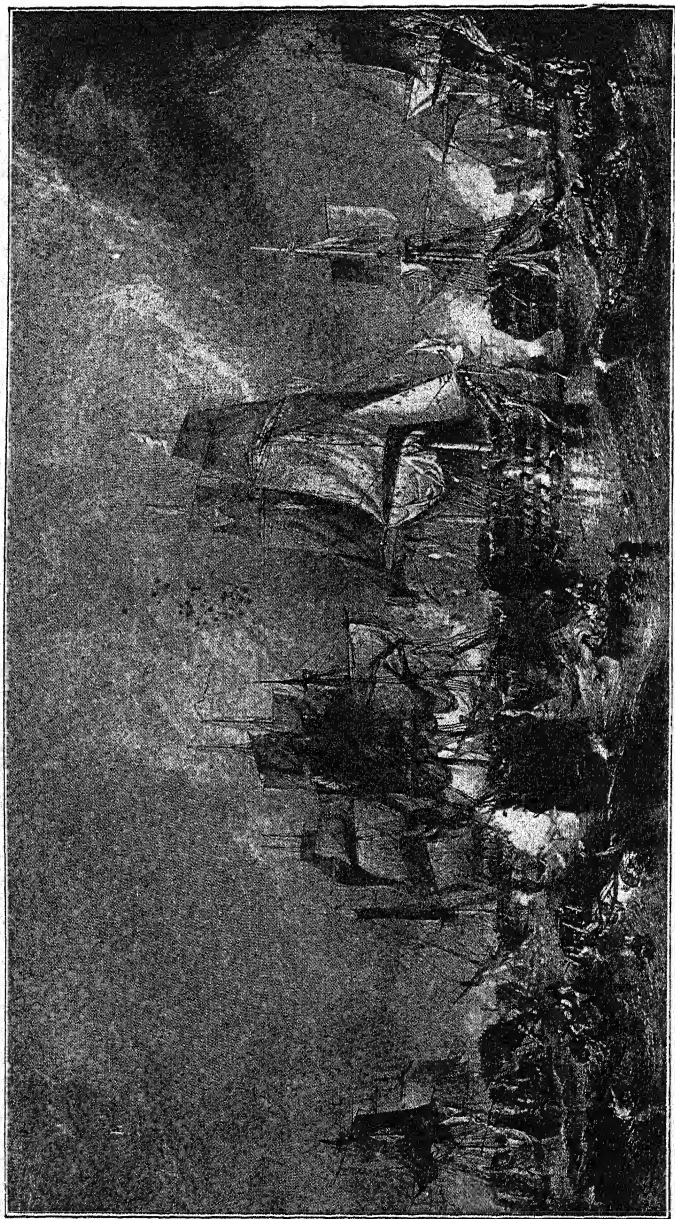
Prussia was next to feel the mailed fist of Napoleon. Relying upon the help of Saxony and Russia, she attempted to stay his victorious progress, only to suffer the loss of two armies in the double battle of Jena. Napoleon soon entered Berlin in triumph. Russia still

Jena, 1806,
and Fried-
land, 1807



“1807”

A picture by Meissonier of the battle of Friedland. Napoleon is shown seated on his famous white charger and surrounded by his staff. As the cuirassiers advance to the attack, each horseman rises in the saddle and salutes the emperor. Soldiers of the “Old Guard,” wearing the grenadier caps and white breeches, are seen drawn up in the rear. *Metroplitan Museum of Art, New York.*



THE BATTLE OF TRAFALGAR
After the painting by W. C. Stanfield.

remained formidable, until a bad defeat at Friedland induced the tsar, Alexander I, to make overtures for peace.

The two emperors met on a raft in the middle of the river Niemen at Tilsit and concluded a bargain for the partition of Europe. The tsar agreed to throw over his allies ^{Peace of} and allow Napoleon a free hand in the West. ^{Tilsit, 1807} Napoleon permitted the tsar to seize Finland from Sweden and promised French aid in expelling the Turks from Europe. When, however, the tsar asked for the Turkish capital, Napoleon exclaimed, "Constantinople! Never! That would be the mastery of the world."

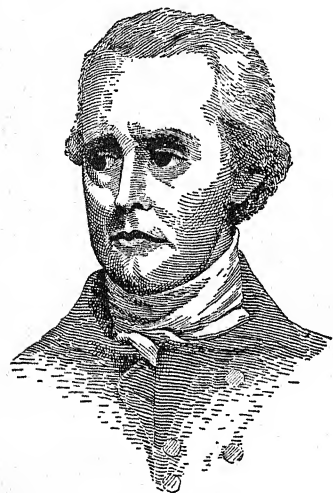
No sovereign in modern times was ever so powerful as Napoleon after Tilsit. If he had failed on the sea, he had won complete success on the land, and the triumphs of ^{The} Ulm, of Austerlitz, of Jena, and of Friedland hid ^{Napoleonic} from view the disaster of Trafalgar. ^{armies} Napoleon's victories are explained only in part by his mastery of the art of war. The emperor inherited the splendid citizen-soldiery of the revolutionary era, a whole nation under arms and filled with the idea of carrying "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity" throughout Europe. The hired troops of the absolute monarchies, on the contrary, had little enthusiasm for their cause. Slight wonder that in conflict with them Napoleon's legions always gained the day.

186. The Napoleonic Reorganization of Europe

Napoleon at the zenith of his power ruled directly over an empire that was much more extensive than the former French kingdom. During the years which followed the ^{Imperial} Peace of Tilsit, he annexed Holland, all the Ger- ^{France} man coast as far as Denmark, what remained of the States of the Church, including Rome, and the Illyrian provinces east of Italy. Imperial France touched the Baltic on the north, and on the south she faced the Adriatic.

Beyond the empire stood a belt of dependent states. Northern Italy, including Lombardy and the ancient possessions of Venice, formed a separate kingdom, held by Napoleon himself,

and administered by his stepson, Eugène Beauharnais.¹ His brother Joseph governed in central and southern Italy (the kingdom of Naples). Switzerland was a vassal republic ruled by Napoleon with the title of Mediator. The sections of Polish territory which Prussia and Austria had seized in the second and third partitions went to form the



WILLIAM PITT, THE YOUNGER

After a painting by John Hoppner in the possession of Lord Rosebery.

Grand Duchy of Warsaw; not, however, under a Polish ruler, but under Napoleon's new ally, the king of Saxony. "Roll up the map of Europe," William Pitt had cried, when he heard the news of Austerlitz, "it will not be needed these ten years."

Napoleon's power in central Europe rested upon the Confederation of the Rhine. This organization included Bavaria, Baden, and Würtemberg, and in its final form all the German states except Austria and Prussia. As sovereign of the league, under the title of Protector, Napoleon disposed of

its military forces and conducted its foreign relations.

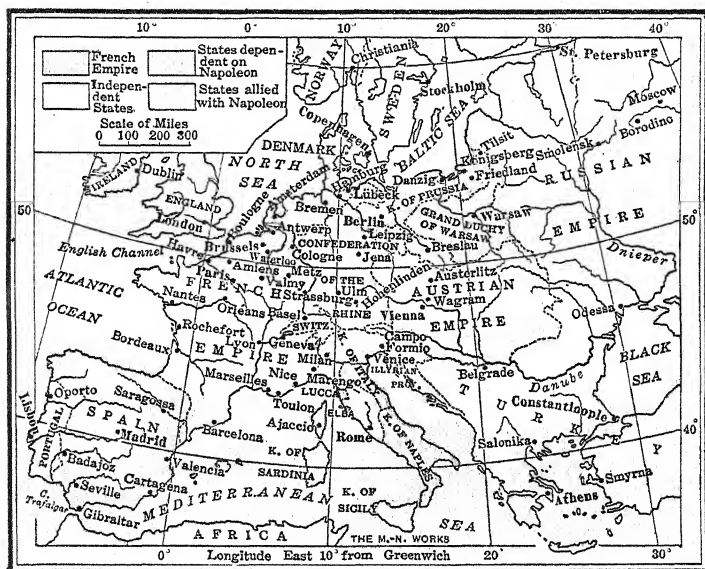
The formation of the Confederation of the Rhine gave the death-blow to the Holy Roman Empire. That venerable institution, which went back to Otto the Great and Charlemagne, had by this time become little more than a name, an empty form, a shadow without substance. When Napoleon declared that he would recognize it no longer, the Hapsburg ruler laid down the crown and contented himself with the title of emperor of Austria.

**Extinction
of the Holy
Roman
Empire, 1806**

Almost all the European states not actually dependent on

¹ Son of Napoleon's wife, Joséphine, by her first husband.

Napoleon were allied with him. They included Spain, which subsequently became a dependency, Denmark, Norway, the kingdom of Prussia, now reduced to about a half of its former size, and the weakened Austrian Empire. But Great Britain, mistress of the seas, still held out against the master of the Continent.



FIRST FRENCH EMPIRE, 1812 A.D.

187. The Continental System

The failure of Napoleon's Egyptian expedition, as a result of the battle of the Nile, prevented him from striking at Great Britain through her possessions in the East. His Economic hope of invading her vanished at Trafalgar. His warfare efforts to destroy her commerce by sending out innumerable privateers to prey upon it were foiled when British merchantmen sailed in convoys under the protection of ships of war. One alternative remained. If British manufacturers could be deprived of their Continental markets and British ship-owners

and sailors of their carrying trade, it might be possible to compel the "nation of shopkeepers"¹ to make peace with him on his own terms.

Napoleon's extraordinary successes on land enabled him to devise a scheme for the strangulation of Great Britain. By two decrees issued at Berlin and Milan he placed that country under a commercial interdict. British ships and goods were to be excluded from France and her dependencies, while neutral vessels sailing from any British port were to be seized by French warships or privateers.

Berlin and
Milan
decrees,
1806-1807

Napoleon endeavored to enforce these decrees in the French Empire, the Italian kingdom, the Confederation of the Rhine, and the Grand Duchy of Warsaw. Russia and Prussia agreed to enforce them by the terms of the Peace of Tilsit. At one time or another all the states of Europe, except Great Britain and Turkey, came into the Continental System.

Extent
of the
Continental
System

The British government replied to the Berlin and Milan decrees by various Orders in Council, which forbade neutral ships from trading with France, her dependencies, or her allies under penalty of capture. As Napoleon sought to exclude Great Britain from Continental markets, so that country sought to shut out Napoleon from maritime commerce. The sea-power of Great Britain made it possible for her to blockade the Continent with some degree of effectiveness.

The Orders
in Council

Napoleon, on the other hand, could not make the Continental System really effective. British merchants always managed to smuggle large quantities of goods into the European countries. Some goods which the French absolutely required, such as woolens, had to be admitted into France under special license. Napoleon clad his own armies in British cloth, and his soldiers marched in British shoes. Though Great Britain suffered acutely from the emperor's interference with her trade, the Continental

Failure
of the
Continental
System

¹ A Napoleonic phrase.

nations, deprived of needed manufactures and colonial wares, suffered still more. The result was to excite great bitterness against Napoleon. Nevertheless, he persisted in the attempt to humble his only rival by this economic warfare; as we shall now see, he staked his empire on the success of the Continental System.

188. Revolt of the Nations, 1808-1814

Napoleon hitherto had been fighting kings, not nations; and he had been uniformly victorious. A change came after Tilsit. His extortions from the conquered countries, his despotic government, and the hardships imposed by the Continental System all tended to produce the utmost hatred of the French emperor. Henceforth our chief interest is with the various nations which one after another rose up against their common oppressor. France in arms made Napoleon; Europe in arms overthrew him.

National
resistance
to Napoleon

The little kingdom of Portugal had been linked to Great Britain by close commercial ties for more than a century. When the Portuguese refused to close their ports to British ships, as Napoleon demanded, he sent an army into the country, seized Lisbon, and drove the royal family to Brazil. Napoleon then proceeded to deprive his friend and ally, Ferdinand VII, of the Spanish crown and gave it to his brother Joseph. These high-handed acts enabled the emperor to extend the Continental System over the Iberian peninsula. What he gained there was more than offset elsewhere. As soon as the Portuguese government removed to Brazil, it opened that country to British trade, and after the Spanish monarchy fell, its colonies revolted from the mother country and admitted British goods. Napoleon thus unwittingly created lucrative markets in Latin America for his rival.

Napoleon's
interference
in Portugal
and Spain,
1807-1808

Furthermore, Napoleon found that he had stirred up a veritable hornet's nest in the peninsula. The Portuguese and Spanish declined to accept their French overlords and everywhere rose in revolt. Great Britain took a lively interest in the situation and sent an

Revolt of
Portugal
and Spain

army commanded by Sir Arthur Wellesley, better known by his subsequent title of duke of Wellington, to help the insurgents. The French were soon driven out of Portugal, nor could they maintain themselves securely in Spain. The Peninsular War, as it is called, dragged on for years, consuming men and money which Napoleon might have employed much more profitably elsewhere.



JOSÉPHINE

After a pencil drawing retouched in water color. Made in 1798 by J. B. Isabey. In the possession of E. Taigny.

Encouraged by the Spanish resistance, Austria tried to throw off the Napoleonic yoke. The effort proved to be premature, though Austria

The Austrian revolt, 1809 fighting this time alone gave Napoleon far more trouble than when previously she had the help of allies. The French again occupied Vienna and won the hard battle of Wagram. The peace which followed cost the Hapsburg ruler additional territory and a heavy indemnity. It also cost him his daughter Maria Louisa, whose hand Napoleon demanded in marriage after divorcing Joséphine.

When Maria Louisa presented the emperor with a son and heir,¹ it must have seemed to him that his dynasty was at length firmly fixed on the French throne.

Europe, except in Spain and on the seas, now enjoyed peace for two years. It was a brief breathing-spell, while Napoleon

made ready for a new and much more terrible contest. Until now he had induced tsar Alexander to adhere to the Continental System, which pressed with special severity upon Russia, an agricultural country needing large imports of British manufactures. The tsar at length decided to break his shackles and renew trade relations between Russia and Great Britain. This decision

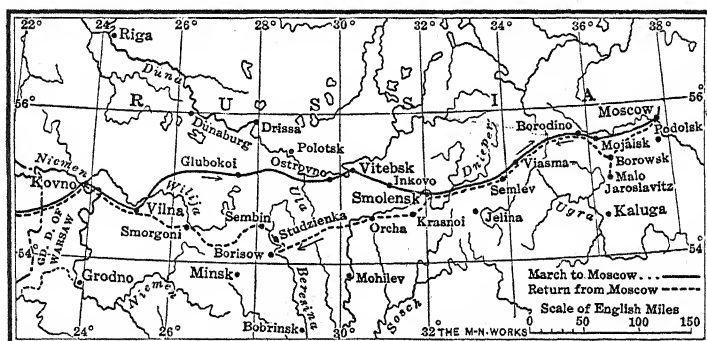
War with
Russia, 1812

¹ The so-called "king of Rome" or "Napoleon II," who died in Vienna in 1832.

left Napoleon no choice but go to war with him, if the Continental System was to be preserved. Rather than give up the hope of humbling Great Britain, the emperor, against the advice of his wisest counselors, threw down the gage of battle.

More than half a million men formed the Grand Army with which Napoleon began the invasion of Russia. About one-third of the soldiers were French; the rest were Germans, Italians, Poles, and other subjects of the empire. All western Europe had banded together under the leadership of one man to overthrow the only great state remaining unconquered on the Continent. The Russians

The
advance
to Moscow



NAPOLÉON'S RUSSIAN CAMPAIGN

offered at first little resistance, and the Grand Army reached the river Borodino before they turned at bay. A murderous conflict followed; the French won; and eight days later Napoleon entered the ancient capital of Moscow.

But to occupy Moscow was not to conquer Russia. The French did not dare to follow their enemy farther into the wilderness, nor could they remain for the winter in Moscow, owing to the scarcity of food for men and horses. Moreover, a great fire, perhaps kindled by the Russians themselves, had destroyed much of the city just as the French entered it. Napoleon lingered for a month among the ruins of Moscow in the belief that Alexander would open negotiations for peace. But no message came from the tsar,

The retreat
from Moscow

and at last the emperor gave orders for the retreat. A southerly route, which the army attempted to follow, was blocked, and the troops had to return by the way they had come, through a country eaten bare of supplies. Famine, cold, desertions, and the incessant raids of the Cossacks thinned their ranks;



BARON VOM STEIN

and at last only twenty thousand broken fugitives recrossed the Niemen to safety. The Grand Army had ceased to exist.

This disaster, unparalleled in military annals, thrilled Prussia

with hopes of freedom. Thanks to the labors of

Baron vom Stein and other statesmen, it was a new Prussia which confronted Napoleon. Serfdom had been declared illegal, all occupations and professions had been opened to noble, commoner, and peasant alike, and the army had been reorganized on the basis

of military service for all classes. These reforms gave to Prussia many of the advantages of the French Revolution and aroused a patriotic spirit which united the entire nation in a common love of country. Prussia now joined forces with Russia and began the War of Liberation.

Yet so vast were Napoleon's resources that he was soon able to recruit a new army and take the offensive from Germany.

He gained fresh victories, but could not follow them up, because of the lack of cavalry. Austria then threw in her lot with the allies. Outnum-

bered and outmaneuvered, Napoleon fell back on Leipzig, and there in a three days' "Battle of the Nations" suffered a sanguinary defeat. All Germany now turned against him, and he withdrew his shattered troops across the Rhine.

The allies would have made peace with Napoleon, had he

Battle of
Leipzig,
1813

been willing to give up his claims to the overlordship of Europe. They offered him the "natural boundaries" of France — the Rhine, the Alps, the Pyrenees, and the Atlantic — but he refused to accept the territorial limits that would have satisfied the ambitions of Louis XIV. Napoleon's campaigns during the early months of 1814 against three armies, each one larger than his own, are justly celebrated; they postponed but did not prevent his overthrow. After Paris surrendered, the emperor gave up the useless struggle and signed an act of abdication renouncing for himself and for his heirs the thrones of France and Italy.

Abdication
of Napoleon,
1814

189. Downfall of Napoleon, 1814-1815

The Allies treated Napoleon with marked consideration. They allowed him to retain the title of emperor and assigned him the island of Elba as a possession. He spent ten months in this tiny principality and ruled it with all his accustomed energy, meanwhile keeping a watchful eye upon the course of events in France.

Napoleon
at Elba

Suddenly Europe heard with amazement that Napoleon had returned to France and that Louis XVIII,¹ his Bourbon successor on the throne, was once more an exile. The enthusiastic welcome which greeted the emperor, as he advanced to Paris with only a small body-guard, bore witness at once to the magnetism of his personality and to the unpopularity of the Bourbons. The Allies refused to accept the restoration of one whom they very properly described as the "enemy and destroyer of the world's peace." The four great powers, Great Britain, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, declared Napoleon an outlaw and set their armies in motion toward France.

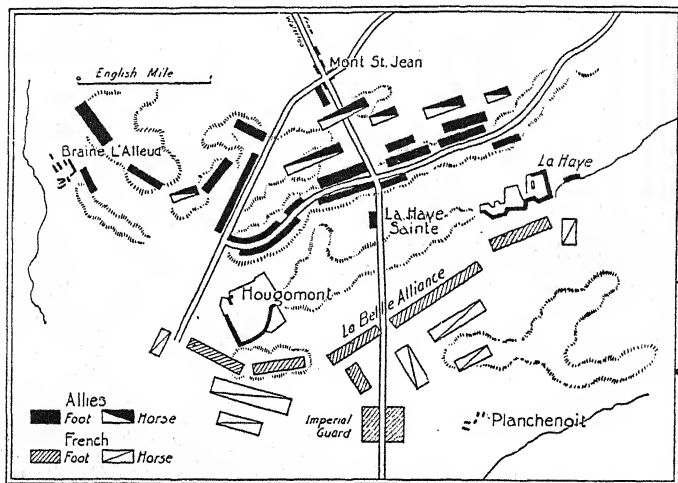
The
"Hundred
Days,"
March-June,
1815

Napoleon had only a gambler's chance, but he made the most of it. Before the allies could concentrate their overwhelming masses, he moved rapidly into Belgium, between the Prussians under Blücher and a mixed force of British, Belgians, Dutch,

¹ See page 511 and note 1. The young son of Louis XVI ("Louis XVII") is supposed to have died in a revolutionary prison in 1795.

**Battle of
Waterloo,
June 18,
1815**

and Germans under the Duke of Wellington. Blücher's defeat compelled Wellington to fall back on a strong defensive position near Waterloo, twelve miles south of Brussels. Here, all through a hot Sunday in June, Napoleon hurled his infantry and cavalry in fierce but ineffectual attacks against the "Iron Duke's" lines. The timely arrival of the Prussians, late in the afternoon, compelled the French to fight a double battle; their situation soon became desperate; and even a last charge



PLAN OF THE BATTLE OF WATERLOO

of the Old Guard failed to restore the day. Repulse soon turned into a rout, and Napoleon's splendid army broke up into a mob of fugitives. The emperor himself escaped with difficulty to Paris.¹

Napoleon abdicated a second time and to avoid the Prussians (who had orders to take him dead or alive) threw himself upon the generosity of the British government. Then followed exile to the desolate rock of St. Helena, where the fallen emperor lived for six years, without

**The
Napoleonic
legend**

¹ Victor Hugo has a famous though inaccurate description of the battle in *Les Misérables* (part ii, book i). See also Byron's lines, "The Eve of Waterloo," in *Childe Harold* (canto iii, stanzas 21-28).

wife or child but surrounded by a few intimate friends to whom he dictated his memoirs. After his death, at the early age of fifty-two, France forgot the sufferings he had caused her and remembered only his glory. Poets, painters, and singers created out of the “Little Corporal” a purely legendary figure. The world-despot appeared as the heir of the Revolution, a crusader for liberty, the foe of tyrants; and in this guise he found his way irresistibly to the hearts of the French people.

It must be admitted that Napoleon, who depended solely on his own genius **Napoleon's fame** for advancement, climbed dizzier heights of fame than the heroes of any other age. Alexander, Cæsar, Charlemagne, Frederick the Great — he outstrips them all. “I have fought fifty pitched battles,” he once said, “almost all of which I have won. I have framed and carried into effect a code of laws that will bear my name to the most distant posterity. I raised myself from nothing to be the most powerful monarch in the world.”



THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON

After a painting by Goya in the possession of the duke of Leeds.

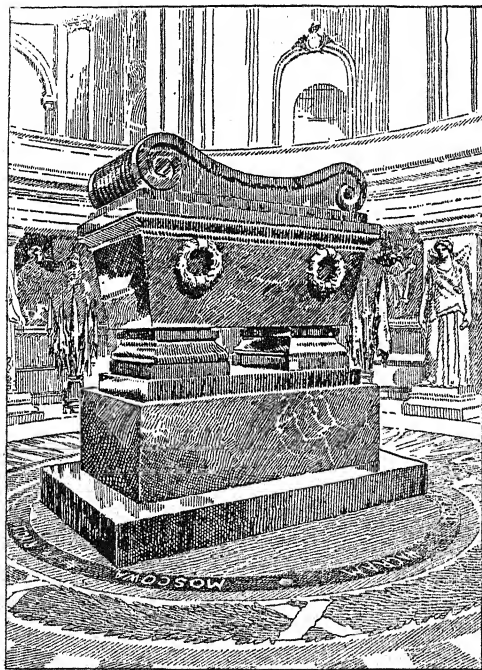
190. “Liberty, Equality, Fraternity”

The French Revolution differed sharply from previous revolutionary movements. The Puritan Revolution and the “Glorious Revolution” in England were carried out by **Principles of 1789** men of the upper and middle classes, who wished to limit the royal power and establish the supremacy of Parliament. Even the American Revolution was guided by conservative statesmen, at least as solicitous for the rights of property as for the rights of man. The French Revolution

also began as mainly a middle-class movement, but it soon reached the lower classes. Their principles found expression in the famous motto, "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity."

"Liberty" meant the recognition of popular sovereignty. Government was to be no longer the privilege of a divine-right ruler, however benevolent or "enlightened"; henceforth, it was to be conducted constitutionally

in accordance with the will of the people. Since the first constitution (that of 1791) the French have often changed their form of government, but they have always had a written constitution. Napoleon's *plébiscites* show that he paid at least lip homage to the principle of popular sovereignty, and it is certain that during both the consulate and the empire he enjoyed the support of the great majority of Frenchmen. On the other hand, he did not respect all the "rights of man" which the revolution-



THE TOMB OF NAPOLEON

In 1840 Napoleon's body was removed from St. Helena, taken with great pomp to Paris, and deposited in a sarcophagus of red Finland granite under the gilded dome of the Hôtel des Invalides. Twelve colossal statues, representing the chief victories of Napoleon, surround the tomb, and between the figures are battleflags captured at Austerlitz. Two of the emperor's brothers are buried in adjoining chapels.

tionists had proclaimed with such enthusiasm. Freedom of thought and freedom of worship prevailed under Napoleon,

but the emperor allowed neither free speech nor a free press. “What the French people want,” he declared, “is equality, not liberty.”

“Equality” meant the abolition of privilege. The Revolution made all citizens equal before the law. It opened to every one the positions in the civil service, the Church, and the army. It abolished serfdom and manorial rights, thus destroying the last vestiges of feudalism. It suppressed the guilds, thus releasing industry from medieval shackles. It canceled all exemptions from taxation and substituted for the unfair and burdensome arrangements of the Old Régime a new fiscal system which taxed men according to their means. Most Frenchmen were content to accept Napoleon’s rule largely because he retained and extended these achievements of the Revolution.

“Fraternity” meant a new consciousness of human brotherhood. The revolutionists set out to make France a better place for every one to live in. This fraternal feeling inspired all ranks and classes of the people. It led to a great outburst of patriotic and national sentiment which enabled the French, singlehanded, to withstand Europe in arms.

The principles of 1789 were not confined to France. The revolutionary and Napoleonic soldiers passed from land to land bringing in their train the overthrow of serfdom and privilege. The effect was profound in the Netherlands, in western Germany, and in northern Italy, countries where the masses of the people had grievances and aspirations like those of the French. During the nineteenth century the revolutionary spirit permeated other European countries, resulting everywhere in a demand for the abolition of the established privileges of wealth, birth, and social position. Such has been the service of France as a liberator.

Studies

1. On an outline map indicate the Napoleonic Empire at its height, showing also the states dependent on Napoleon and those allied with him.
2. Locate on

542 The Revolutionary and Napoleonic Era

the map all the Napoleonic battle-fields mentioned in this chapter. 3. Identify the following dates: 1789; 1792; 1799; 1804; 1807; 1812; and 1815. 4. Explain the following expressions: "Tennis Court Oath"; Reign of Terror; Continental System; the "Hundred Days"; *plébiscite*, and *coup d'état*. 5. Write a character sketch (400 words) of Napoleon Bonaparte, based partly on the statements in the text and partly on your outside reading. 6. "The principal cause of the ruin of royalty in France was the lack of a King." What does this statement mean? 7. Why is July 14th observed by the French as the "birthday of the nation"? 8. Compare the *assignats* with the paper money issued by the Confederacy during the Civil War. 9. Read a translation of the *Marseillaise* and compare the sentiments expressed in it with those of *Hail Columbia* and *The Star Spangled Banner*. 10. In your opinion was there greater or less justification for the execution of Louis XVI than for that of Charles I? 11. In what sense is the word Jacobin now frequently used? 12. What excuse can be offered for the policy of terrorism adopted by the Jacobins in 1793? 13. Prepare a class-room report dealing with the story of Charlotte Corday. 14. Mention four conspicuous instances of mob action during the French Revolution. Why are mobs so often cruel and blood-thirsty? 15. How did the First Consul, to use his own words, "close" the French Revolution and "consolidate" its results? 16. Why was Napoleon styled by the lawyers a new Justinian and by the clergy a new Constantine? 17. Is it correct to call Napoleon an "enlightened" despot? Is it incorrect to call him a "usurper"? 18. Compare as to results the battle of Trafalgar with the destruction of the Spanish Armada. 19. Show that the political weakness of central Europe in Napoleon's day contributed to his success as a conqueror. 20. How did the Continental System help to bring about the downfall of Napoleon? 21. How did the physical features of Spain facilitate the Spanish resistance to Napoleon? 22. Why is Waterloo included among the world's "decisive battles"? Would it have been equally decisive if Napoleon, and not Wellington, had won? 23. It has been said of Napoleon that "he was as great as a man can be without virtue." Does this seem to be a fair judgment? 24. "England is the mother of liberty, France the mother of equality." Explain this statement. 25. What was meant by describing the French revolutionary armies as "equality on the march"? 26. "The two most striking and important events in the history of the eighteenth century are the establishment of the United States of America and the outbreak of the French Revolution." Justify this statement.

CHAPTER XXI

THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT IN EUROPE, 1815-1871 ¹

191. Modern Nationalism

WE have already learned how national states, first England, then Scotland and France, finally Spain, Portugal, and Switzerland, arose in Europe during the later Middle Ages. From this time, and especially since the close of the eighteenth century, nationalism has been a potent influence in molding modern history. What makes a nation? Not necessarily unity of race: the English include Celtic Britons and Teutonic Anglo-Saxons, Danes, and Normans. Not necessarily unity of language: the Swiss use three languages. That which makes a nation is above all a common heritage of memories of the past and hopes for the future. Ireland has long been joined to England, but Irish nationality has not disappeared. Bohemia, long subject to the Hapsburgs, never lost her national spirit. The Polish nation still lives, though one may search in vain upon the map for Poland. The Jews have been scattered throughout the world for over eighteen centuries, yet they still look forward to their reunion in the Holy Land. As long as national sentiment endures, a nation cannot perish.

The French Revolution did most to develop modern nationalism. The revolutionists created the "fatherland," as we understand that term to-day. They substituted the French nation for the French kingdom; for loyalty to a monarch they substituted love of country. When an attempt was made to crush the Revolution, they rose as one man, and to the inspiring strains of the *Marseillaise* drove the invaders from the "sacred soil" of France.

Nationalism
and the
French
Revolution

¹ Webster, *Readings in Medieval and Modern History*, chapter xxxiv, "Bismarck and the Unification of Germany."

But not satisfied with defending the Revolution at home, the French started to spread it abroad, and in doing so became aggressive. They posed as liberators; **Napoleon and nationalism** very speedily they proved to be subjugators. A republican general, Napoleon Bonaparte, transformed their citizen levies into professional soldiers devoted to his fortunes and led them to victory on a score of battlefields. Napoleon, himself a man without a country, felt no sympathy for nationalism. Out of a Europe composed of many independent and often hostile states, he wished to create a unified Europe after the model supplied by the Carolingian Empire. He even intended, had he been successful in the Russian campaign, to move the capital of his dominions, and by the banks of the Tiber to revive the glories of imperial Rome.

Napoleon carried all before him until he came into conflict with nations instead of sovereigns. The sentiment of nationalism, which had saved republican France, now **Reaction of nationalism** inspired the English in their long contest with the French emperor, spurred the Portuguese and Spaniards to revolt against him, and strengthened the will of Austrians, Prussians, and Russians never to accept a foreign despotism. What the Hapsburgs, Hohenzollerns, and Romanovs failed to do, their subjects accomplished. The national resistance to Napoleon, aroused throughout the Continent, destroyed his empire.

The patriotic feelings so deeply stirred during the revolutionary and Napoleonic era put renewed emphasis on the **Rights of nationalities** rights of nationalities. Patriots in one country after another boldly declared that no nation, however small or weak, should be governed by foreigners. Every nation, on the contrary, ought to be free to choose its own form of government and manage its own affairs. How little the enlightened despots of the eighteenth century respected this principle is shown by the partitions of Poland. A similar contempt for the rights of nationalities was exhibited by the crowned heads of Europe at the Congress of Vienna.

192. Congress of Vienna

The close of the revolutionary and Napoleonic era found Europe in confusion. The French Revolution had destroyed the Old Régime in France, and Napoleon Bonaparte had given new boundaries or new rulers to every Continental state except Russia and Turkey.

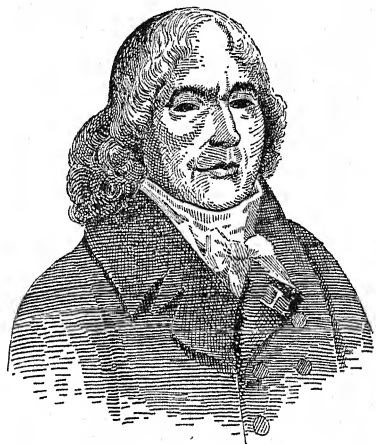
Purpose of
the congress

While the fallen emperor was still at Elba, a great international congress met at Vienna to restore the old dynasties, remake the European map, and prevent future aggressions on the part of France.

The congress formed a brilliant assemblage of emperors, kings, princes of every rank, and titled diplomats.

Character
of the
congress

A single drawing room sometimes held Alexander I, tsar of Russia; Francis I, emperor of Austria; Frederick William III, king of Prussia; the duke of Wellington, the German patriot Stein, the Austrian minister Metternich, and the French representative Talleyrand. The final decision as to all questions obviously lay with the four powers whose alliance had overthrown Napoleon, until Talleyrand's skillful management secured the admission of France to their councils as a fifth great power. When the wheels of diplomacy had been well oiled by banquets and balls, the monarchs and their advisers proceeded to take the necessary measures for the reconstruction of Europe.



TALLEYRAND

A picture showing Talleyrand in middle age under Napoleon I.

First, the congress restored the dynasties overturned by Napoleon. In accordance with the principle which Talleyrand

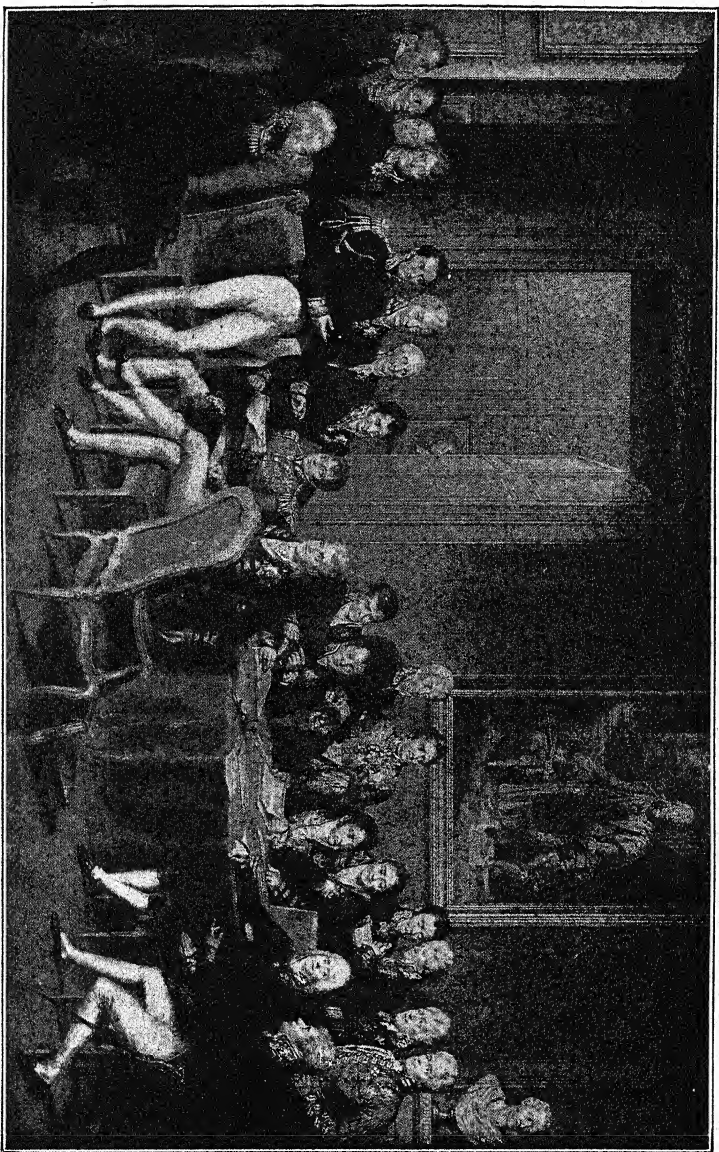
dignified under the name of "legitimacy," the Bourbons went back to their thrones in France and Spain. The house of Orange recovered Holland. The king of Sardinia "Legitimacy" regained his possessions in Savoy and Piedmont. Sicily and Naples were again combined to form the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, under a Bourbon ruler. The pope, whom Napoleon had deprived of temporal power, was restored to the States of the Church.

Second, the congress redistributed various European territories, in accordance with the principle of "compensations." Austria secured Lombardy and Venetia to compensate her for the cession of the Austrian Netherlands to Holland. Sweden, which had ceded Finland to Russia, found compensation in taking Norway from Napoleon's old ally, the kingdom of Denmark.¹ Prussia absorbed about half of Saxony, another state formerly allied with Napoleon, and annexed much additional territory on the lower Rhine. Russia took the lion's share of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw. For her exertions against Napoleon Great Britain received payment in colonial possessions, including Helgoland in the North Sea, Malta and the Ionian Islands in the Mediterranean, Ceylon, Cape Colony, and most of Guiana.

Third, the congress reestablished the balance of power in Europe. Though France was not dismembered, she was reduced to substantially her old boundaries before the Revolution. There now remained, as in the eighteenth century, two great states in the west (France and Great Britain) and three in the east (Russia, Prussia, and Austria). No one of them was strong enough to dominate the others. Together they maintained the peace of Europe for the next forty years.

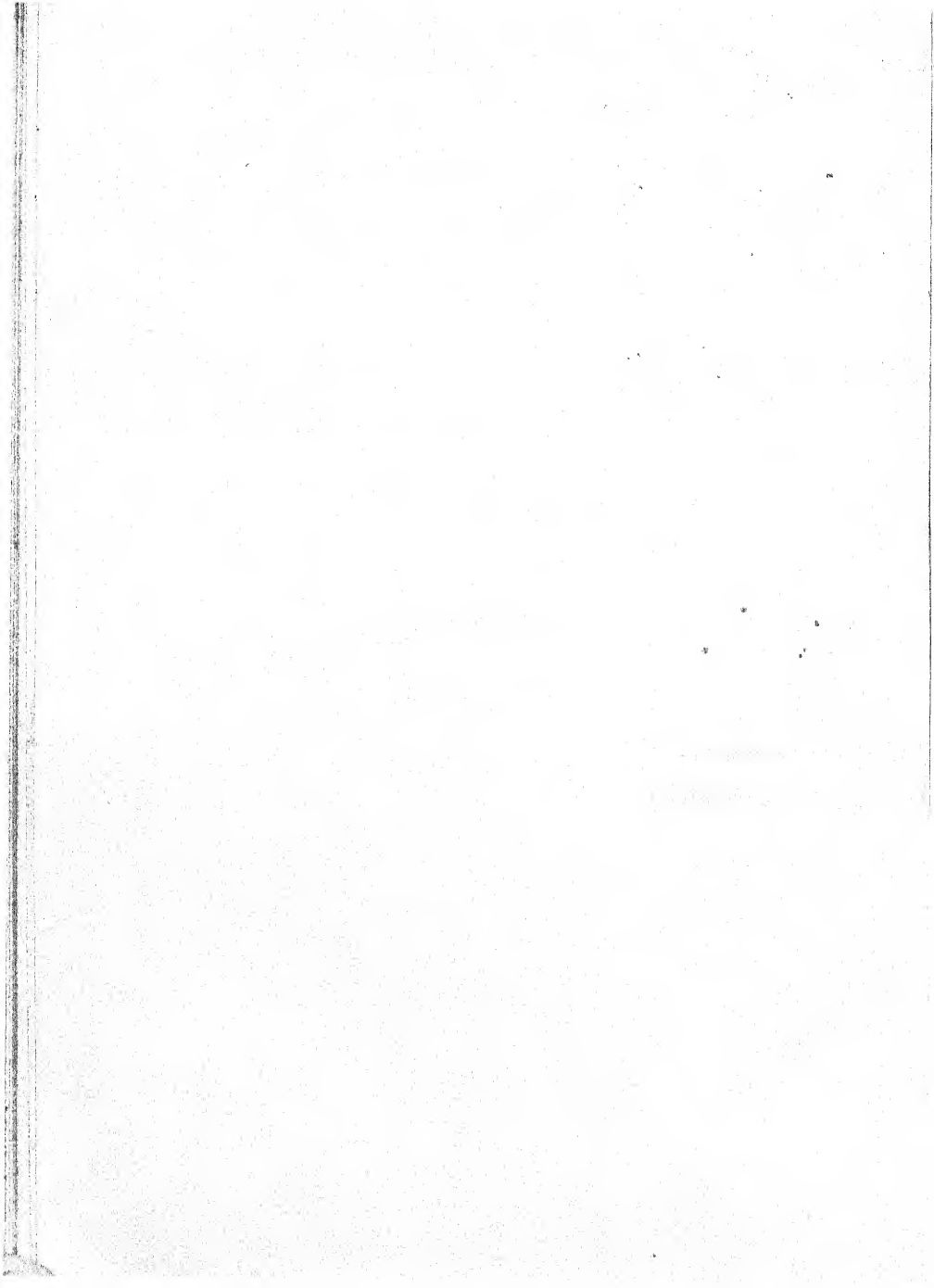
However successful as peacemakers, the rulers and diplomats at Vienna left, nevertheless, a heritage of trouble to Europe. They willfully disregarded all national aspirations and treated the European peoples as so many pawns in the

¹ The union of Sweden and Norway lasted until 1905. Finland remained joined to Russia until the Russian Revolution of 1917.



THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA, 1814-1815

The ten figures in the foreground are, in order: Wellington, Hardenberg (seated), Löwenhielm, Noailles, Metternich, Nesselrode, Palmella (seated), Castlereagh (seated), Talleyrand (seated), and Stachenberg (seated).



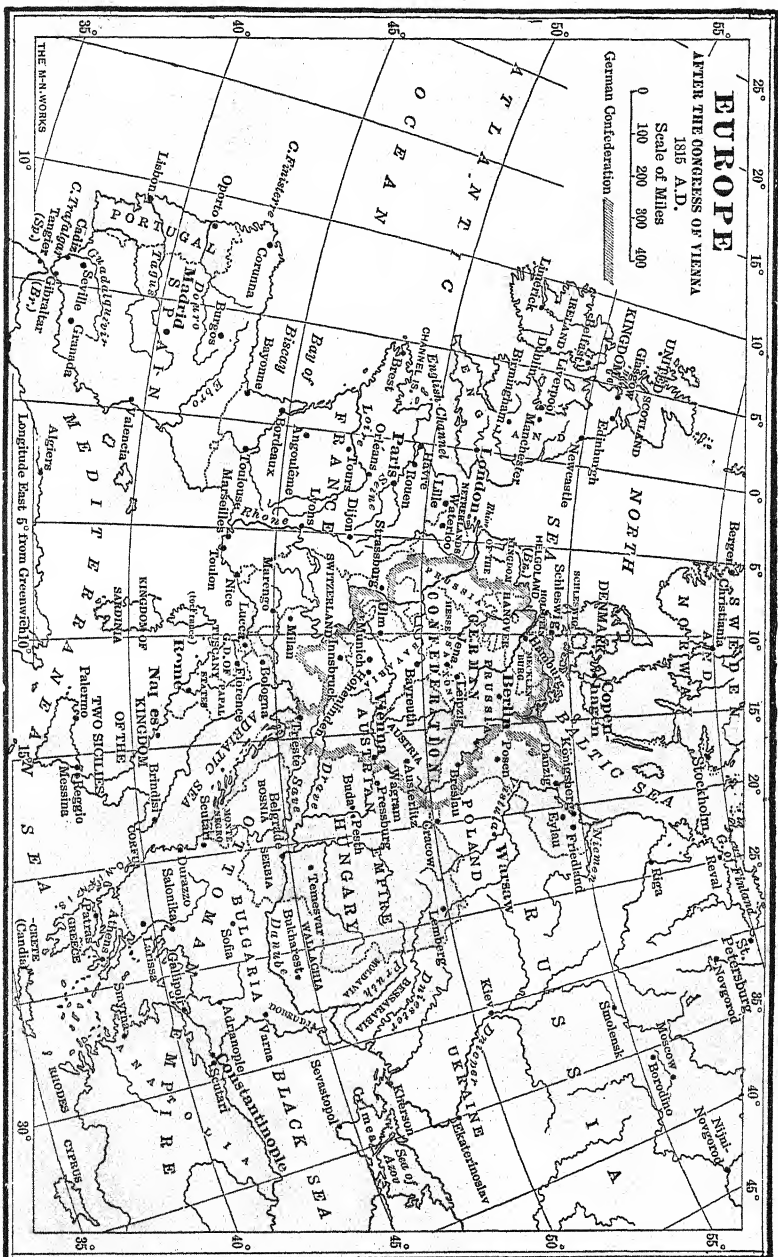
EUROPE

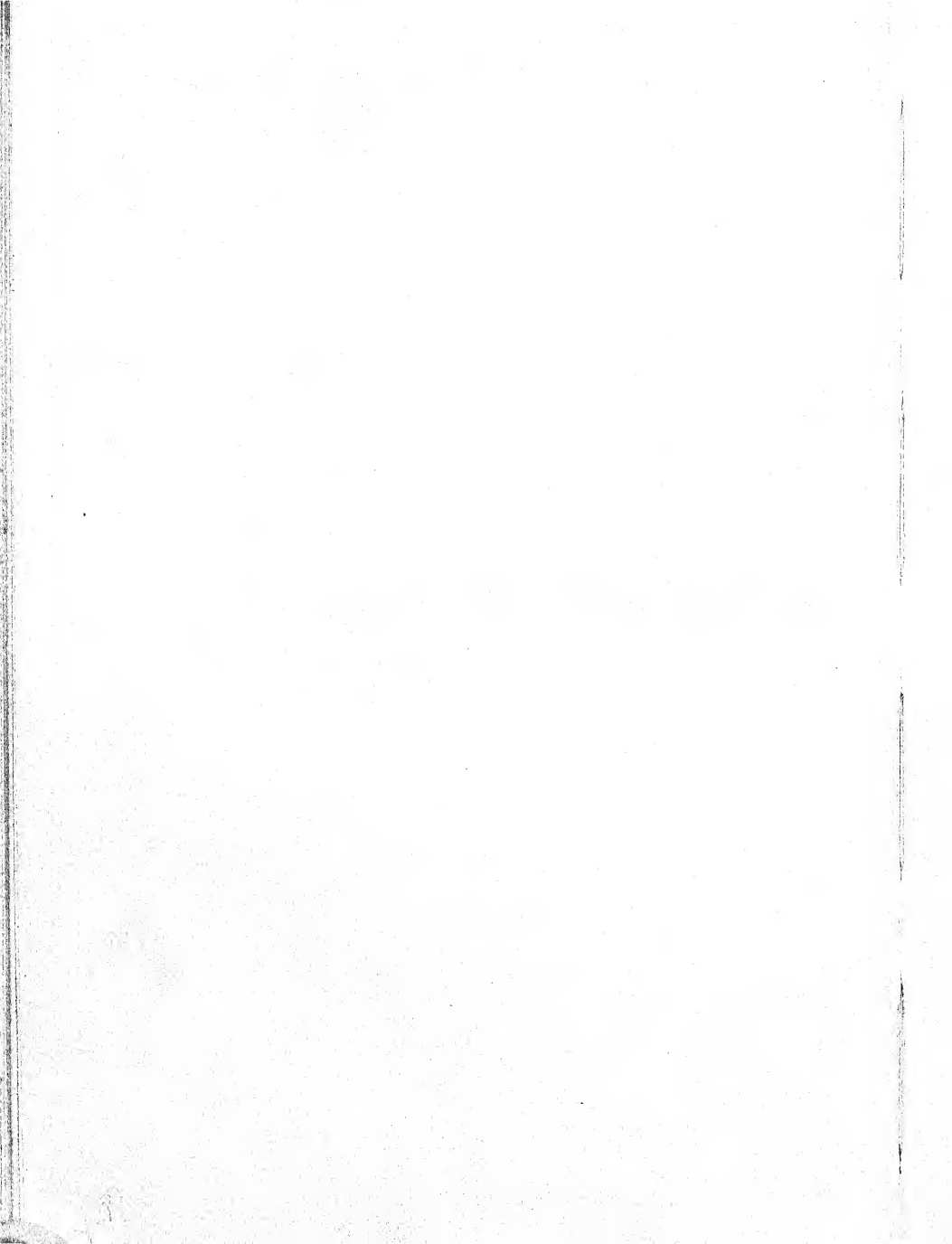
AFTER THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA
1815 A.D.

Scale of Miles

0 100 200 300 400

German Confederation





game of diplomacy. The Austrian Netherlands, contrary to the wishes of the inhabitants, were united with Holland, in order to form an effective barrier against French aggression. Norway was joined to Sweden, although the Norwegians preferred to be independent. Unhappy Poland was again partitioned. In Italy and Germany the Viennese mapmakers also failed to recognize the principle of nationality.

The
congress
and
nationalism

The settlement of Vienna left Italy a mosaic of nine states.¹ Of these, Sardinia formed an independent kingdom. Lombardy and Venetia were Austrian provinces. Modena, Parma, Tuscany, and Lucca were duchies, all but the last under Hapsburg rulers. Austrian influence also prevailed in the States of the Church and in the Two Sicilies. Thus Austria, a foreign power, fixed its grip upon the Italian peninsula. Italy, in Metternich's contemptuous phrase, was only "a geographical expression."

Disunion
of Italy
after 1815

Germany after the settlement of Vienna included thirty-eight states, of which the most extensive were the Austrian Empire and the five kingdoms of Prussia, Bavaria, Saxony, Würtemberg, and Hanover. Stein and his fellow-patriots wished to bring them all into a strongly knit union. This proposal encountered the opposition of Metternich, who feared that a united Germany would not serve Austrian interests. Metternich found support among the German rulers themselves, not one of whom would surrender any particle of his authority. The outcome was the creation of the Germanic Confederation, a loose association under the presidency of Austria.

Disunion of
Germany
in 1815

The rulers and diplomats at Vienna disregarded another sentiment besides that of nationalism. The congress was a congress of aristocrats, conservative, reactionary, and opposed to all the democratic or liberal feelings which had been awakened in Europe since 1789. The French Revolution appeared to them as merely a revolt against authority, a revolt which had over-

The
congress
and
democracy

¹ Eleven, if Monaco and San Marino be included.

turned the social order, destroyed property, sacrificed countless human lives, and introduced confusion everywhere. Blind to the true significance of the demand for liberty and equality, they sought to restore the Old Régime of absolutism, privilege, and divine right. Their ideal was Europe before 1789.

193. The Reaction under Metternich, 1815-1830

The Austrian Empire, now the leading Continental state, consisted of more than a score of territories inhabited by un-
Reactionary congenial Germans, Magyars, Slavs, and Italians.
Austria To keep them united under a single scepter, the Hapsburgs deliberately repressed all aspirations for independence or self-government. The Hapsburgs felt it equally necessary to discourage every popular movement, which, starting in Italy or Germany, might spread like an infection to their own realm. Force of circumstances thus placed Austria at the forefront of the reaction against nationalism and democracy.

The spirit of reactionary Austria seemed incarnate in Prince Clemens Metternich. An aristocrat to his finger-tips, polished,
Metternich courtly, tactful, clever, this man for nearly forty years was the real head of the Austrian government and the most influential diplomat in Europe. To the rule of Napoleon succeeded the rule of Metternich. The German word *Metternichismus* has been coined to express the ideas which he championed and the measures which he enforced.

Metternich regarded absolutism and divine right as the pillars of stable government. Democracy, he declared, could only
Metter- "change daylight into darkest night." All de-
nichismus mands for constitutions, parliaments, and representative institutions must consequently be opposed to the uttermost. In order to stamp out the "disease of liberalism," let spies and secret police be multiplied, press and pulpit kept under gag-laws, the universities sharply watched for dangerous teachings, and all agitators exiled, imprisoned, or executed. Metternich first established this system in Austria and then

found in the Concert of Europe the means of extending it to other parts of the Continent.

The states whose coalitions had overthrown Napoleon took his place in 1815 as arbiters of Europe. Great Britain, Russia, Austria, and Prussia renewed their alliance, in **Concert of Europe** order to preserve the dynastic and territorial arrangements made by the Congress of Vienna. France under Louis XVIII also became a member of the European Concert in 1818. These five great powers, as long as they worked in harmony, could impose their will on all the minor states. It was an approach, though only an approach, to the idea of a confederated Europe, of a commonwealth of nations.

One of the clauses of the treaty of alliance between the **International congresses** powers provided that they should hold congresses from time to time, for the discussion of matters affecting their common interests.

Four such congresses were convoked by Metternich, whose diplomatic genius turned them into agencies of reaction. He even succeeded in inducing the Congress of Troppau (1820) to formally outlaw all revolutions. According to the principle there announced, a state which underwent a revolutionary change of government was to be brought back, peacefully or by force, "into the bosom of the Great Alliance."



METTERNICH

After a painting by Sir Thomas Lawrence in the possession of Prince Richard Metternich-Winneburg.

The first instance of armed intervention on the part of the European Concert occurred in the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, whose sovereign had been compelled by the liberals to grant a constitution. An Austrian army, sent by Metternich, quickly restored "order" and absolutism. The troops of Austria likewise suppressed a liberal uprising in the kingdom of Sardinia. When the Spaniards rose against their Bourbon ruler, French soldiers were dispatched to quell the revolt. The great powers, acting together, thus took it upon themselves to police the whole Continent for the suppression of nationalism and democracy. Soon, however, another revolution in France struck a deadly blow at *Metternichism*.

194. France and the "July Revolution," 1830

The restoration of Louis XVIII did not mean the restoration of the Old Régime. This cool, cautious Bourbon wished to enjoy his power in peace; like Charles II of England, he had no desire to set out on his travels again. He realized that to most Frenchmen absolutism had become intolerable and that the main results of the Revolution must be preserved. Accordingly, Louis XVIII granted a charter, or constitution, modeled upon that of Great Britain. It established a legislature of two houses, the upper a Chamber of Peers appointed for life, the lower a Chamber of Deputies elected for a term of years. A high property qualification for the suffrage restricted the right of voting for deputies to less than one hundred thousand persons out of a population of twenty-nine million. The new government was thus far removed from democracy.

As long as Louis XVIII lived, he kept some check upon the royalists, who wished to get back all their old wealth, position, and privileges. The accession in 1824 of his brother, the count of Artois,¹ under the title of Charles X, put the reactionary elements in the saddle. It was well said of Charles X that after long years of exile he had "learned nothing and forgotten nothing." A

¹ See page 511 and note 2.

thorough believer in absolutism and divine right, he tried to rule as though the French Revolution had never taken place. His disregard of the constitution soon provoked an uprising.

Paris in July, 1830, as in July, 1789, was the storm-center of the revolutionary movement. Workingmen and students, few in numbers but organized and armed, hastily constructed barricades in the narrow streets and defied the government. After three days of fighting against none-too-loyal troops, the revolutionists gained control of the capital. Charles X fled to England, and the tricolor once more flew to the breeze in France.

Those who carried through the uprising in Paris wanted a republic, but they found little support among the liberal *bourgeoisie*. Men of this class feared that a republican France would soon be at war with monarchical Europe. Largely influenced by the aged Lafayette, the Republicans agreed to accept another king, in the person of Louis Philippe, duke of Orléans. He took the crown now offered to him by the Chamber of Deputies, at the same time promising to respect the constitution and the liberties of Frenchmen.

The new sovereign belonged to the younger, or Orléans, branch of the Bourbon family. He had taken an active part in the events of 1789, had joined the Jacobin Club, had fought in revolutionary battles, and during a visit to the United States had become acquainted with democratic ideals and principles. To this "Citizen King," who reigned "by the grace of God and by the will of the people," France now gave her allegiance.

195. The "July Revolution" in Europe

The events in France created a sensation throughout Europe. The reactionaries were horrified at the sudden outburst of a revolutionary spirit which for fifteen years they had striven to suppress; the liberals were encouraged to renewed agitation for nationalism and self-government. Widespread disturbances in the Netherlands,

Divine
right over-
thrown

Constitu-
tionalism
preserved

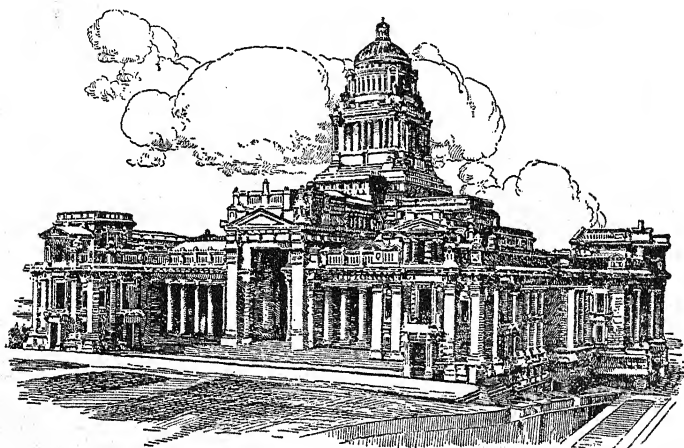
The
"Citizen
King"

Effect of
the "July
Revolution"

Poland, Italy, and Germany compelled Metternich to abandon all thought of intervening to restore "legitimacy" in France.

The union between the former Austrian Netherlands and Holland, made by the Congress of Vienna, proved to be very unfortunate. Differences of language, religion, and culture kept the two countries apart. Though about one-half of the Belgians were Flemings and hence closely akin to the Dutch in blood and speech, the other half were French-speaking Walloons.¹ Both Flemings and

The
Belgian
situation



PALAIS DE JUSTICE, BRUSSELS

This huge building, for the use of the law courts of Brussels, was erected during the years 1866-1883 at a cost of \$12,000,000. The architectural style combines Assyrian and Renaissance features.

Walloons felt a religious antipathy to the Protestant Dutch. Both alike had French sympathies and looked toward Paris for inspiration rather than toward The Hague. The antagonism between the two peoples might have lessened in time, had not the government of Holland incensed the Belgian patriots by imposing upon them Dutch law, Dutch as the official language, and Dutch control of the army, the civil service, and the schools.

¹ See page 243.

Just a month after the uprising in Paris, Brussels responded to the revolutionary signal. The insurrection soon spread to the provinces and led to a demand for complete separation from Holland. France favored this course, and Great Britain, a champion of small nationalities, also gave it her approval. The other powers would gladly have intervened to prevent such a breach of the Vienna settlement, but Russia and Austria had disorders of their own to quell and Prussia did not dare, singlehanded, to take action which might lead to a European conflict. Accordingly, an international conference was held at London in 1831. It decided that Belgium should be "a state independent and perpetually neutral," with Leopold of Saxe-Coburg as its ruler. The independence and neutrality of Belgium were further guaranteed by a treaty in 1839, to which Great Britain, France, Russia, Austria, and Prussia solemnly pledged their faith. Thus a new state, under a new dynasty, was added to the European family of nations.

Independent
and neutral
Belgium

What the Belgians gained so easily the Poles could not secure by a bloody war. Their struggle for independence against Russia, beginning at Warsaw in 1830, naturally found no support with the Austrian and Prussian governments, while Great Britain and France were too far away to lend effective aid. Having crushed the revolt, the tsar¹ determined to uproot all sense of nationality among the Poles. He revoked their constitution, suppressed their flag, and executed or exiled thousands of Polish patriots. Poland became, as far as force could make her, simply another Russian province.

The Polish
situation

The national and democratic movement in Italy and Germany was likewise abortive. The States of the Church rose against the pope, and Parma and Modena against their Hapsburg sovereigns. Metternich's Austrian troops quickly extinguished these insurrectionary fires. Popular outbreaks in Saxony, Hanover, and other German states only succeeded in wringing

The
situation
in Italy
and
Germany

¹ Nicholas I (1825-1855). He was a brother of Alexander I.

a few concessions, or the promise of concessions, from their rulers. Germany, in fact, had not acquired the revolutionary habit.

The year 1830 saw a marked change in the European Concert. Great Britain had already begun to oppose its reactionary program, and now the "July Revolution" made France as well an opponent of *Metternichism*. Together they safeguarded Belgian independence, expressed sympathy for the Poles, and encouraged Italian efforts to achieve freedom. They could be counted upon, henceforth, to uphold oppressed peoples against the forces of reaction.

196. The "February Revolution" and the Second French Republic, 1848

Louis Philippe posed as a thorough democrat. He liked to be called the "Citizen King," walked the streets of Paris unattended, sent his sons to the public schools, and opened the royal palace to all who wished to come and shake hands with the head of the state. It soon became clear, however, that under an exterior of republican simplicity Louis Philippe had all the Bourbon ambition for personal power. He did little to give the lower classes a larger share in the government. The property qualification for the suffrage was somewhat lowered, but not sufficiently to disturb the *bourgeois* monopoly of office and law-making. The great majority of the French people remained excluded from political life.

In spite of the support of the *bourgeoisie*, Louis Philippe sat on a rickety throne. Both the Legitimists, as the adherents of Charles X were called, and the Bonapartists, who wished to restore the Napoleonic dynasty, cordially hated him. The Republicans, who had brought about the "July Revolution" and felt themselves cheated by its outcome, held him in even greater detestation. No less than six attempts to assassinate the "Citizen King" were made in the course of his reign.

The "February Revolution" in Europe 555

The growing discontent produced a succession of plots and insurrections, but affairs did not become critical until 1848. In February of that year mobs of Parisian working-men armed themselves, threw up barricades, and raised the ominous cry, "Long live the republic!" Louis Philippe, losing heart and fearing to lose head as well, at once abdicated the throne and as plain "Mr. Smith" sought an asylum in England.

His abdication and departure did not save the Orléans monarchy. The revolutionists in Paris proclaimed a republic and summoned a national assembly, to be elected by the votes of all Frenchmen above the age of twenty-one, to draw up a constitution. Their action found favor in the departments, which as on previous occasions followed the lead of the capital city.

The constitution of the second French Republic vested the executive power in a president. The voters elected to this office Louis Napoleon, a nephew of the great emperor and the eldest representative of his family. During the reactionary rule of the Bourbons and the dull, middle-class monarchy of Louis Philippe, the legend¹ of a Napoleon who was at once a democrat, a soldier, and revolutionary hero had grown apace. The stories of every peasant's fireside, the pictures on every cottage wall, kept his memory alive. To the mass of the French people the name Napoleon stood for prosperity at home and glory abroad; and their votes now swept his nephew into the presidency.

A revolution
begun

A republic
proclaimed

Louis
Napoleon,
president
of France

197. The "February Revolution" in Europe

France had once more lighted the revolutionary torch, and this time eager hands took it up and carried it throughout the Continent. Within a few months half of the monarchs of Europe were either deposed or forced to concede liberal reforms. No less than fifteen

Effect of the
"February
Revolution"

¹ See page 539.

separate revolts marked the year 1848. Those in the Austrian Empire, Italy, and the German states assumed most importance.

Vienna, the headquarters of reaction, was one of the first scenes of a popular uprising. Mobs, which the civic guard refused to suppress, fired Metternich's palace and compelled that white-haired, old minister to resign office and flee the capital. The Hapsburg ruler,¹ who

so hated the very word "constitution" that he is said to have forbidden its use in his presence, had to grant a constitution, a parliament, and universal suffrage for his entire empire.

What had begun as a democratic movement among the Germans of Vienna speedily became a national movement in Hungary and Bohemia. The Magyars revolted and established a free Hungarian state, with the patriot Kossuth as president.

Revolts in
Hungary
and
Bohemia



LOUIS KOSSUTH

The Czechs, as the Slavic inhabitants of Bohemia are called, also demanded a large measure of independence.

The Austrian Empire was saved from dissolution by the bitter conflicts of its various nationalities among themselves, by the loyalty of the army of the Hapsburg crown, and by foreign intervention. The Bohemian revolt first collapsed. The Magyars, however, resisted so sternly that Francis Joseph I had to enlist the aid of his brother-monarch and brother-

Czechs and
Magyars
suppressed

¹ Ferdinand I. He succeeded Francis I in 1835 and thirteen years later abdicated in favor of his nephew, Francis Joseph I (1848-1916).

reactionary, the tsar. Nicholas I, fearing lest an independent Hungary should be followed by an independent Poland, joined his troops to those of the Austrians, and together they overwhelmed the Magyar armies. Hungary became again a mere province of Austria.

The revolutionary flood also spread over the Italian peninsula. Milan, the capital of Lombardy, expelled an Austrian garrison. Venice did the same and proclaimed herself a republic. Charles Albert, king of Sardinia, believing that the hour of deliverance had arrived, declared war on hated Austria. To his aid came troops from the duchies of Parma, Modena, and Tuscany, from the States of the Church, and from the Two Sicilies.

The splendid dream of a free, united Italy quickly faded before the realities of war. The patriotic parties would not act together and failed to give the king of Sardinia hearty support. The pope, Pius IX, fearing a schism in the Church, decided that he could not afford to attack Catholic Austria. The Bourbon ruler of the Two Sicilies also withdrew his troops. Badly beaten in the battle of Novara (1849), the Sardinian king abdicated in favor of his son, Victor Emmanuel II, who then made peace with Austria.

A republic set up in Rome by the revolutionary leader, Joseph Mazzini, likewise came to grief. Pius IX, who had been deprived of his temporal possessions, called in the assistance of Catholic France. To the pope's appeal Louis Napoleon lent a willing ear, especially since he did not wish to allow all Italy to be subjugated by the Austrians. A French army soon expelled the republican leaders and restored the pope to the States of the Church. The revolution in Italy thus brought only disappointment to patriotic hearts.

Almost all the German states experienced revolutionary disturbances during 1848. The cry rose everywhere for constitutions, parliaments, responsible ministries, a free press, and trial by jury. Berlin followed the example of Vienna and threw up

Revolts
in Italy

Sardinia
defeated

The Roman
Republic
overthrown

The
democratic
movement
in Germany

barricades. Frederick William IV¹ bowed before the storm. He promised a constitutional government for Prussia and even consented to ride in state through the streets of the pacified capital wearing the colors of the triumphant revolution.

The German people at this time also took an important step toward unification. A national assembly, chosen by popular vote, with one representative for every fifty thousand inhabitants, met at Frankfort to establish a form of government for the united Fatherland. It was decided to set up an imperial federation, including Prussia, but excluding the non-Germanic territories of Austria. Rights which no German citizen then possessed, such as freedom of speech, of press, of petition, of meeting, were expressly guaranteed by the proposed constitution.

The Frankfort Assembly offered the title and office of emperor to Frederick William IV. He declined both. That Prussian ruler had no desire to exchange his monarchy by divine right for a sovereignty resting on the votes of the people; he would not accept a "crown of shame" from the hands of a popular assembly. Moreover, he knew that the house of Hapsburg would never consent willingly to the assumption of the imperial dignity by a Hohenzollern. Prussia thus made "the great refusal" which destroyed the hope of creating by peaceful means a democratic German empire.

Rebuffed by Prussia and faced with the opposition of Austria, the Frankfort Assembly dwindled out of existence. Nothing remained but to restore the weak Germanic Confederation, completely under Austrian influence. The collapse of the national movement drove some of the more radical Germans in Saxony, Baden, and the Rhenish Palatinate to attempt to establish a republic by force of arms. Prussian troops bloodily suppressed the uprising.

The revolts of 1848 died down, seemingly without advancing

¹ A son of Frederick William III (1797-1840).

the cause of either nationalism or democracy. Bohemia and Hungary continued to be subject to the Hapsburgs; Italy and Germany remained disunited. The Austrian constitution was revoked when Francis Joseph I, an apt pupil of Metternich, came to the throne. The constitution which Frederick William IV granted to Prussia in 1850 turned out to be a very illiberal document. In France, also, the new republic soon drifted on the rocks of reaction.

Significance
of the
"February
Revolution"
in Europe

198. The Second French Empire, 1852-1870

Louis Napoleon, upon becoming president of France, swore to remain faithful to the republic. Events soon showed how well the oath was kept. His uncle had progressed by rapid strides from the consulate to the empire; he himself determined to use the presidency as a stepping-stone to the imperial crown. So successfully did he curry favor with all groups of opinion among the French people, so skillfully did he strike all the chords of national memory evoked by the name Napoleon, that it was not long before he attained his goal.

An
ambitious
president

The republican constitution had limited the president's term to four years, without the privilege of reelection. Louis Napoleon did not intend to retire to private life and determined to carry through a *coup d'état*. On the anniversary of the battle of Austerlitz, loyal troops occupied Paris, dissolved the legislature, and arrested the president's chief opponents. The French people, when called upon by a *plébiscite* to express an opinion as to these proceedings, ratified them by a large majority. Louis Napoleon then made over the government in such a way as to give himself well-nigh absolute power.

The coup
d'état,
1851

It needed only a change of name to transform the republic into an empire. An almost unanimous popular vote in 1852 authorized the president to accept the title of Napoleon III,¹ hereditary emperor of the French.

A new
emperor,
of the
French, 1852

¹ See page 534, note 1.

France under her new sovereign had a constitution, representative assemblies, universal suffrage, all the machinery of popular rule. But she was free in appearance only. The emperor kept control of law-making, diplomacy, the army and navy, and the entire administrative system. The prosperity of the French people

**Domestic
policy of
Napoleon III**



NAPOLEON III AND EUGÉNIE

The French emperor married a Spanish lady, Eugénie de Montijo. She died in Spain in 1920. From a lithograph made in 1855.

under his "enlightened" despotism helped to reconcile them to the loss of liberty. What discontent existed was quieted by the press censorship and other agencies of repression. France for eighteen years seemed like a sickroom where no one might speak aloud.

"The empire means peace," Napoleon III

**Foreign
policy of
Napoleon III** had announced shortly

before mounting the throne. Nevertheless, when emperor, he proceeded to make war. Successful warfare would win back for France her primacy in Europe and at the same time would make his own position secure. Napoleon III, like Napoleon I, believed that all the French people wanted to satisfy them was military glory. It was his aggressive foreign policy, particularly in respect to Italy and Germany, which first involved him in embarrassments and led to the ruin of his empire.

199. United Italy, 1859-1870

The extreme length of Italy in proportion to its breadth and its division into two unequal parts by the Apennines are

not favorable to national unity. Historical circumstances have been even more unfavorable. In medieval and modern times Lombards, Franks, Normans, Germans, French, Spaniards, and Austrians — to say nothing of Moslems and Byzantines — had established themselves in the peninsula. It was the settled policy of the popes to keep Italy fragmentary, lest the papal territories should become dependent on secular powers. The Italians, furthermore, preserved from antiquity the tradition of small, separate city-states, ruled, it may be, by despots or else self-governing, but in any case independent. Such were the cities of northern Italy during the Middle Ages.

Obstacles
to national
unity

In spite of all obstacles, the Italians in the nineteenth century had made up their minds to be a free, united people. National ideas reached them through the French revolutionists, who set up republics in the peninsula. Napoleon Bonaparte, himself of Italian parentage, by forming a "kingdom of Italy" and by annexing the States of the Church, also turned their thoughts toward unity and freedom.

Nationalism
in Italy,
1789-1815

The reaction which followed the Congress of Vienna gave increased momentum to the national movement. A secret society, the *Carbonari* ("charcoal burners"), spread over the peninsula and incited the first unsuccessful revolutions against Austria. The *Carbonari* later made way for "Young Italy," an organization founded by the ardent patriot, Mazzini. Its motto was "God and the people"; its purpose, the creation of a republic. Many men who did not favor republican principles hoped to form a federation of the Italian states under the presidency of the pope. Many more pinned their faith to a constitutional monarchy under the house of Savoy. All three groups were intensely national; all three were determined to bring about the *Risorgimento*, the "resurrection" of Italy.

Italian
nationalism,
1815-1848

The events of 1848-49 brought these groups together. The pope had shown himself unwilling to head the national movement. Mazzini had failed in his attempt to set up a Roman

republic. More and more, the nationalists turned to Victor

Victor Em-
manuel II

Emmanuel II, king of Sardinia,¹ as the most promising leader in the struggle for independence.

Victor Emmanuel was a devoted Churchman. He was also a thorough liberal. His father in 1848 had granted

a constitution to the Sardinian kingdom; he maintained it, in spite of Austrian protests, when all the other Italian princes relapsed into absolutism. Patriots of every sort, Catholics, republicans, and constitutionalists, could rally about such a king.

Victor Emmanuel had a great minister in the

Camillo
di Cavour,
1810-1861

Piedmontese
noble, Count
Cavour. He

was a man of fine cultivation, who knew England well, warmly admired the English



COUNT CAVOUR

The last portrait of Cavour.

system of free government, and felt a corresponding hatred of absolutist principles. Upon becoming premier, he bent every effort to make Sardinia a strong and liberal state; strong enough to cope with the Austrians, liberal enough to attract to herself all the other states of Italy.

Cavour realized that Sardinia would need foreign aid in the coming struggle against Austria and sought the friendship of Cavour and Napoleon III. The emperor seems to have felt a genuine sympathy for oppressed Italy; moreover, like his uncle, he thought to win glory on Italian battle-

¹ The kingdom of Sardinia included not only the island of that name, but also Savoy and Piedmont on the mainland. See page 546.

fields. In return for the duchy of Savoy and the port of Nice, he now promised an army to help expel the Austrians from the Alps to the Adriatic. The bargain once struck, Cavour had next to provoke a conflict with Austria. Napoleon III hesitated at the last moment, but Cavour insisted. "I will fire the powder," he said, "and when Italy runs with blood, you will have to march."

The war which followed was over in a few months.

The allied victory of Magenta compelled the Austrians to

Lombardy
ceded to
Sardinia,
1859

evacuate Milan; that of Solferino, to abandon Lombardy. Every one now expected them to be driven out of Venetia as well. Napoleon III, however, considered that he had done enough. He sought a personal interview with Francis Joseph I and privately arranged terms of peace. The Hapsburg emperor agreed to cede Lombardy to Sardinia, on condition that Venetia remained Austrian. Victor Emmanuel and Cavour, thus left in the lurch, were obliged to accept this treacherous treaty.



GIUSEPPE GARIBALDI

After a portrait taken at Naples in 1860.

The people of Central Italy, unaided, took the next step in unification. Already Modena, Parma, Tuscany, and the Romagna¹ had expelled their rulers and declared for annexation to Sardinia. Napoleon III, who did not relish a strong national state in the peninsula, at first refused to sanction this arrangement.

Central
Italy
annexed,
1860

¹ The northern part of the States of the Church.

Cavour secured his consent only by the cession of Savoy and Nice to France. An ironical diplomat described the transaction as Napoleon's *pourboire* (waiter's tip).

The third step in unification was taken by Garibaldi, a native of Nice, a soldier of liberty, and a picturesque, heroic figure.

The Two
Sicilies
annexed,
1860

He had already won renown in the defense of Mazzini's Roman republic and in the recent campaign against Austria. When the Sicilians

threw off Bourbon rule in 1860, Garibaldi went to their aid with one thousand red-shirted volunteers. It seemed

a desperate adventure, but his march through Sicily formed a triumphal progress. Having conquered the island, Garibaldi crossed to the mainland and soon took possession of Naples. The Two Sicilies voted for annexation to Sardinia. Garibaldi then handed over his conquests to the Sardinian king, and the two liberators rode through the streets of Naples side by side, amid the plaudits of the people.

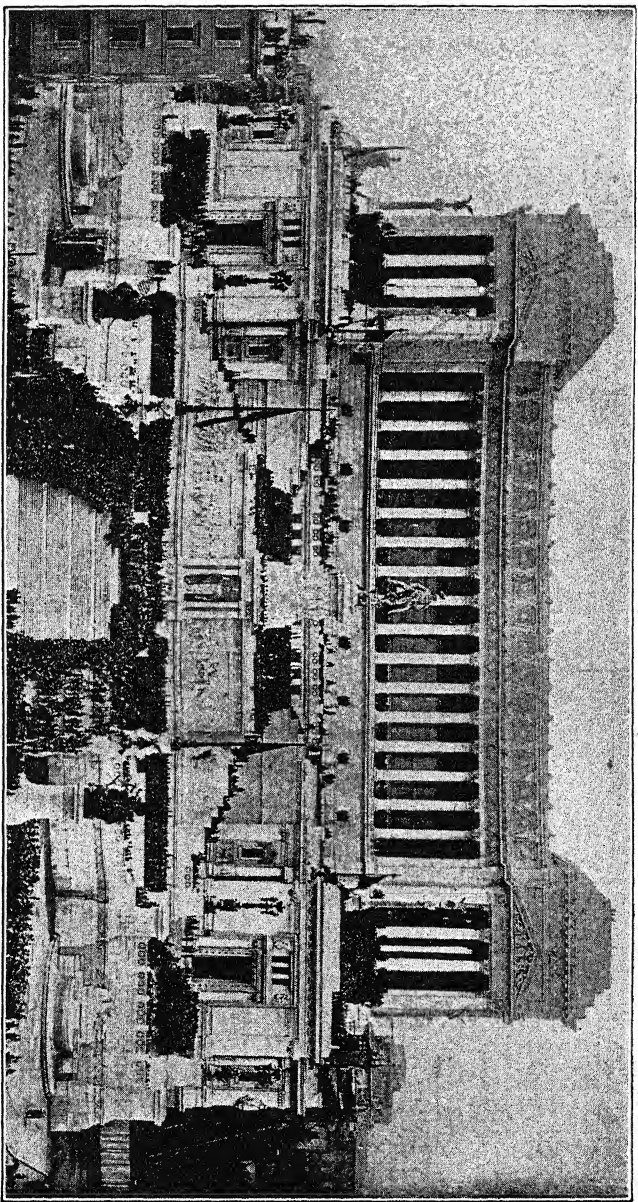


"THE RIGHT LEG IN THE BOOT AT LAST"

A cartoon which appeared in the English journal
Punch for November 17, 1860.

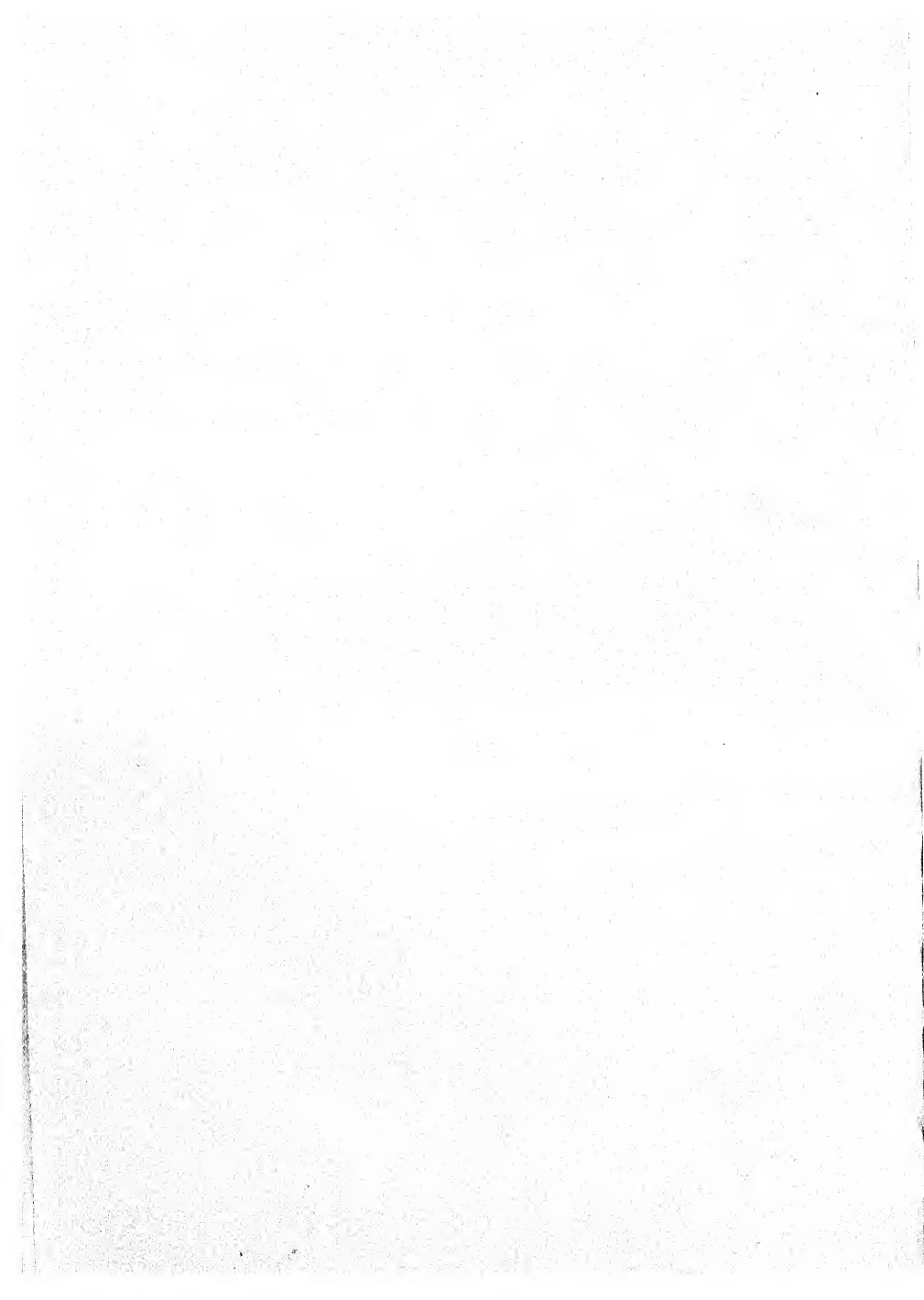
Cavour, the intervention of Napoleon III, Garibaldi's sword, and the popular will thus united the larger part of Italy within two years. A national parliament met at Turin in 1861 and conferred the Italian crown upon Victor Emmanuel. Cavour passed away soon afterwards. "Let me say a prayer for you, my son," said a

Kingdom of
Italy, 1861



MONUMENT TO VICTOR EMMANUEL II, ROME

A colossal structure of white marble, begun in 1885 and dedicated in 1911. It stands against the Capitoline Hill and serves as a pedestal for a gilded bronze statue of the Italian king. The portico in the background measures 500 feet in length, 450 feet in breadth, and 250 feet in height. The design of the monument was suggested by the plan of a ruined Roman temple at Praeneste.



priest to the dying statesman. "Yes, father," was the reply, "but let us pray, too, for Italy."

The new kingdom was not quite complete. Venice and the



adjoining region were held by Austria. Rome and a fragment of the States of the Church were held by the pope. Winning of Venetia, 1866
 Two great European conflicts gave Victor Emmanuel both of these territories. Venetia fell to Italy in 1866, as her reward for an alliance with Prussia in the Austro-Prussian War.¹ A *plébiscite* of the Venetians, with

¹ See page 570.

only sixty-nine votes registered in the negative, approved this action.

Four years later the Franco-German War¹ broke out, compelling Napoleon III to withdraw the French garrison from Rome. An Italian army promptly occupied the city. The inhabitants by an immense majority voted for annexation to the monarchy. In 1871 the city of the Seven Hills,



LEO XIII

Pinakothek, Munich

After a portrait by Franz von Lenbach, painted in 1885.

once the capital of imperial Rome, became the capital of the kingdom of Italy.

Even these acquisitions did not quite round out "Unredeemed the Italian Italy" kingdom.

There was still an *Italia Irredenta*, an "Unredeemed Italy."

The district about Trent in the Alps (the Trentino) and the district about Trieste at the head of the Adriatic, though largely peopled by Italians, remained under Aus-

trian rule. The desire to recover her lost provinces led Italy in 1915 to espouse the cause of the Allies in the World War.

The temporal power of the Papacy, restored in 1815 by the Congress of Vienna, disappeared when the States of the Church entered the Italian kingdom. Pius IX, who was then pope, protested against the annexation of his territories, refused to recognize the Italian government as legitimate, and shut himself up in the Vatican palace. His successors, Leo XIII, Pius X, Benedict XV, and Pius XI, have followed

¹ See page 572.

the same policy. The pope is still an independent sovereign; he has his own court and diplomatic representatives; but he rules only a small district in Rome over which floats the papal flag.

200. United Germany, 1864-1871

The political unification of Germany formed another striking triumph for nationalism, even though it did not involve, as in the case of Italy, the removal of a foreign yoke. The German people had long desired to be one nation, but national unity could not be won as long as a motley crowd of kingdoms, principalities, duchies, counties, bishoprics, abbeys, and free cities encumbered German soil. Most of these states, great and small, were independent. Each made its own laws, held its own court, conducted its own diplomacy, and had its own army, tariffs, and coinage.

The German
"crazy-
quilt"

It is one of the ironies of history that Germany owes to Napoleon Bonaparte the first measures which made possible her later unification. By the Treaty of Campo Formio and subsequent treaties Napoleon secured for France the Germanic lands west of the Rhine, thus dispossessing nearly a hundred princes of their territories.¹ He subsequently reorganized much of Germany east of the Rhine, with the idea of setting up a few large states as a barrier between France on the one side and Austria and Prussia on the other.² This work survived the emperor's downfall. Germany in 1815 included only thirty-eight independent states, as compared with more than three hundred in 1789.

Napoleon
and uni-
fication

The impulse to German nationalism also came from the outside, through Napoleon's tyranny. A wave of patriotism swept over Prussia and the other states and led to the War of Liberation. The people rose in arms, not to seek foreign conquests, but to free themselves from foreign domination. "I have only one fatherland," wrote Stein in 1812, "that is called Germany." Arndt's

Napoleon
and
nationalism

¹ See page 521.

² See page 530.

famous war song, *What is the German Fatherland?* expressed the same patriotic spirit.

The hopes of German nationalists were dashed by the Congress of Vienna. The Germanic Confederation, which replaced the Holy Roman Empire, was equally feeble, equally futile. Each member of it continued to be independent, except in foreign affairs, which the Diet of the confederation controlled. Metternich's influence over the German princes, so successful in preventing a real union of Germany, was also successful in repressing all agitation for popular rights and representative government. The rulers of Germany thus forgot or ignored the sacrifices which their subjects had made in the cause of freedom. The War of Liberation turned out to be a victory, not for liberalism, but for reaction.

Germany, while still politically divided, became economically one. The customs duties levied by so many states seriously interfered with commerce. To meet this difficulty Prussia formed a *Zollverein* (Customs Union), which as early as 1834 included eighteen states. All the others, except Austria, afterwards joined it. Free trade prevailed between the members of the *Zollverein*, while a common tariff protected them against French and British competition.

The *Zollverein* showed the German people some of the advantages of union and encouraged them to look to Prussia for its attainment. At the same time, the failure of the revolution of 1848-49 revealed the fact that a united nation could not be founded by a popular movement, for which the princes had only hostility. The revolutionists in the Frankfort Assembly wished to eliminate Austria from their proposed union, because Austria was only in part, and that the smaller part, a German state. Austria, however, had no intention of surrendering her high place in Germany. The Prussian kingdom remained as the natural center of unity, but Prussia refused to merge herself in a German nation. She would rule Germany; she would not serve Germany. Rule it she very soon did.

The
Germanic
Confedera-
tion, 1815-
1866

The
Zollverein

Prussia and
German
unity

The death of Frederick William IV in 1861 called to the throne his abler brother, William I. The new king had industry and conscientiousness, as well as all the Hohenzollern ambition to exalt Prussia. A firm believer in divine right, he did not allow the constitution granted by his predecessor to interfere with his authority. Above everything a soldier, he set out to enlarge and reorganize the Prussian army so that it might again be, as in the days of Frederick the Great, the most formidable weapon in Europe.

The king's policies met the opposition of Prussian Liberals, who wished to unite Ger-

William I
and
Parliament

many, not by the sword, but by the spread of national ideas and the force of public sentiment. They commanded a majority in Parliament and refused to sanction

increased expenditures for the army. William I resolved to abdicate rather than yield. At this critical juncture he summoned Otto von Bismarck to be prime minister.

The man who crippled German liberalism and created militaristic, imperial Germany belonged to the *Junker* class,¹ which from the beginning had been the chief support of Hohenzollern absolutism. Birth, training, and inclination made him an aristocrat, an enemy of democracy, a foe of parliamentary government, a Prussian who would unify Germany by subjecting it to Prussia. His intentions as minister were sufficiently indicated in his own famous words: "Not by speeches and resolutions of



BISMARCK

After a painting by Franz von Lenbach.

Otto von
Bismarck,
1815-1898

¹ See page 429.

majorities are the great questions of the age to be decided, but by blood and iron."

Where Charles I and Strafford had failed in England, William I and Bismarck succeeded in Prussia. With the king's consent, his prime minister levied taxes arbitrarily and carried through the necessary military reforms. Bismarck then made ready for the overthrow of Austrian predominance in Germany. From his first entry into office he had disclosed an anti-Austrian bias. He refused to admit Austria to the *Zollverein* and recognized the new Italian kingdom with unfriendly haste; finally, he opposed Austrian policy in the so-called Schleswig-Holstein question.

The duchies of Schleswig and Holstein — the one partly Danish and partly German in population, the other entirely German — had been united to Denmark by a personal union through its ruler. They remained otherwise independent and stoutly resisted all efforts to incorporate them in the Danish kingdom. At last they broke away altogether, in order to unite with Germany. This gave Bismarck an opportunity to propose joint intervention by Austria and Prussia in the duchies. A brief war followed, in which the Danes were overcome by weight of numbers. As Bismarck anticipated, Austria and Prussia could not agree as to what should be done with the conquered duchies. The dispute between them furnished a pretext for the conflict which he had determined to provoke between the house of Hohenzollern and the house of Hapsburg.

Before hostilities began, the astute diplomacy of Bismarck isolated Austria from foreign support. Napoleon III engaged to remain neutral on the strength of Bismarck's vague promises (never meant to be kept) of territorial compensations from a victorious Prussia. Russia also preserved neutrality. Italy became an active ally of Prussia, in return for the coveted Venetia. Austria, on her side, had the support of Saxony, Hanover, Bavaria, and lesser German states. Thanks to the careful organization of the Prussian army by Roon and to Moltke's brilliant strategy,

Austro-Prussian War, 1866

the war turned out to be a "Seven Weeks' War." The Prussians at once took the offensive and crushed their Austrian adversaries at Sadowa (Königgrätz) in Bohemia. Francis Joseph I then sued for peace.

The negotiations which followed revealed Bismarck's statesmanship. His royal master wished to enter Vienna in triumph and take a large slice of the Hapsburg realm; **Peace with Austria** Bismarck counseled moderation in order to secure Austrian friendship in the future. By the Treaty of Prague Austria lost no territory except Venetia. She consented, however, to the dissolution of the Germanic Confederation.

Bismarck had now a free hand in Germany. His first step was the annexation to Prussia of the Schleswig-Holstein duchies, together with Hanover and several other allies of Austria north of the river Main. The Prussian dominions for the first time stretched without a break from Poland to the frontier of France. **North German Confederation, 1867** All the independent states north of the Main were then required by Bismarck to enter a North German Confederation, under the presidency of Prussia. The four states south of the Main,¹ which had thrown in their lot with Austria, did not enter the new confederation. They secretly agreed, however, to place their armies at the disposal of Prussia in the event of war with France.

For Bismarck, a Franco-German War "lay in the logic of history." He believed it inevitable, since France would never willingly consent to the formation of a strong, **Bismarck and France** united Germany. He also believed it necessary, for joint action by the north German and south German states against a common foe would quicken national sentiment and complete the work of unification under Prussia. Napoleon III, for his part, did not shrink from a contest which would satisfy French opinion and, if victorious, would firmly consolidate his dynasty. After 1867 both sides prepared for war.

In 1870 a single spark set the two countries aflame. A revolution had broken out in Spain, and the Liberals there had

¹ Bavaria, Baden, Würtemberg, and Hesse.

offered the crown to a cousin of William I. Napoleon III at once informed the Prussian monarch that he would regard the accession of a Hohenzollern as justification for war. William then gave way and induced his cousin to refuse the crown. Thereupon Napoleon demanded William's pledge never to allow a Hohenzollern to become a candidate in the future. This pledge William declined to make, and from Ems,



DENMARK AND SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN

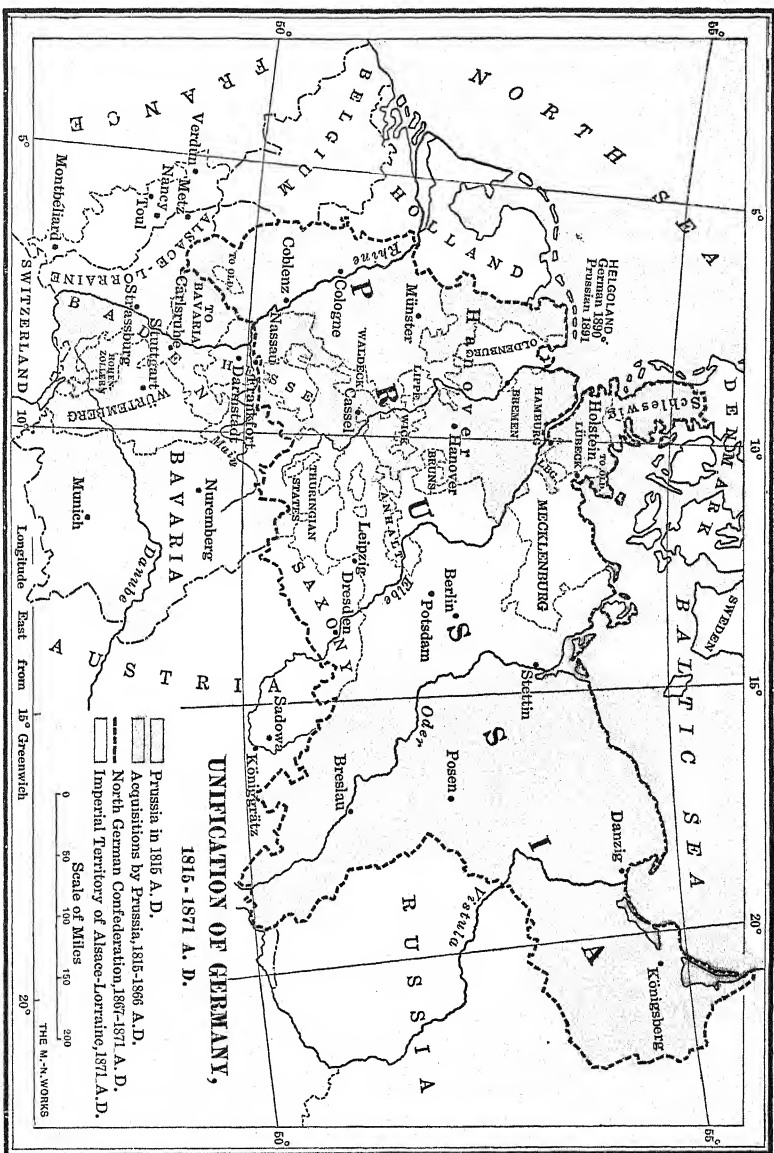
where he was staying, telegraphed his decision to Bismarck at Berlin. After learning from Roon and Moltke of Prussia's complete readiness for hostilities, Bismarck sent the king's statement to the newspapers, not in its original form, but so abbreviated as to be insulting. Bismarck said later that the Ems dispatch was intended to have "the effect of a red flag upon the Gallic bull." Soon after receiving it, France declared war.

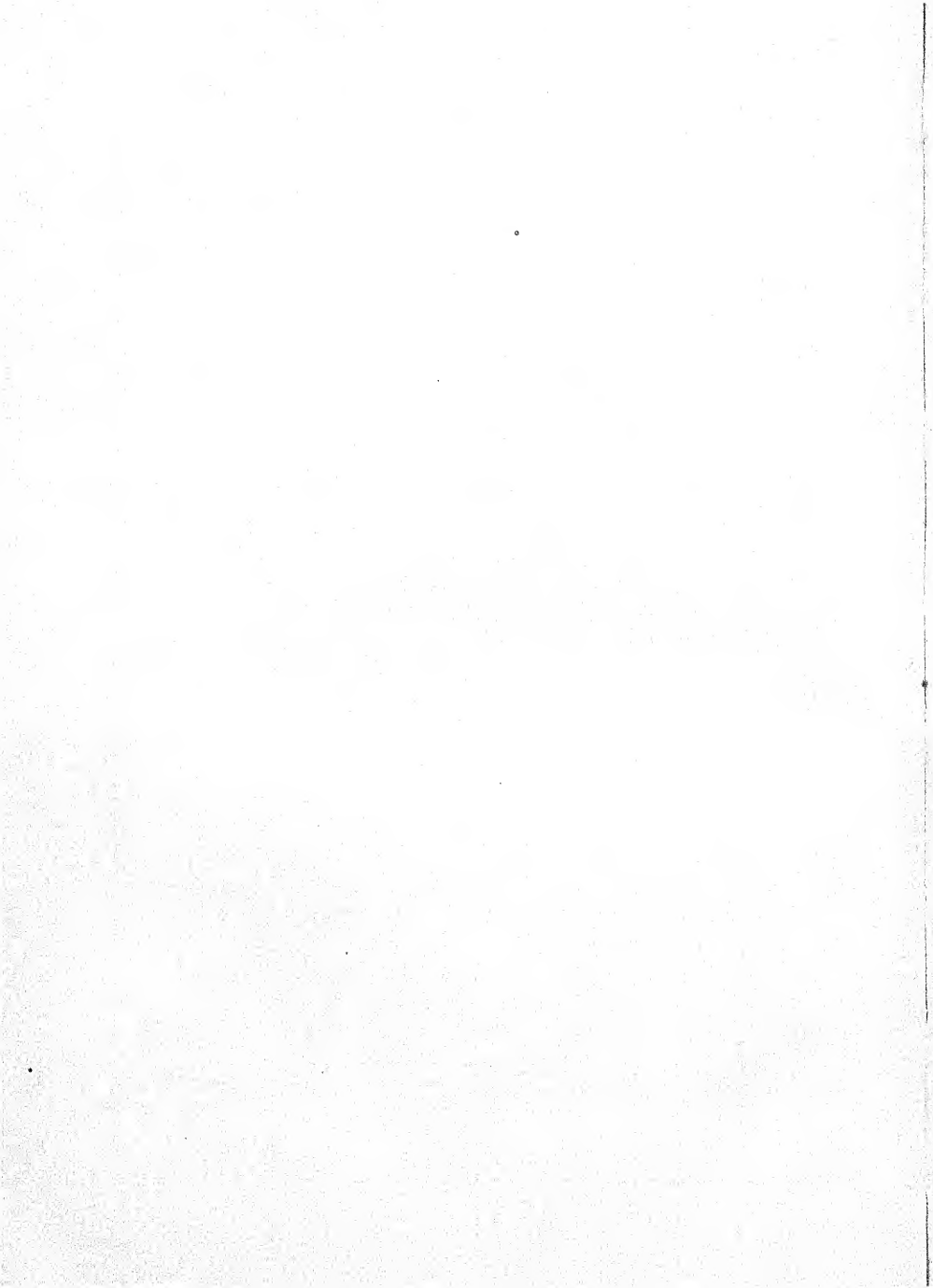
Fighting began in mid-July; by mid-August a French army under Bazaine was shut up in Metz; and

on September 2 the other army, commanded by Napoleon personally, was captured at Sedan. Bazaine surrendered Metz in October. Meanwhile, the Germans pressed forward the siege of Paris. It held out for four months and then capitulated (January, 1871) to cold and hunger rather than to the enemy. The war now ended.

Bismarck's harsh treatment of France contrasts sharply with his previous moderation toward Austria. By the Treaty of Frankfurt France agreed to pay an indemnity of one billion

Franco-
German War,
1870-1871





dollars and ceded to Germany nearly the whole of Alsace, including Strassburg, and part of Lorraine, including the fortress of Metz. Prussia, as far back as 1815, had tried to secure these provinces, in order to provide a better frontier for her Rhenish possessions. Bismarck took them in 1871, ostensibly to regain what had once been German territory,¹ but really because of their value as a barrier against France. Supposed military necessity thus led to the action, which, more than anything else, unsettled the peace of the world for nearly half a century.

Peace with
France

Paris had not capitulated, the Treaty of Frankfort had not been signed, before united Germany came into existence. The four south German states yielded to the national sentiment evoked by the war and agreed with Prussia to enter the North German Confederation, rechristened the German Empire. On January 18, 1871, in the great hall of Versailles, William I took the title of German emperor.

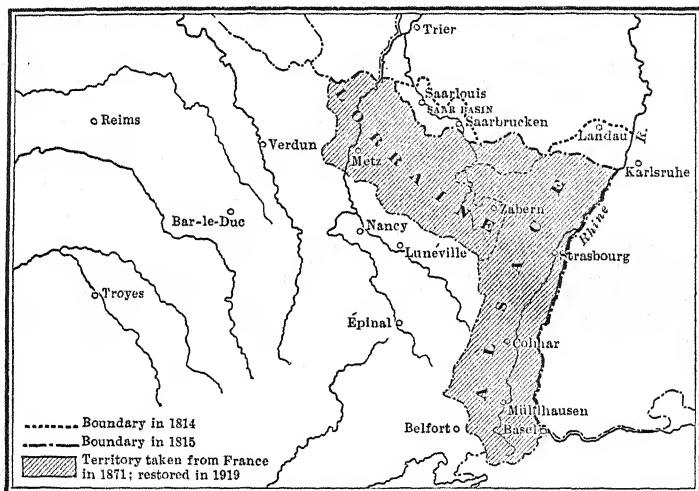
The
German
Empire,
1871

Studies

1. On an outline map indicate the additions to the kingdom of Sardinia, 1859-1870. 2. Locate the battle-fields of Novara, Solferino, Magenta, Sadowa (Königgrätz), and Sedan. 3. For what were the following persons famous: Talleyrand; Kossuth; Mazzini; Garibaldi; and Moltke? 4. "The nineteenth century is precisely the history of the work which the French Revolution left." Comment on this statement. 5. How does the history of the nineteenth century in Europe illustrate the statement that "nations are seldom born except on the field of battle"? 6. Why is nationality so hard to suppress by force? Why was so little attention paid to the claims of nationality by the Congress of Vienna? 7. Why did Paris and not the provinces play the chief part in the French revolutionary outbreaks from 1789 to 1871? 8. Why has France been styled the "magnetic pole of Europe"? 9. Compare the "July Revolution" in France with the "Glorious Revolution" in England, and Charles X with James II. 10. Compare the *coup d'état* of Louis Napoleon with that of Napoleon Bonaparte. 11. Compare the advantages received by France from the revolution of 1848 with those received from the revolutions of 1830 and 1789. 12. Show that the Alps provide a less satisfactory natural frontier for northern Italy than the Pyrenees for northern Spain. 13. Why has the Po valley been called the "cockpit of Europe"? 14. Why should Garibaldi, rather than Cavour, be the national hero of Italy? 15. Where is the republic of San Marino? 16. What is *Irredentism*? 17. Why is the pope called the

¹ See pages 372 and 403.

"prisoner of the Vatican"? 18. Can Bismarck's action in altering the text of the Ems dispatch be justified? 19. Why did Germany treat Austria mildly in 1866 and France harshly in 1871? 20. "The Seven Years' War may be looked upon as the first act of the drama that was played out at Sadowa and Sedan." Explain this statement. 21. What is meant by the saying that "Prussia was hatched from a cannon ball"? 22. Show that the German Empire, as established in 1871, was in no sense a continuation or restoration of the Holy Roman Empire. 23. Compare William I with Victor Emmanuel II and Cavour with Bismarck.



ALSACE-LORRAINE

CHAPTER XXII

THE DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT IN EUROPE, 1871-1914¹

201. Modern Democracy

The idea of democracy, so emphasized by the French Revolution, has been not less potent than that of nationalism in making modern history. What is democracy? What is democracy? The word comes from the Greek and means the rule of the people. But all the people did not rule, even in the most democratic of Greek cities. Ancient democracy was exclusive. Slaves enjoyed no political rights, while freedmen and foreigners were seldom naturalized and allowed to take part in public affairs. A thoroughly democratic state at the present time does not recognize any slave class, freely admits foreigners to citizenship, and grants the suffrage to all native-born and naturalized men, and in some cases to women as well.

Democracy in antiquity was direct, while that of to-day is representative. Every citizen of Athens or Rome had a right to appear and vote in the popular assembly. With the growth of national states this form of government became impossible. The population was too large, and distances too great for all the citizens to meet in public gatherings. Voters now simply choose some one to represent them in a parliament or congress.

Direct and
represent-
ative
democracy

The representative system, though not unknown to the Greeks and Romans, was little used by them. It developed during the Middle Ages, when such countries as Denmark, Sweden, the Netherlands, France, and England established legislative bodies representing the three "estates" of clergy, nobility, and commoners. Most of these medieval legislatures afterwards disappeared or sank into insignificance, but the English Parliament continued

Develop-
ment of
representa-
tion

¹ Webster, *Historical Source Book*, No. 22, "Chartist Petition, 1838."

to lead a vigorous existence. It thus furnished a model for imitation, first by the American colonies, then by revolutionary France, and during the past hundred years by nearly all Europe.

Modern democracy has also a constitutional character. There is generally a written constitution to guarantee the rights of the people. The first document of this sort for a national state was the Union of Utrecht, drawn up by the revolting Dutch provinces in 1579. The second was the Cromwellian Instrument of Government (1653). The third was the Constitution of the United States (1787). The French constitution which went into effect in 1791 became the parent of the constitutional systems of contemporary Europe.

The democratic and national movements have proceeded side by side throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Democracy and nationalism Between 1848 and 1871 the more conspicuous victories were those won for nationalism in Italy and Germany. Since 1871 the advance of democracy has been especially marked. Both autocracy, the rule of one, and aristocracy, the rule of a few, seem fated everywhere to disappear. It is a significant fact that nearly all the existing governments of Europe have assumed their present democratic form within the last fifty years.

202. The United Kingdom

The constitution of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland¹ consists first, of royal charters, second, of parliamentary statutes, third, of the Common law as expressed in court decisions, and fourth, of international treaties. Besides such documents, it includes a large mass of customs, traditions, and precedents, which, though unwritten, are none the less binding on Crown and Parliament. We shall now see how this very flexible, ever-growing constitution was adapted to democratic needs during the nineteenth century.

Constitution of the United Kingdom

¹ Ireland in 1801 was joined to Great Britain to form the United Kingdom.

EUROPE IN 1871 A.D.

Scale of Miles
0 100 200 300 400 500 600

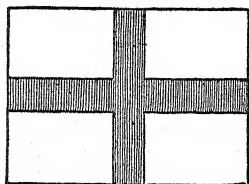
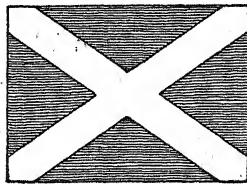
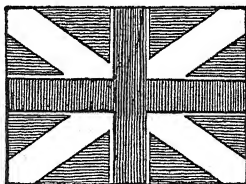
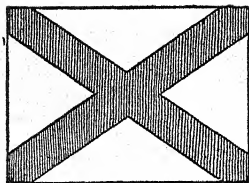
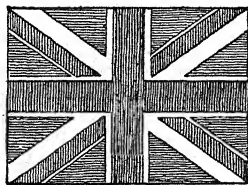
20° Longitude West 10° 0° 10° Longitude East 20° 30° East from 30° Greenwich 40° 50° 60°

30° 40° 50° 60° Latitude North

THE N. N. CO. NEW YORK

THE M.-N. CO., BUFFALO, N. Y.

The personal government of George III broke down under the shock of the American Revolution, and Parliament recovered its supremacy.¹ A few years later came the Revolution in France, which promised at first to sweep away privilege and class distinctions in Great Brit-
Tory
reaction

1. *England*2. *Scotland*3. *Great Britain*4. *Ireland*5. *Great Britain and
Ireland*

THE UNION JACK

The Act of Union with Scotland (1707) required that England and Scotland should have one flag made of the crosses of St. George and St. Andrew combined. After the union with Ireland (1801) the cross of St. Patrick was incorporated in the flag. The name "Jack" comes from the French *Jacques*, referring to James I, the first sovereign of Great Britain.

ain as on the Continent. But the excesses of the French radicals filled conservative Englishmen with deep distrust of all innovations in government or society. The long revolutionary and Napoleonic wars also delayed reform movements in Great

¹ See page 438.

Britain. The Tories had a majority in the House of Commons throughout the period from 1789 to 1815, and Tory statesmen stood rock-like against everything that savored of democracy.

According to the representative system which had been fixed in medieval times, each of the counties (shires) and most

The un-reformed House of Commons of the towns (boroughs) of Great Britain and Ireland had two members in the House of Commons. Representation, however, bore no relation to the size of the population in either case: a

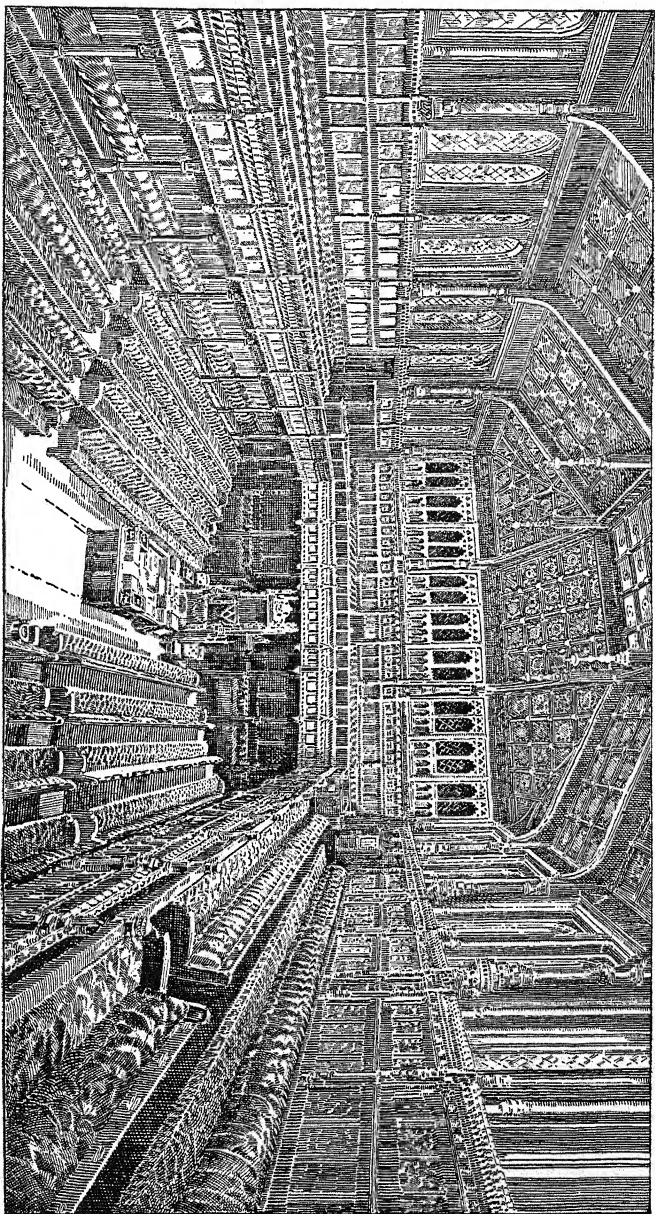
large county and a small county, a large town and a small town, sent the same number of representatives. Some flourishing places, such as Birmingham, Manchester, Leeds, and Sheffield, which had grown up since the Middle Ages, were without representation. Other places—the so-called “rotten” boroughs—continued to enjoy representation long after they had so decayed that nothing remained of them but a single house, a green mound, a park, or a ruined wall. The electoral system was equally antiquated. Only the small class of landowners could vote in the counties, while in most of the towns a handful of persons possessed the franchise. There were even some “pocket” boroughs, where a rich man, usually a nobleman, had acquired the right of naming the representatives. As the Younger Pitt truly declared, “This House is not a representation of the people of Great Britain; it is the representation of nominal boroughs, of ruined and exterminated towns, of noble families, of wealthy individuals, of foreign potentates.”

No improvement in these conditions took place until 1832.

The Whigs, who now had returned to power, passed a reform

Reform Act of 1832 measure three times through the House of Commons. Twice the House of Lords, staunchly

Tory, threw it out and accepted it on the third occasion only when riots and other popular demonstrations brought Great Britain to the brink of revolution. The Reform Act abolished many “rotten” and “pocket” boroughs and gave representation to large places which had never possessed that privilege. It also increased the number of voters to include shopkeepers in the towns and renters as well as owners of lands in the country.



INTERIOR OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

The narrow room in which the House of Commons holds its sessions contains seats for less than 350 of the 615 members. The discomfort in crowding is compensated for by the ease of hearing. The representatives sit on benches facing one another across the aisle. The Speaker of the House occupies a chair at the end of the room. On his right are the members of the Ministry; at his left, the Opposition. The Speaker's symbol, the mace, is carried before him when he formally leaves and enters the House, and remains on the table while he occupies the chair.

The next forward step came in 1867, when the prime minister, Disraeli, carried through Parliament an act extending the suffrage to workingmen in towns. Disraeli's parliamentary rival, Gladstone, extended it in 1884 to agricultural laborers. While these measures did not establish complete manhood suffrage, they went far toward making the House of Commons a truly

Reform Acts
of 1867 and
1884

representative and democratic body.

The House of Lords, composed of nobles and

bishops, remains the last refuge of aristocracy. In case of a conflict between it and the House of Commons, the latter can require the king to create enough new peers to carry the legislation desired. The threat of such action brought the Lords to terms in 1832. In 1911 a similar threat

The unreformed House of Lords



BENJAMIN DISRAELI

After a picture taken in 1867. In the possession of Major Coningsby Disraeli.

induced them to accept the very unpalatable Parliament Act. This measure deprived the upper chamber of all control of money bills. It further provided that every other bill passed by the Commons in three successive sessions (extending over two years at least) and rejected by the Lords at each of the three sessions should become law. The House of Commons thus secured the final word in legislation. Many reformers would like to see the House of Lords made an elective instead of a hereditary body, while others would abolish it altogether.

The United Kingdom is a monarchy only in form. The king neither makes nor enforces laws, and he must give his

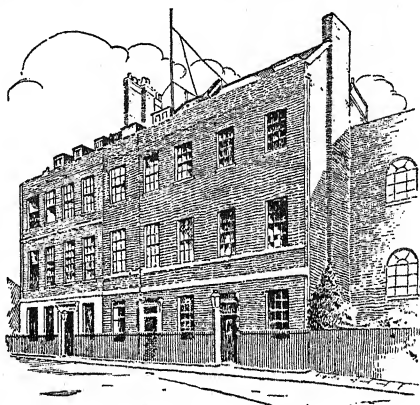
consent to any measure passed by Parliament. The last royal veto of legislation was more than two centuries ago. Nor may the courts set aside an act of Parliament as illegal, for every statute is a part of the constitution. All authority thus resides in Parliament, and Parliament represents the people.

Omnipotence
of Parlia-
ment

Parliament works through a committee known as the cabinet. This body exists by custom and has no place whatever in the written constitution. The cabinet usually includes about twenty lords and commoners belonging to the party in power. They are selected by the

The cabinet

prime minister, who is the recognized leader of the majority party. Members of the cabinet hold the chief administrative positions and draft the more important legislative measures to be laid before Parliament. Should the cabinet lose the support of a majority of the House of Commons, it must either resign or "go to the country." In the latter case, the king dissolves Parliament and calls a general election. The re-



NO. 10, DOWNING STREET

The larger of the two houses here shown is the official residence of the British prime minister. It faces a little street opening into Whitehall and near the Parliament buildings.

turn of a majority favorable to the cabinet permits it to remain in office; otherwise a cabinet is formed by the opposition party.

This system of cabinet government clearly fixes responsibility. In the first place, the cabinet ministers at every step are responsible to the House of Commons. They hold office and conduct affairs only as long as their policies find acceptance with a majority in the popular branch of the legislature. In the second place, members of the House

Cabinet
government

of Commons are themselves constantly responsible to the nation. They are not elected for a definite term, and a new general election must be held immediately after the dissolution of Parliament.

The two parties — Whigs and Tories — which arose in the seventeenth century, continued to control Parliament in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The Whigs after 1832 took the name of Liberals, and the Tories that of Conservatives.¹ The union of Great Britain and Ireland brought in over a hundred Irish members, most of whom formed the Nationalist Party. It stood for Home Rule for Ireland and allied itself with the Liberals. The Nationalists gave way, however, to the Sinn Fein Party, which secured in 1922 the creation of the Irish Free State. The Labor Party in 1924 was strong enough to form a cabinet and for a time to conduct the government.

203. The Third French Republic

The Third Republic was born in the midst of war. Two days after Sedan, upon the receipt of a dispatch from Napoleon III announcing his army captured and himself a prisoner, Paris broke out in rebellion. The empress Eugénie fled with her son to England, and the revolutionists under Thiers and Gambetta set up a republican Government of National Defense. Gambetta then escaped from Paris in a balloon, roused the fighting spirit of the French people by his eloquence, and carried on for several months a struggle against the German enemy.

The peace treaty with Germany had hardly been signed before France went through a terrible experience. The Commune,² or municipal council of Paris, fell into the hands of radical republicans, socialists, and anarchists, who raised the red flag. They formed an independent government in the capital and even proposed to break up all France into a loose federation of

¹ Since 1886 generally called Unionists because they desire to retain the union of Great Britain and Ireland.

² See page 506.

self-governing communes. The French people this time did not accept a revolution made in Paris. A civil war, lasting two months, followed. Loyal troops finally entered Paris, fought their way street by street, and suppressed the insurrection amid scenes of bloodshed unparalleled in the annals of even that turbulent city.

The "communard" uprising thoroughly discredited radicalism and made

Constitu-
tion of
1875

it certain that the Third Republic would be moderate and conservative in character. Four years went by before the new government took final shape. During this time a National Assembly met at Versailles and passed the series of laws forming the present constitution of France.



L. A. THIERS

After a portrait by Léon Bonnat painted in 1876.

The constitution established a parliamentary system of government, which resembles that of the United Kingdom. The legislative power is vested in a Chamber of The
Deputies, containing (1914) 602 members, who are legislature
elected for four years by universal manhood suffrage, and a Senate of 300 members, chosen indirectly for a term of nine years. The Senate has less importance than the Chamber of Deputies, principally because the premier and his associates in the ministry are responsible to the latter body. The ministry must keep a majority in the Chamber of Deputies or resign. The two chambers, meeting together, may revise the constitution at any time.

The executive power is nominally vested in a president, who

holds office for seven years. He is chosen, not by a popular vote, but by the legislature. The president selects the premier, and with the consent of the Senate may dissolve the Chamber of Deputies before the expiration of its term and order a new election. He has no veto of legislation, but may return a measure to the two chambers for reconsideration. Every presidential act must be countersigned by some minister, who thereby assumes responsibility for it. The president is thus largely a figurehead; the premier is the actual head of the government.

There are in France no real parties, but only political groups. These include a few Monarchists, who would like to restore the Bourbons; the Socialists, who are steadily increasing in number; and many varieties of Republicans, both conservative and radical. No ministry can expect to live long unless it represents a coalition of several groups. In fact, it never does live long. France since 1875 has averaged more than one ministry a year. In spite of what seems an unstable government, the Third Republic has grown stronger with the lapse of time and now enjoys the support of almost every Frenchman.

204. Italy, Spain, Portugal, and Belgium

The kingdom of Italy ranks next to the French Republic among the Latin states of contemporary Europe. The Italian constitution is the liberal document granted by Charles Albert of Sardinia in 1848 and between 1859 and 1870 extended by popular vote to the entire peninsula. During these momentous years Italy thus gained both national unity and democratic government.

Supreme authority resides in a parliament of two houses, consisting of an elective Chamber of Deputies and an appointive Senate. A ministry conducts the government, subject to the will of the lower house. The king holds essentially an ornamental position, not unlike that of an English sovereign or a French president.

Property and educational qualifications for the suffrage

formerly limited the voters to less than two and a half per cent of the population. Laws passed in 1882 and 1912 **Suffrage** have introduced almost complete manhood suffrage. **in Italy** Only men under thirty years of age, who have neither performed their military service nor learned to read and write, are now denied the right to vote.

Spain during the nineteenth century had a checkered history. Ferdinand VII, the Bourbon king who came back after Napoleon's downfall, ruled so wretchedly as to provoke **Kingdom** an uprising. This led to intervention by the **of Spain** Concert of Europe and his second restoration.¹ He died in 1833, and for the next four decades Spain suffered from revolutions and civil wars. In 1873 the Spanish Liberals proclaimed a republic, which lasted barely two years. The old dynasty of the Bourbons then recovered the throne and still occupies it.

The present constitution, which dates from 1876, is liberal in character. It provides for representative gov- **The** ernment, a parliament (*Cortes*) of two chambers, **Spanish** and a responsible ministry. Manhood suffrage **constitution** has prevailed since 1890. The king, as in Italy, enjoys little real authority.

The history of Portugal in the nineteenth century duplicates that of Spain. Misgovernment, insurrections, and armed conflicts between rival factions kept the little **Republic of** country in turmoil and long delayed the march of **Portugal** democracy there. However, in 1910 the Portuguese overturned their monarchy and set up a republic. The republican constitution closely follows that of France.

Belgium, after the separation from Holland, became a limited monarchy of the modern type. "All powers," it is asserted in the constitution of 1831, "emanate from the **Kingdom of** people." The constitution was amended in 1893 **Belgium** to provide for manhood suffrage. At the same time, an interesting system of plural voting went into effect. A Belgian citizen who is the head of a family with children or who owns a certain amount of property has two votes, and one who satisfies

¹ See page 550.

certain educational requirements has three votes. The law makes voting obligatory and punishes a citizen for unexcused absence from the polls.

205. The German Empire

The German Empire, as established in 1871, was a federation. It included twenty-five states: four kingdoms, six grand-duchies, five duchies, seven principalities, and three free cities,¹ besides the imperial territory of Alsace-Lorraine. The imperial constitution allowed each state (but not Alsace-Lorraine until 1911) to manage its local concerns and specified what powers should be exercised by the central government.

Nature
of the
German
Empire

The king of Prussia was, *ex officio*, German emperor and president of the federation. He commanded the army and navy, chose ambassadors, and conducted foreign affairs. He might also of his own motion declare a defensive war, but the declaration of an offensive war required the consent of the Bundesrat.

The German
emperor

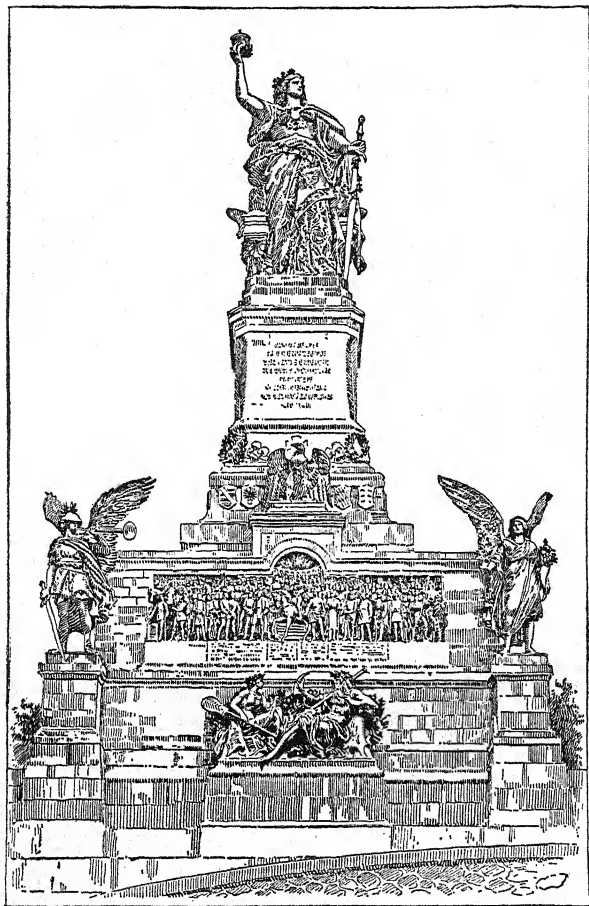
The Federal Council (*Bundesrat*) consisted of sixty-one delegates from the various states. They always voted in accordance with instructions given to them by their respective governments. The result was that the Bundesrat formed an aristocratic council of diplomats, representing (except in the case of the free cities) the hereditary German princes. The Bundesrat, in practice, made all the laws. It shaped in secret sessions the bills to be laid before the Reichstag for approval, and it had a veto of any bill passed by the latter body.

The
Bundesrat

The Imperial Diet (*Reichstag*) contained 397 members, elected for a term of five years by all men who had reached the age of twenty-five. Though democratic in composition, the Reichstag exerted little influence on legislation, as compared with the English House of Commons or the French Chamber of Deputies. It might introduce measures, but few of them were likely to receive the assent of the

The
Reichstag

¹ Hamburg, Bremen, and Lübeck. See page 243.



THE GERMAN NATIONAL MONUMENT

Designed by Johannes Schilling; begun in 1877; completed in 1883. The monument stands on a wooded hillside opposite Bingen and overlooking the Rhine valley. The great base, 82 feet high, supports the impressive figure of Germania, 34 feet high, with the imperial crown and the laurel-wreathed sword. On the side of the pedestal facing the river is a design symbolizing "The Watch on the Rhine." The other sides of the pedestal bear designs representing various scenes in the Franco-German War.

Bundesrat. On the other hand, if the Reichstag refused to pass a government measure, the Bundesrat and the emperor, by mutual agreement, could dissolve it and order a new election.

The Reichstag was thus little more than a debating society; it discussed, it did not govern.

The emperor's representative in dealing with the legislature was the chancellor. This official corresponded only in slight degree to the prime minister or premier in other governmental systems. He was responsible solely to the emperor, who appointed him and dismissed him at will. The chancellor presided over the Bundesrat, and in the name of the emperor laid before the Reichstag all measures which the Bundesrat had framed. He also selected the chief federal officers and supervised their activity.

It is clear that, while the German Empire was a constitutional state, it was not a democratic state. The constitution, which showed Bismarck's hand in every section, failed to provide for cabinet government. No ministry rose or fell at the will of the Reichstag, and the chancellor, the emperor's agent, held his position as long as he retained the emperor's confidence.

It is equally clear that the imperial constitution gave to Prussia a paramount position in Germany. The king of Prussia was German emperor; the chancellor was usually a Prussian; Prussia generally controlled a majority of votes in the Bundesrat; and Prussia kept a permanent majority of representatives in the Reichstag. That state had its own constitution, but one which did not seriously limit the royal power. The Prussian kingdom formed, in effect, an absolute monarchy. The Prussian king ruled by divine right.

Germany, like most Continental countries, had the many-party system. The political groups included Conservatives and Liberals of various shades of opinion, Roman Catholic Clericals, or Centrists, so designated from the seats which their representatives occupied on the floor of the Reichstag, and the Social Democrats or Socialists. In 1914 the Social Democrats were the largest party in Germany. Owing, however, to an unfair and antiquated system of representation, they possessed far fewer seats in the Reichstag than their numbers entitled them to.

206. The Dual Monarchy

The Dual Monarchy of Austria-Hungary stood next to the German Empire among the Teutonic powers of Europe. It was, of course, only in part Teutonic. Germans formed about a third of the population of Austria and about a tenth of that of Hungary. The other nationalities included Magyars, Latin or Romanic peoples (Rumanians and Italians), and Slavs.¹

Diversity of
nationalities
in Austria-
Hungary

These diverse nationalities had possessed a constitution since 1867. Taught by bitter experience, Francis Joseph

I in that year gave his consent to an *Ausgleich* (Compromise), which divided the Hapsburg realm into two independent states — the empire of Austria and the kingdom of Hungary. Each had its own parliament, ministry, and capital (Vienna and Buda-Pest). Both had one flag, one army, and one sovereign, who wore the joint crown of Austrian emperor and Hungarian king. There was also a common administration of foreign affairs.

Constitution
of the
Dual
Monarchy



FRANCIS JOSEPH I

The government of the Dual Monarchy was somewhat more democratic than that of the German Empire. Laws in Austria were made by a majority of the two houses of parliament and were executed by a ministry nominally responsible to

¹ Czechs and Slovaks in Bohemia, Moravia, and northern Hungary, Poles and Ruthenians in Galicia, Serbo-Croats in Croatia-Slavonia, Bosnia, and Dalmatia, and Slovenes in Styria and Carniola.

both houses, but practically servants of the Crown. The emperor, moreover, could often play off one parliamentary faction against another and thus secure his own way in legislation. Universal manhood suffrage prevailed since 1907. The law-making power in Hungary was likewise vested in a bicameral parliament with a nominally responsible ministry. Very illiberal qualifications for the suffrage reduced the number of voters to less than a fourth of the adult male population, and of these most were Magyars.

The principle of nationality, so effective for union in Italy and Germany, in Austria-Hungary worked for disunion. The Germans in Austria and the Magyars in Hungary were not only determined to preserve their own language and customs, but also to force them on the Latins and the Slavs. Until 1867 German repressed both Slav and Magyar; after that date he still repressed Czech, Ruthenian, Slovene, and Italian. Magyar, liberated from German domination in 1867, continued to lord it over Slovak, Rumanian, and Serbo-Croat. The result was great bitterness between the dominant and subject nationalities of the Dual Monarchy.

Government
of the
Dual
Monarchy

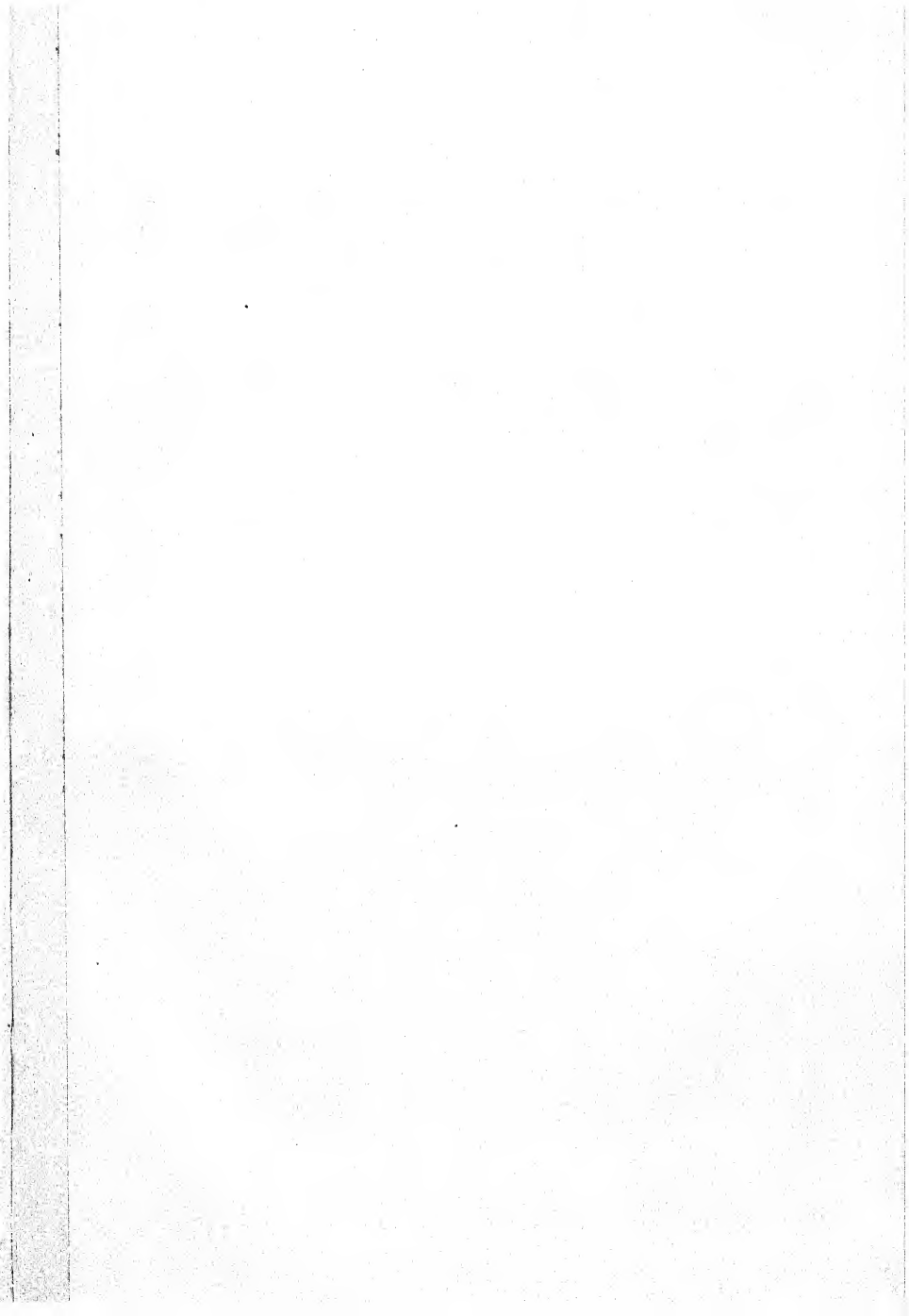
Conflict of
nationalities
in Austria-
Hungary

207. Switzerland, Holland, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden

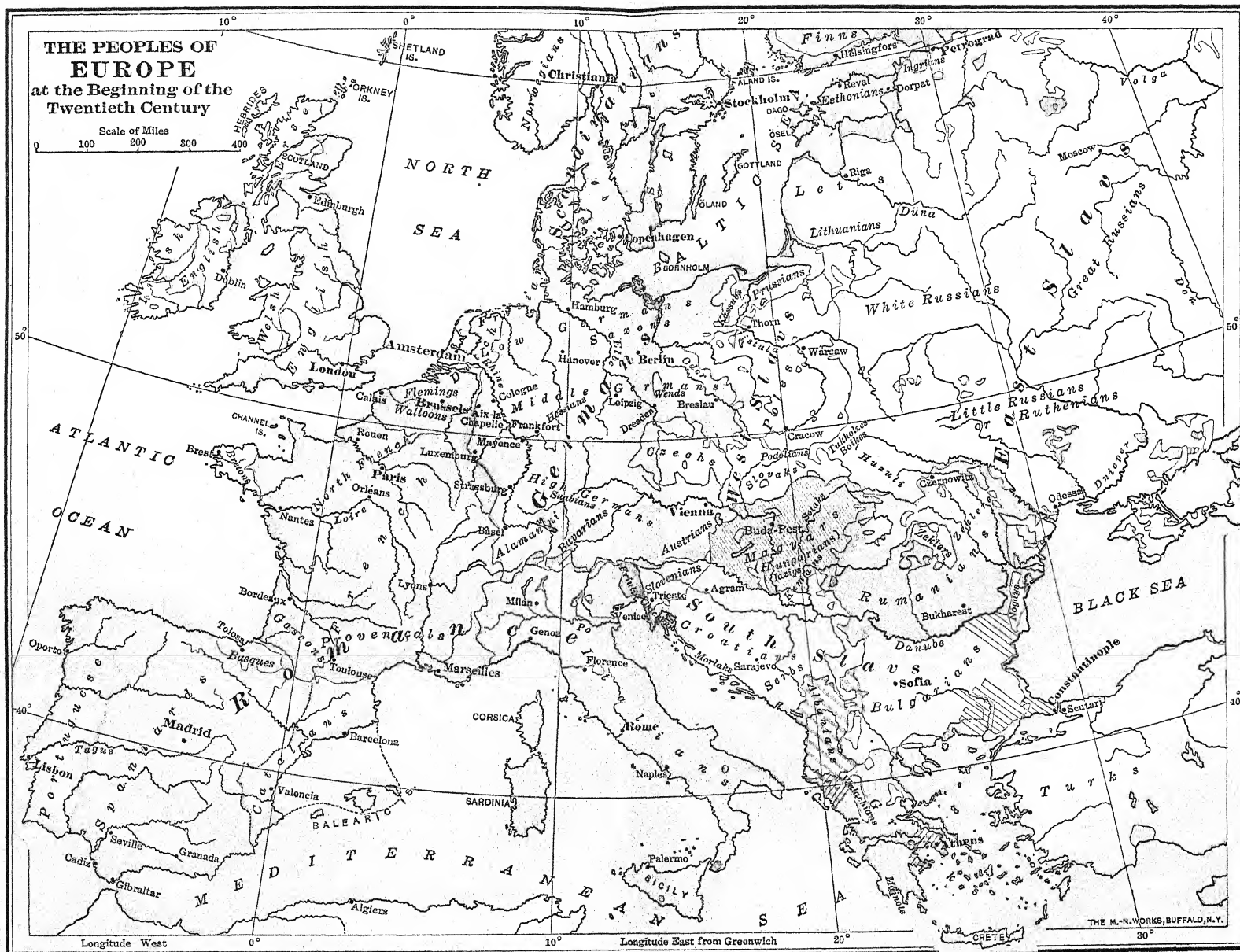
The Swiss cantons number twenty-two, of which fifteen are Teutonic in language, five are French-speaking, and two are Italian-speaking. A constitution adopted in 1848 and revised in 1874 joins them in a federal union somewhat resembling the United States. There is a legislature of two houses, the lower representing the people directly, the upper, each canton. The two houses in joint session name a committee to act as a kind of cabinet. The President of the Confederation is merely the chairman of this committee. He serves for one year.

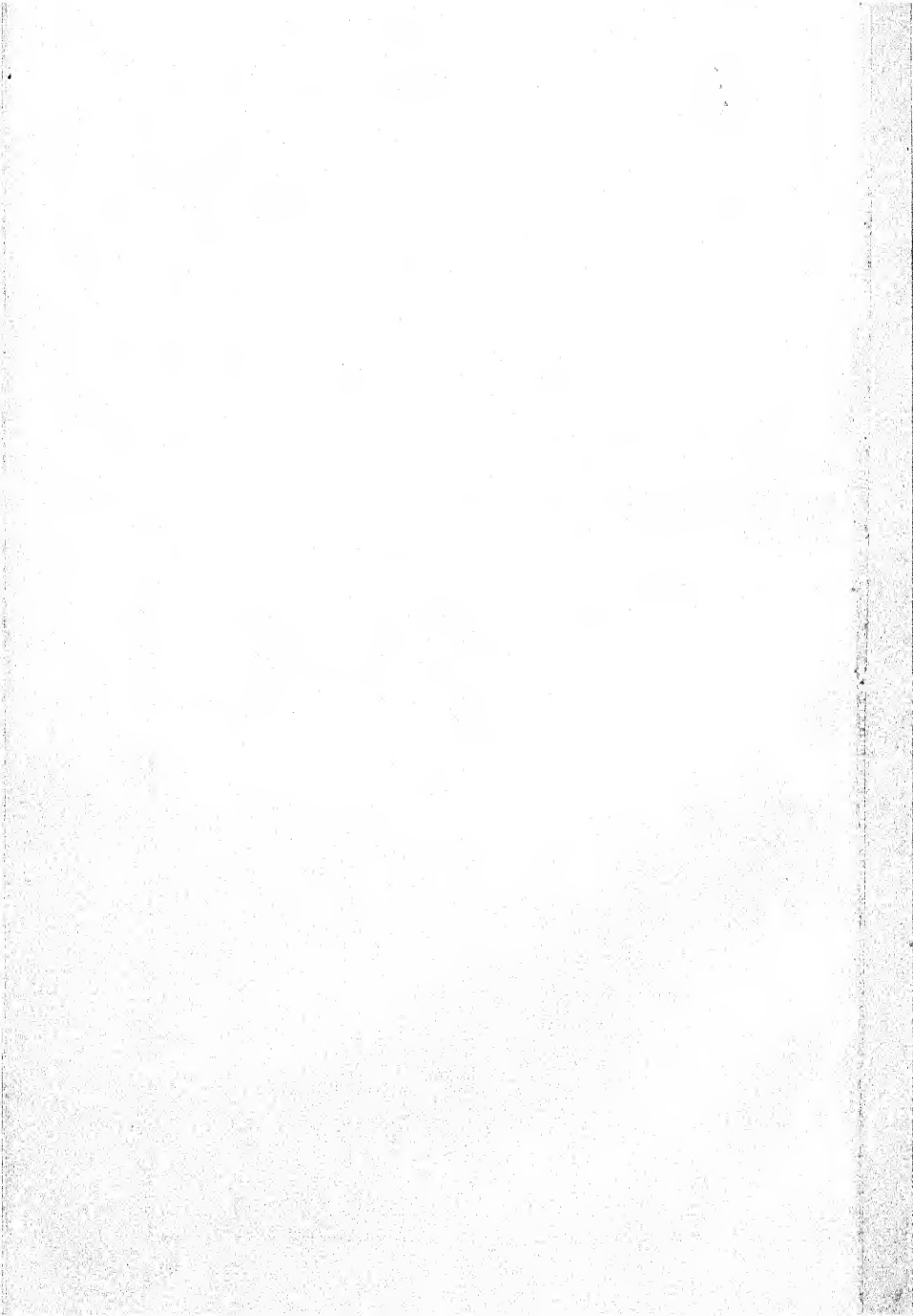
The democratic character of the Swiss is shown by their use of the initiative and referendum. Petitions signed by as many

Swiss
Confedera-
tion



Scale of Miles
0 100 200 300





as 30,000 citizens make it obligatory for the legislature to submit a measure passed by it to a popular vote. This is the referendum. Any 50,000 citizens can compel the government to lay before the people proposed amendments to the constitution. This is the initiative. The two devices give to the Swiss constant control of federal law-making.

Referendum
and in-
itiative in
Switzerland

The Dutch constitution dates from 1815. Successive revisions since then, especially in the revolutionary year, 1848, have made it a fairly liberal document. The Crown is still powerful, but the royal ministers are responsible to the States-General, or parliament. Property qualifications for voting, though lowered in recent years, exclude a good many Dutchmen from the suffrage. Holland is less democratic than her neighbor, Belgium.

Kingdom
of the
Netherlands

Denmark, Norway, and Sweden are monarchies, with written constitutions, bicameral parliaments, and substantially responsible ministries. Manhood suffrage prevails in all three countries.

The
Scandina-
vian
kingdoms

Norway, which the Congress of Vienna took from Denmark and joined with Sweden, became independent in 1905. The year 1914 saw the formation of the Scandivanian League, an informal alliance of the three countries for defensive purposes. It recalls the earlier Union of Calmar,¹ and if maintained, promises to give Scandinavia greater weight in the councils of Europe.

The
Scandina-
vian
League

208. The Russian Empire

The Russian people form three groups, speaking different Slavic dialects. The largest group is that of the Great Russians, who occupy the interior, the north, and the east of the country. They are the true Muscovites, their historic center being the ancient capital of Moscow. Next come the Little Russians (Ruthenians) of the Ukraine. They center about Kiev. The Cossacks are mainly Ukrainian colonists. The White Russians dwell to the west, in lands

Russians

¹ See page 419.

which once belonged to Lithuania. These three groups comprise more than half of the population of European Russia.

The non-Russians are found principally along the frontier. Most of them entered the Russian Empire in the eighteenth century, during the reigns of Peter the Great and Catherine the Great.¹ Early in the nineteenth century Alexander I took Finland from Sweden (1809), wrested Bessarabia from Turkey (1812), and absorbed most of Poland (1815). Russia thus reached her territorial limits in Europe. Her subject peoples included Lapps and Finns in Finland, Esths, Letts, and Germans in the Baltic provinces, Poles, and Lithuanians, Rumanians in Bessarabia, Mongols and other Asiatics chiefly in the southeastern part of the empire, and many Jews in the cities.

Alexander I began as a monarch of liberal tendencies and enlightened views. After Napoleon's downfall the tsar's ardor for reform grew cold. He came under Metternich's influence and faithfully supported the reactionary policy of that minister.

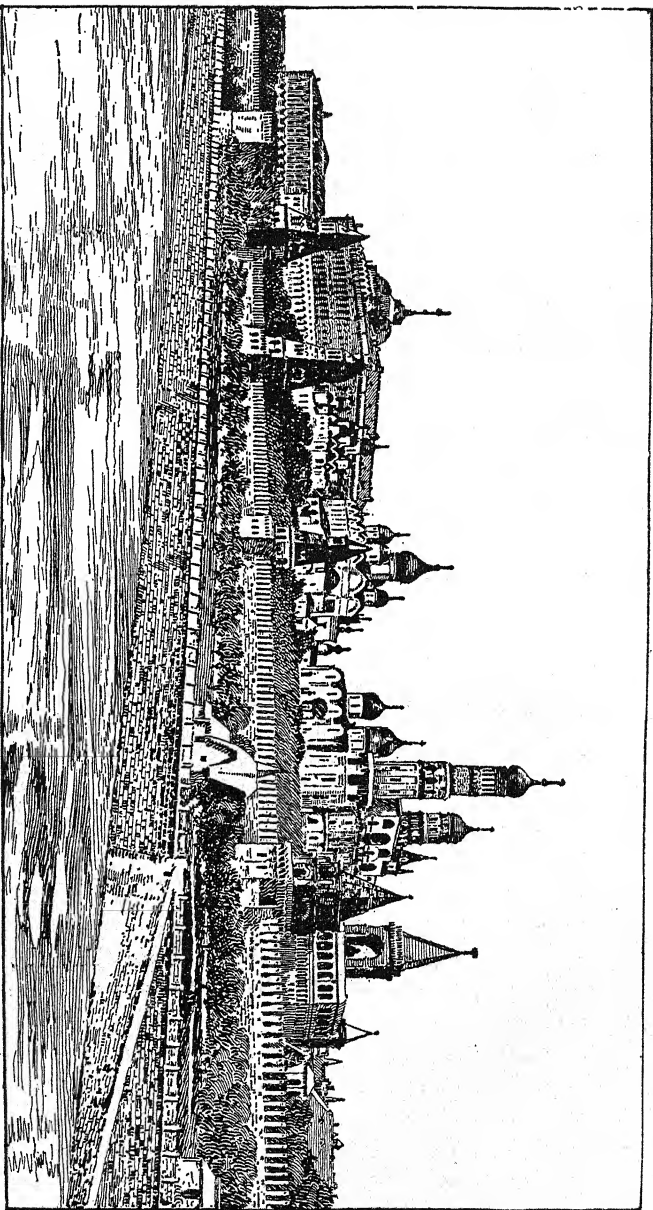
Nicholas I never felt any sympathy for either nationalism or democracy. We have already learned how he put down the Polish insurrection of 1830-31, and how in 1849 he interfered to suppress the revolution in Hungary.² To prevent liberal ideas from spreading among the Russians, the tsar relied on a strict censorship of the press, a passport system which made it difficult for any one to enter Russia or leave it, and an army of spies and secret police. During his reign of thirty years, Liberals by tens of thousands languished in prisons or trod the path of exile to Siberia. Nicholas I was the most brutal autocrat on the Continent.

The reign of Alexander II started with notable reforms, especially those which freed the Russian serfs and created elective provincial assemblies (*zemstvos*) for local government. Reaction set in again after a second Polish insurrection in 1863. It was at this time that a revolutionary movement, commonly called Nihilism,³

¹ See the map on page 413.

² See pages 553 and 557

³ Latin *nihil*, "nothing."



THE KREMLIN, MOSCOW

The Kremlin, from whose battlements Napoleon watched the burning of Moscow, is an old fort, about 100 acres in extent, occupying a hill above the Moskva river. It is inclosed by a high stone wall with 19 towers and 5 gates. The Kremlin contains a number of buildings, among them the Uspensky Cathedral where the tsars were consecrated, the private chapel where they were baptized and married, and the Imperial palace, a fine building in white stone with a gilded cupola. The great campanile of Ivan Veliky, erected in 1600, rises to a height of 378 feet. Close by is the celebrated Tsar-Kolokol (king of the bells), 65 feet in circumference around the rim, 19 feet high, and weighing 198½ tons. It was cast in 1735, but was broken before being hung.

began to threaten the existence of Russian autocracy. The Nihilists worked among both the artisans in the cities and the peasants in the country. Not being able to agitate publicly, some of them, together with anarchists, resorted to assassination as the only means of ridding the country of reactionary officials. The revolutionists acted on the principle that since the government ruled by terror, it must be fought with terror. Alexander II himself fell a victim to them in 1881.

Undeterred by his father's fate, Alexander III continued to be "Autocrat of all the Russias." The tsar's reign is chiefly significant for the efforts made by the government to "Russify" the whole empire, so that its non-Russian inhabitants should have one law, one language, and one religion. This policy led to severe treatment of the Poles, Lithuanians, Esths, Letts, and Germans, and especially of the Jews. The persecution of the Jews was followed by their emigration in great numbers to the United States.

The Russian government under Nicholas II did not abandon the policy of "Russification" which earned for it the hatred of Poland, Lithuania, and the Baltic provinces. To these was now added the Grand-Duchy of Finland. The Finns for ninety years had enjoyed self-government; Nicholas II by a manifesto swept away their most cherished privileges. Meanwhile, the opposition to autocracy developed rapidly in Russia, not only among the working people and peasants, but also among the middle classes and enlightened members of the nobility. All the liberal and discontented elements combined to demand for Russia the free institutions which were now no longer novelties in western Europe. Revolutionary disorders at length compelled the tsar to issue decrees in 1905-1906, granting a wide franchise and providing for a representative assembly (Duma). The Duma met four times and accomplished some useful legislation. It did not succeed, however, in winning liberty for the Russian people. The corrupt and inefficient autocracy seemed in 1914 to be as firmly established as ever.

**Alexander
III, 1881-
1894**

Nicholas II

209. Turkey and the Balkan States

The racial situation in the Balkan peninsula is exceedingly complex. Greeks, Thracians, and Illyrians were the earliest known inhabitants. Goths, Huns, and Avars left few recognizable traces there. The settlements of the Serbo-Croats, beginning in the sixth century, spread Slavic speech and customs throughout the area south of the Danube and between the Adriatic and the Black Sea. The Bulgarians, a people of Asiatic origin, appeared in the seventh century and in time adopted Slavic culture. Seven hundred years later came the Ottoman Turks.

The empire of the Ottoman Turks formed a typical Oriental despotism. The Sultan was not only lord of the Turkish realm, but also the caliph,¹ or spiritual head, of all Islam. He lived shut up in his seraglio at Constantinople and depended on his vizier (prime minister) and divan (council of ministers) to execute his will. Each province had its pasha (ruler), nominally subject to the Sultan, but more often than not practically independent of him. The pashas did little but collect tribute; real government in the interest of the people did not exist.

The Ottoman Empire was exclusively Moslem. Only those who accepted Islam were citizens. Many Christians in the Balkan peninsula adopted the faith of their conquerors, in order to enjoy political rights and escape the heavy taxes laid on unbelievers. Even including these converts, the Turks in southeastern Europe remained a small minority of the population. Impassable barriers, raised by differences of religion, race, language, and customs, separated them from their Christian subjects.

After the fateful year, 1683,² the Turks lost ground in Europe. Austria soon secured Hungary. Russia under Catherine II seized the Crimea, with the adjoining territory, and under Alexander I took Bessarabia. Then, as the nineteenth century progressed, the peoples of the Balkans, stirred by the same enthusiasm for

The
Balkan
peoples

The
Ottoman
Turks

Turks and
Christians

Dismember-
ment of
Turkey

¹ See page 82 and note 1.

² See page 423.

nationality which moved Italians, Germans, Poles, and Bohemians, threw off the Turkish yoke and declared for freedom. The dismemberment of Turkey began.

The warlike Serbo-Croats of Montenegro never fully accepted Turkish rule. A little corner of the "Black Mountain" country always remained a free Christian state. The
Montenegro Montenegrin principality, enlarged by conquests from the Turks, became a kingdom in 1910.

The Serbo-Croats in Serbia have a memorable history. One of their rulers, Stephen Dushan, built up an empire covering a large part of the Balkan peninsula. He
Serbia aimed to unite Serbians, Greeks, and Bulgarians, in order to expel the Turks from Europe. The defeat of the Serbian army in the battle of Kossovo (1389) shook the empire to its foundation and paved the way for Ottoman conquests. The Serbians were Turkish subjects for three hundred and fifty years. After two revolts early in the nineteenth century, Serbia received self-government as a principality and later complete independence. It became a constitutional monarchy in 1882.

The Greeks had endured Turkish rule since the fifteenth century. The French Revolution awakened their longing for national independence, and in 1821 they raised
Greece the standard of revolt. Volunteers from every European country, as well as a few Americans, came to help them. The governments of Europe for a time stood coldly by, while the Turks massacred or enslaved their Christian subjects. Great Britain, France, and Russia at length decided to intervene. The combined fleet of the allied powers destroyed the Turkish navy at Navarino, and a Russian army moved upon Constantinople. When the Russians were almost at his gates, the Sultan yielded and granted independence to central and southern Greece (1829). Large parts of the ancient Greek world, including Thessaly, Epirus, and Crete, remained under Turkish sovereignty.

Greek patriots favored a republican government, but the European powers in 1832 set up a monarchy. A Bavarian

prince occupied the throne for thirty years, until a revolution drove him out with his German soldiers and German courtiers. A Danish prince then became king under the title of George I.¹ Greece at this time received a new and entirely democratic constitution.

Some years after the winning of Greek freedom, Nicholas I, who often spoke of the Sultan as

Crimean
War, 1854-
1856

the "sick man" of Europe and of his approaching funeral, reopened the Eastern Question by invading Turkey. The result was the Crimean War. Great Britain supported the Sultan because of the fear that the downfall of Turkey would be followed by Russian control of the eastern Mediterranean, thus menacing British communications with India. France joined with Great Britain, principally because Napoleon III wished to pay off the grudges against Russia which his imperial uncle had accumulated. Count Cavour added the Sardinian kingdom to the alliance, in order to further his plans for the unification of Italy. The war was mainly confined to the Crimea, where the allied armies finally took the fortress of Sevastopol after a long siege. Russia then withdrew from the unequal contest.



FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE

Miss Florence Nightingale (1820-1910) did remarkable work during the Crimean War for the relief of sick and wounded British soldiers. To her self-sacrificing labors are also due many improvements in hospital management, sanitation, and the training of nurses.

¹ Assassinated in 1913 and succeeded by his son, Constantine I.

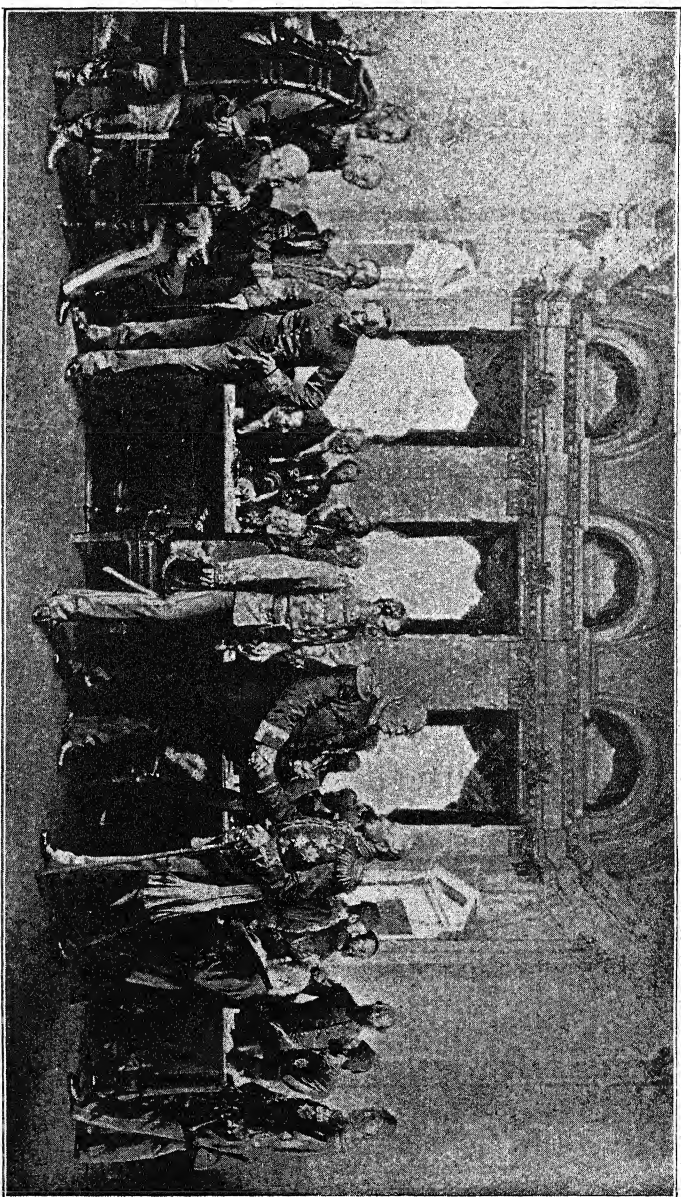
The peace treaty gave a new lease of life to the Ottoman Empire. The powers guaranteed the integrity of the Sultan's possessions, only exacting from him promises of freedom of worship and better government for his Christian subjects. The promises were never kept, and the lot of Christians in Turkey became harder than ever. In their anxiety to keep Russia out of Constantinople, Great Britain and France thus attempted what future events clearly proved to be an impossible solution of the Eastern Question. No more short-sighted treaty was ever put on paper.

The process of state-making in the Balkans recommenced soon after the Treaty of Paris. The two Danubian principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia had been virtually independent of Turkey since 1829. They now united under the name of Rumania, taking Charles I,¹ a member of the Hohenzollern family, as their prince. Rumania secured complete independence in 1878, and three years later Prince Charles assumed a kingly crown.

The Rumanians speak a language of Latin origin and claim descent from Roman colonists north of the Danube. During the Middle Ages, however, so many barbarian waves — Goths, Huns, Slavs, Mongols, and others — passed over the country that it is difficult to believe in the survival of the original inhabitants. The Rumanians, more likely, are a mixture of many peoples.

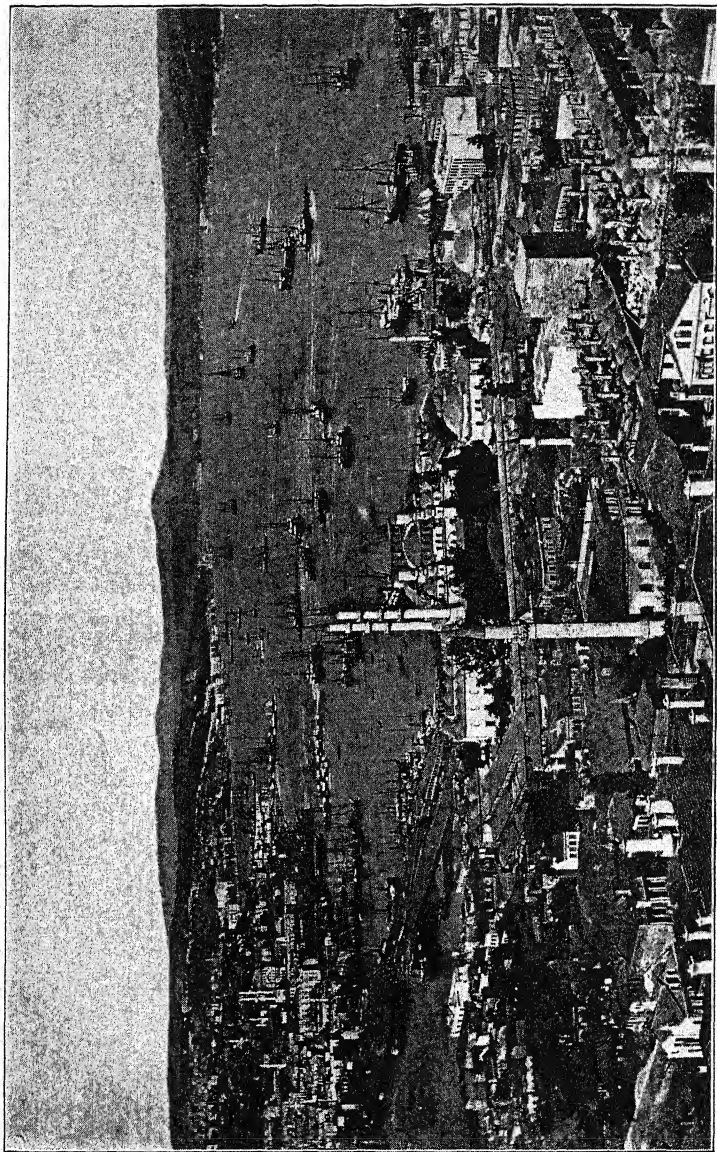
The desire of Russia to rescue the Christians of the Balkans from oppression and, incidentally, to take Constantinople from Turkey brought about another war between the two countries. Sufficient justification for it existed in the unspeakable atrocities committed by the Turks in suppressing an insurrection of the Bulgarians. This time western Europe remained neutral and watched the duel. The Turks fought well, and their desperate defense of Plevna is celebrated in military annals. The fall of that stronghold allowed the tsar's troops to advance to San Stefano, within sight of the Golden Horn. Here they paused,

¹ Succeeded in 1914 by his nephew, Ferdinand I.



THE CONGRESS OF BERLIN, 1878

A painting by Anton von Werner in the City Hall, Berlin. The six figures in the foreground are, in order from left to right: Count Caroly; Prince Gorchakov (seated), first Russian plenipotentiary; the Earl of Beaconsfield; Count Andrassy, Austrian plenipotentiary; Prince Bismarck; and General Schuvvalov, second Russian plenipotentiary.



CONSTANTINOPLE AND THE BOSPORUS

The view is looking eastward up the Bosphorus, with the Mosque of Yeni Valideh Jami and the bridge over the Golden Horn to the suburb of Galata in the foreground.

for both Great Britain and Austria-Hungary threatened hostilities in case Russia occupied Constantinople. At this juncture the Sultan sued for peace and agreed to relinquish nearly all his European possessions.

The western powers would not assent to so complete a dismemberment of European Turkey. Lord Beaconsfield,¹ the British prime minister, regarded the Treaty of San Stefano as far too favorable to Russia. Treaty of
Berlin, 1878 Francis Joseph I, the Hapsburg emperor, who saw with dismay the extension of Russian influence in the Balkans, also opposed it. A general European conflict threatened, until the tsar agreed to submit the treaty to revision by an international congress at Berlin. There, under Bismarck's leadership, the diplomats attempted another settlement of the Eastern Question. The Treaty of Berlin recognized Rumania, Serbia, and Montenegro as sovereign states. That part of Bulgaria between the Danube and the Balkans became a self-governing principality, but the part south of the Balkans, called Eastern Rumelia, went back to the Sultan. Greece was permitted to annex Turkish territory in Thessaly. Austria-Hungary was allowed to occupy and administer the Turkish provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In spite of its losses, the Ottoman Empire thus remained in Europe, a decadent empire propped up by Christian arms.

Diplomacy did not bring peace to the Balkans. Eastern Rumelia in 1885 revolted against the Turks and united with the northern Bulgarian province. The powers protested against this infraction of the Berlin treaty, Bulgaria but took no aggressive action. Serbia, jealous of her now powerful neighbor, declared war, only to be roundly beaten. Bulgaria remained tributary to the Sultan until 1908, when its ruler, Prince Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg, became an independent king (*tsar*).

The year 1908 saw also a revolution in the Sultan's dominions. This was the work of the Young Turks, a group of patriotic reformers who aimed to revive and modernize the Ottoman

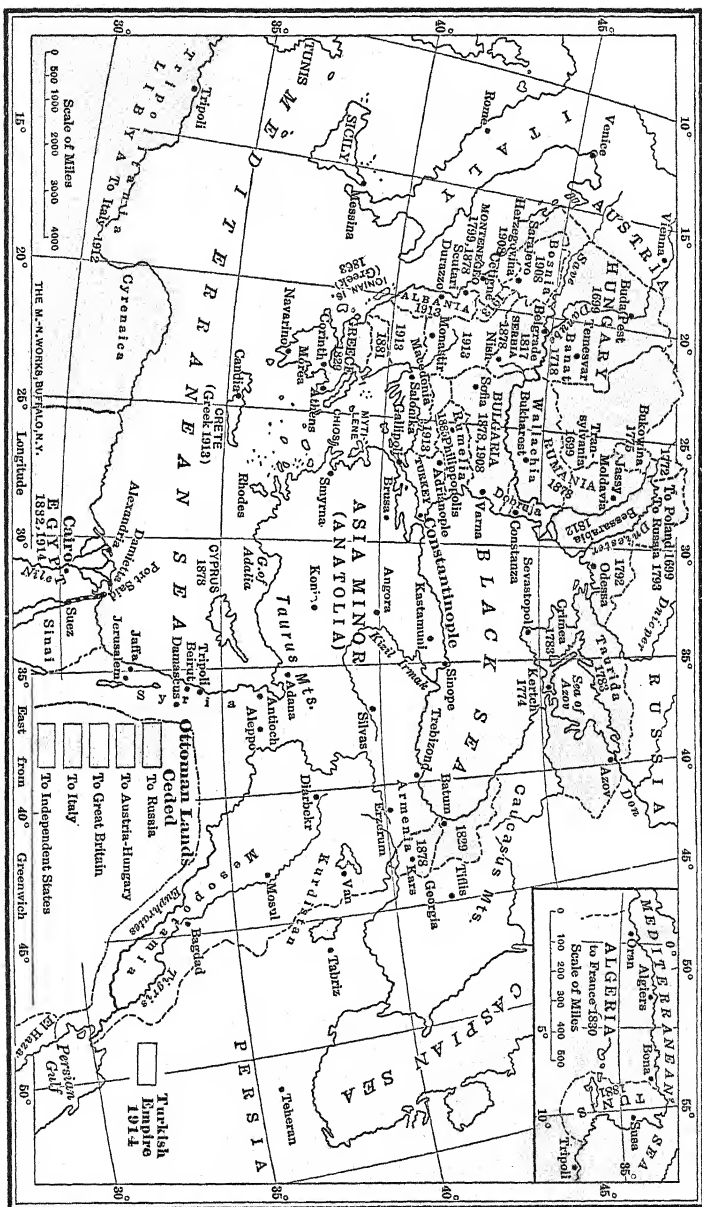
¹ Formerly Benjamin Disraeli. See page 580.

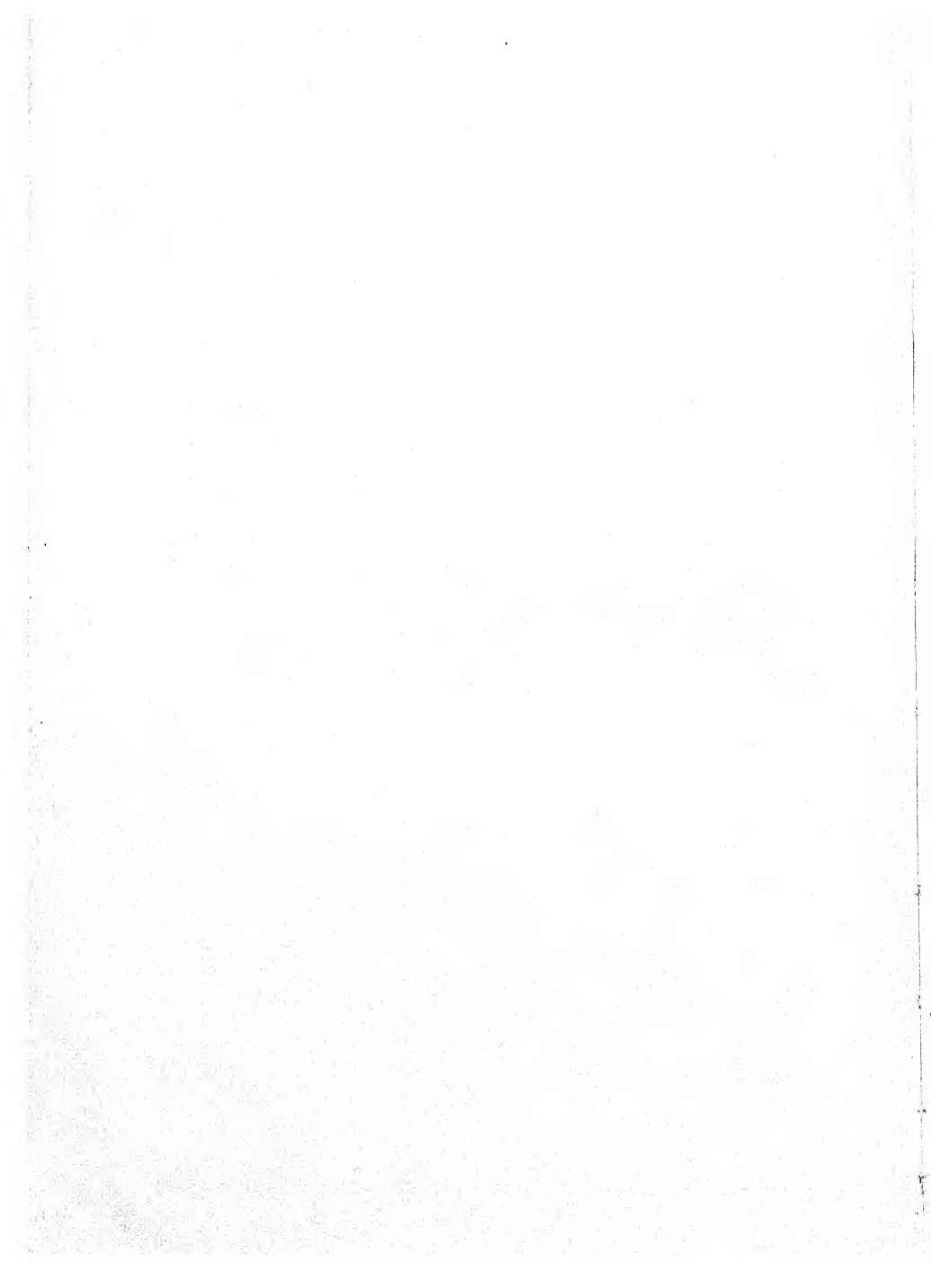
Empire. They won over the army and carried through a sudden, almost bloodless, *coup d'état*. The terrified Sultan had to issue a decree restoring the constitution granted by him some years before but never put in force. His despotism vanished, and the Ottoman Empire, with an elective parliament, a responsible ministry, and a free press, took its place among democratic states.

It soon became evident, however, that the Young Turks were nationalists as well as democrats. They intended to weld together all the peoples of the Ottoman Empire into a single nation, with Turkish as the official language and Islam the only privileged faith. Just as the Russian policy was one of "Russification," so that of the Young Turks was one of "Ottomanization." Then followed cruel oppression and massacres of Christians in various parts of the empire, including Macedonia. This Turkish province, the only one which remained in Europe, was peopled by Greeks, Serbians, and Bulgarians. Large numbers of them fled to their respective countries, carrying their grievances with them, and agitated for war against Turkey.

The war soon came. Greece, Montenegro, Serbia, and Bulgaria, forgetting for the moment the jealousies which had divided them, came together in the Balkan "Alliance," issued to the Sultan an ultimatum demanding self-government for Macedonia, and when this was refused, promptly began hostilities. They were everywhere successful, and Turkey was compelled to give up all her European possessions except Constantinople and the adjacent territory. She likewise ceded Crete to Greece. The allies then proceeded to quarrel over the disposition of Macedonia. The quarrel resulted in a Second Balkan War, with Serbia, Montenegro, Greece, Rumania, and Turkey ranged against Bulgaria. Tsar Ferdinand could not cope with so many foes and sued for peace.

The treaty signed at Bucharest completely changed the aspect of the Balkans. Bulgaria surrendered districts south of the Danube to Rumania and allowed Greece, Montenegro,





and Serbia to annex most of Macedonia. These three states were now nearly doubled in size. The Turkish province of Albania, half of whose people are Moslems, became an independent principality. Turkey, though ignored at the peace conference, escaped dismemberment and even secured an accession of territory. The Treaty of Bucharest thus left the Turk in Europe, and by sowing seeds of enmity between Bulgaria and her sister states helped further to postpone a satisfactory solution of the Eastern Question.

Treaty of
Bucharest,
1913

Studies

1. On an outline map of Austria-Hungary in 1914 indicate the regions predominantly German, Slavic, Romanic, and Magyar in population.
2. Explain the following: "rotten" and "pocket" boroughs; *Augsleich*; Duma; *Cortes*; Social Democrats; "communards"; Nihilists; and referendum and initiative.
3. Who is the reigning monarch of the house of Orange? of the house of Savoy? of the Hanoverian dynasty? of the Spanish Bourbons?
4. Give several examples of essentially democratic monarchies in Europe.
5. Why is it better for a nation to make mistakes in the course of self-government than to be ruled, however wisely, by an irresponsible monarch?
6. Distinguish between England, Great Britain, the United Kingdom, and the British Empire.
7. Why has England been called the "mother of parliaments"?
8. Why is the British government sometimes called a "crowned republic"?
9. Contrast the unlimited powers of the British Parliament with the limited powers of the American Congress.
10. Mention some noteworthy differences between the British cabinet and the American cabinet.
11. Compare the French and Swiss presidents with the American president.
12. Why was the Reichstag described by its own members as merely a "hall of echoes"?
13. Why was the Austrian Empire called a "ramshackle empire"?
14. Comment on the statement, "You Magyars are only an island in an ocean of Slavs."
15. Why did Russia favor nationality in the Balkans and oppose it in other parts of Europe?
16. "The two forces that have constantly undermined the power of Turkey are religion and nationality." How does the history of the nineteenth century illustrate this statement?

CHAPTER XXIII

COLONIAL EXPANSION AND WORLD POLITICS IN THE NINETEENTH AND TWENTIETH CENTURIES¹

210. Greater Europe

THE hundred-odd years since 1815 have witnessed an astonishing movement of European peoples into every quarter of the globe. This movement presents many aspects. **Expansion of Europe** For the mother country it has provided outlets for surplus population, supplies of raw materials or the precious metals, markets for manufactures, and sometimes revenue from taxes and duties. For the daughter country it has meant the introduction of European civilization, particularly as affected by the Renaissance, the Reformation, and the Revolution. The languages, literatures, religions, laws, and customs of Europe are thus being extended to almost all mankind.

The expansion of Europe is largely explained by the increase of its population, which more than doubled in the nineteenth century. During this time overcrowding and **European emigration** overcompetition at home induced hundreds of thousands of emigrants yearly to cross the seas to regions where land was cheap, wages were high, and the government was liberal and democratic. A new "wandering of peoples" began on a colossal scale and still continues.

Emigrants to an independent country such as the United States renounce their foreign allegiance, give up the use of their **European colonization** native language, and soon become absorbed in the population of their adopted fatherland. To prevent the loss of so many intelligent and energetic citizens, some European nations endeavor to secure colonial dependencies into which their surplus numbers may overflow. The possession of large and flourishing colonies is also thought to increase

¹ Webster, *Historical Source Book*, No. 19, "Washington's Farewell Address, 1796"; No. 21, "The Monroe Doctrine, 1823"; No. 23, "Durham Report, 1839"; No. 26, "Lincoln's First Inaugural Address, 1861"; No. 27, "Gettysburg Address, 1863"; No. 30, "Roosevelt's Inaugural Address, 1905."

the national prestige and even the national wealth, through the opportunities offered in them for agriculture, mining, and commerce.

Great Britain in 1815 was the leading world power. France had been well-nigh eliminated as a colonial rival by the Seven Years' War, and Holland had lost valuable pos-
 sessions overseas in the revolutionary and Napo-
 leonic wars. In America, Great Britain held Canada, some of the West India islands, and part of Guiana; in Africa, Cape Colony; in Asia, much of India and Ceylon; and in Australia, the eastern coast. The British Empire continued to grow throughout the nineteenth century, until it embraced in 1914 approximately a fourth of the habitable area of the earth and a fourth of the earth's population. No such wide dominion had ever been built up before, either in ancient or medieval times.

The spectacle of the British Empire, so populous, so rich in natural resources, so far-flung, stirred the imagination and aroused the envy of the witnessing nations. They, too, became eager to secure dependencies in savage
 or half-civilized lands. Africa, in particular, afforded attractive opportunities for colonial enterprise.

211. The Opening-Up of Africa

Speaking broadly, Africa consists of an elevated plateau, with a fringe of unindented coastal plain. Penetration of the interior was long delayed by mountain ranges
 which approach close to the sea, by rapids and falls
 which hinder river navigation, by the barrier of dense forests and extensive deserts, and by the unhealthiness of the climate in many regions. Though lying almost in sight of Europe, Africa remained until our own time the "Dark Continent."

As was the country, so were its inhabitants. Europeans knew chiefly the Semitic and Hamitic peoples north and east of the Sahara. The Black race, which occupies
 nearly all Africa south of that desert, dwelt by
 itself. Some negroes in the course of time blended more or

less with Hamites, giving rise to the Bantu-speaking peoples. To these elements of the native population must be added the curious Pygmies in the equatorial districts, together with the Hottentots and Bushmen in the extreme south.¹

Little more than the Mediterranean shore of Africa was known in antiquity. Here were Egypt, the first home of civilization, and Carthage, Rome's most formidable rival for supremacy. During the earlier Middle Ages all North Africa fell under Arab domination. The vast extent of the continent was revealed

Africa in
historic times



HENRY M. STANLEY

After a photograph taken in 1886.

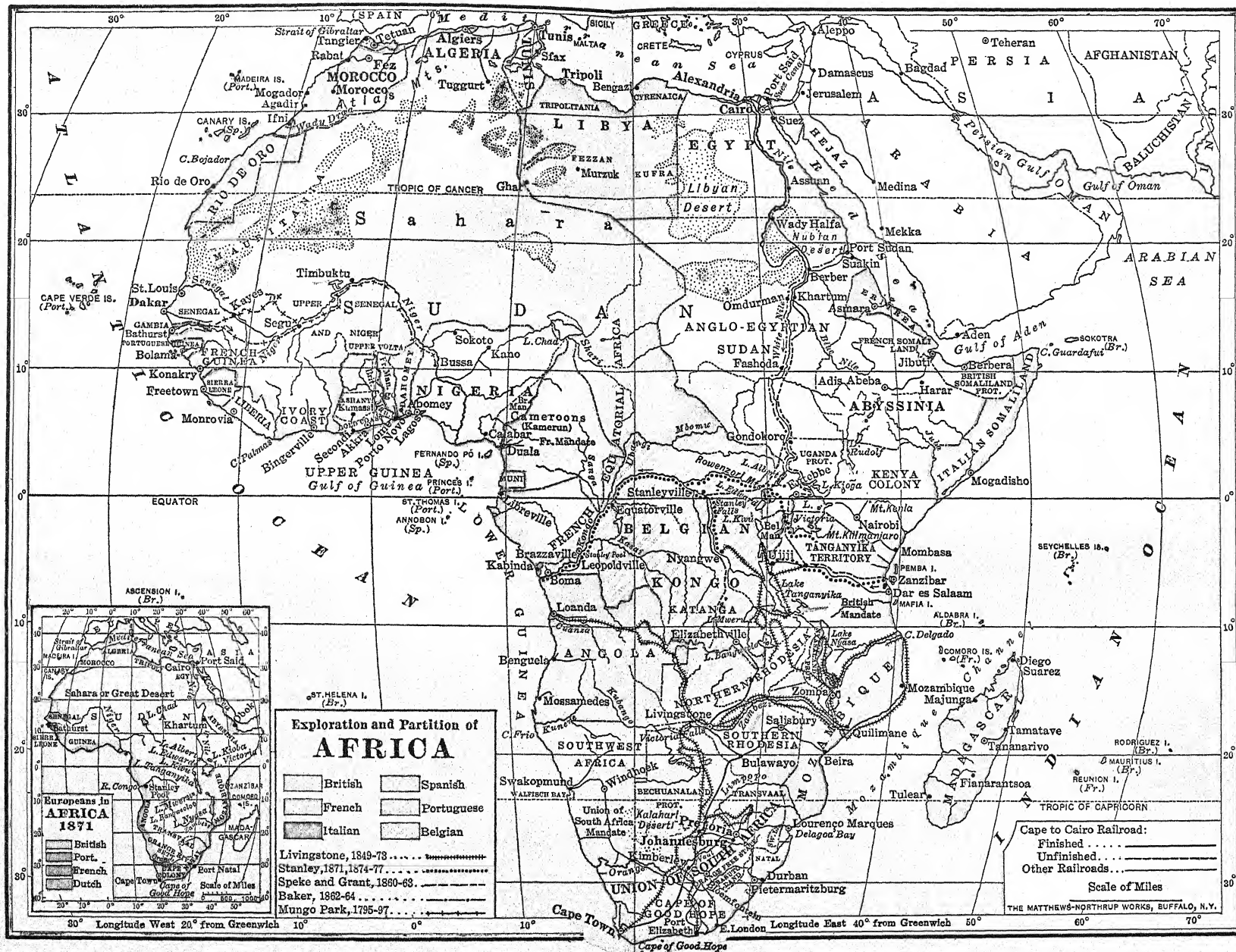
to Europeans by the Portuguese discoveries in the fifteenth century, but three hundred years elapsed before anything like systematic exploration of the interior began.

The penetration of Africa has been mainly accomplished by following the course of its four great rivers. In the last decade of the eighteenth century the African Association, then recently founded, sent Mungo Park to the

The Niger
and the
Nile basins

Niger. He and his immediate successors explored the basin of that river and revealed the existence of the mysterious city of Timbuktu, an Arab capital never previously visited by Europeans. The determination of the sources of the Nile—a problem which had interested the ancients—met with success shortly after the middle of the nineteenth century. Captain Speke first saw the waters of the lake which he named Victoria Nyanza, in honor of England's queen, and Sir Samuel Baker found the smaller lake called by him Albert Nyanza,

¹ See the map, page 637.



in honor of the Prince Consort. The discovery of snow-clad mountains in this part of Africa confirmed what Greek geographers had taught regarding the "Mountains of the Moon."

Meanwhile, an intrepid Scotch missionary, David Livingstone, had traced the course of the Zambesi. Starting from the Cape, he worked his way northward, found the wonderful Victoria Falls, and crossed the continent from sea to sea. Livingstone's work was carried further by Henry M. Stanley, a newspaper correspondent who became one of the eminent explorers of modern times. He discovered Lake Albert Edward Nyanza, showed that Lake Tanganyika drained into the Congo, and followed that mighty stream all the way to its mouth. Stanley's fascinating narrative of his travels¹ did much to arouse European interest in Africa.

Basins of the
Zambesi and
the Congo

212. The Partition of Africa

The division of Africa among European powers followed promptly upon its exploration. Spain, Portugal, Belgium, Germany, Italy, France, and Great Britain all profited by the scramble for African territory. The Spanish possessions are small, compared with those of the other powers, and, except for the northern coast of Morocco, not of great importance. Portugal, however, controls the two valuable regions of Angola and Portuguese East Africa.

The Spanish
and Portu-
guese in
Africa

The possessions of Belgium grew directly out of Stanley's discoveries. He realized what sources of wealth might be tapped in the rubber, ivory, and palm-oil of the vast Congo basin and persuaded Leopold II, king of the Belgians, to supply the funds for the establishment of trading stations in that part of Africa. The Congo Free State, which thus came into being, formed practically Leopold's private property. The forced labor demanded of the natives and the cruel punishments inflicted upon them stirred up so

The Belgians
in Africa

¹ Especially *How I Found Livingstone* (1872), *Through the Dark Continent* (1878), and *In Darkest Africa* (1890).

much criticism in Europe and America that Leopold finally converted his African holdings into a colony now called the Belgian Congo.

Soon after Germany attained national unity, she made her appearance among colonial powers. Treaties with the native chiefs and arbitrary annexations during the years 1884-1885 resulted in the acquisition of extensive territories in Southwest Africa, East Africa, and the Cameroons. All these possessions, however, were conquered by the Allies during the World War.

Italy was another late-comer on the African scene. She secured Eritrea on the Red Sea and Italian Somaliland. An Italian attempt to annex Abyssinia ended disastrously, and that ancient Christian "empire" still keeps its independence. Italy's most important African colony is Libya,¹ conquered from Turkey in 1911-1912. The country in Turkish hands was misgoverned and undeveloped, but its fertile coast is well adapted to agriculture, and even the barren interior may become valuable through irrigation.

The beginnings of French dominion in Africa reach back to the seventeenth century, when Louis XIV began to acquire trading posts along the western coast and in Madagascar. It was not until the nineteenth century, however, that the French entered seriously upon the work of colonization. The reign of Louis Philippe saw the difficult conquest of Algeria from the warlike Turks, Arabs, and Berbers. In 1881 France annexed Tunis, just east of Algeria, and since 1912 she has exercised a protectorate over most of Morocco. A glance at the map shows that in area the French possessions exceed those of any other power, but they include the Sahara desert.

Great Britain has secured, if not the lion's share, at any rate the most valuable share of Africa. Besides various possessions on the west coast, she holds a solid block of territory all the way from the Cape of Good Hope to Lake Tanganyika. Cape Colony was captured from the

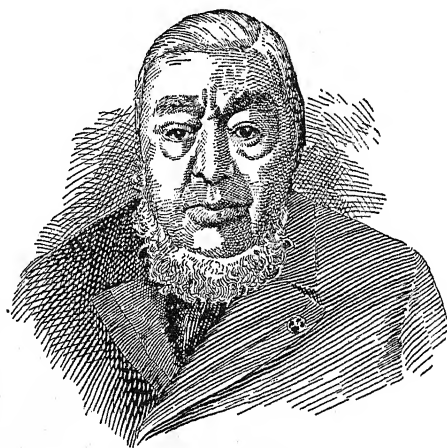
¹ Made up of the two former Turkish provinces of Tripoli and Cyrenaica.

Dutch during the Napoleonic wars.¹ Though small in extent, it had great importance as a half-way station on the route to both India and Australia and also as a convenient basis for expansion northward into the African continent.

The Dutch farmers, or Boers, did not take readily to British rule. Many of them, with their families and flocks, moved from Cape Colony into the unknown country beyond. This wholesale emigration — the "Great Trek" — resulted in the formation of the Boer republics of Natal, Orange Free State, and the Transvaal. Natal was soon annexed by Great Britain,

Natal, Orange
Free State,
and the
Transvaal

but the other two republics remained independent. The discovery of the world's richest gold mines in the Transvaal led to a large influx of Englishmen, who, since they paid taxes, demanded a share in the government. The Dutch settlers, under the lead of President Kruger of the Transvaal, were just as determined to keep the



PAUL KRUGER

government in their own hands. Disputes between the two peoples culminated in the South African War (1899-1902), in which the Boers were overcome by sheer weight of numbers.

The war had a happy outcome. Great Britain showed a wise liberality toward her former foes and granted them self-government. Cape Colony, Natal, Orange Free State, and the Transvaal soon came together in the Union of South Africa. The Union has a Governor-General appointed by the British Crown, a common

Union of
South Africa,
1909-1910

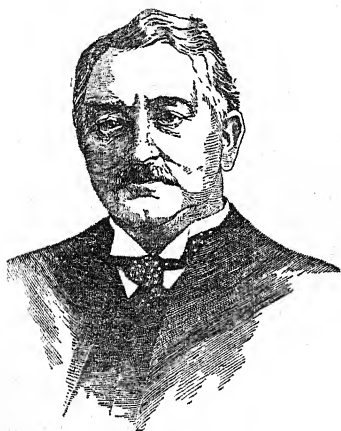
¹ See pages 444 and 546.

parliament, and a responsible ministry. Cape Town and Pretoria are the two capitals, and both English and Dutch are official languages. The loyalty of the majority of Boers to Great Britain was demonstrated during the World War.

The Union will ultimately include the other British possessions in South Africa. Their acquisition was largely due to Bechuanaland Cecil Rhodes, an Oxford student who found riches and Rhodesia in the Kimberley diamond fields and rose to be prime minister of Cape Colony. Rhodes helped to make

Bechuanaland a British protectorate and secured the imperial domain now called after him Rhodesia.

One of Cecil Rhodes's cherished dreams reached fulfillment in 1926. This was the construction of a trans-continental railway connecting the Cape-to-Cairo Railway the British possessions in South Africa with Egypt. The line starts from Cape Town, crosses Bechuanaland, Rhodesia, and the Belgian Congo, and farther north links up with the line which was al-



CECIL RHODES

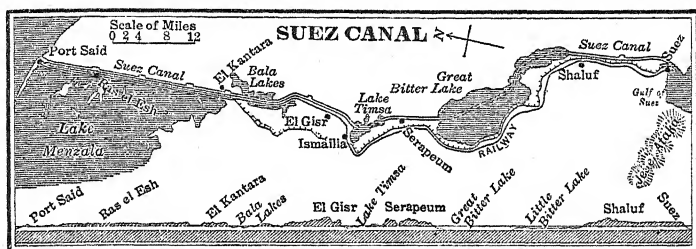
ready in operation between Cairo and Khartum.

Beyond Rhodesia to the north are British East Africa and the Uganda Protectorate. Both districts contain much fertile land and because of their generally healthy climate offer a promising field for European colonization.

Uganda forms the connecting link with the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. All this region of the Upper Nile was conquered by General Kitchener in the last decade of the nineteenth century. Egypt was practically a British possession after 1882, but forty years later Great Britain

terminated her protectorate over the country and proclaimed it an independent state.

Great Britain first secured an interest in Egypt through the purchase from its Khedive, or ruler, of a large number of his shares of stock in the Suez Canal. This famous engineering work had been completed in 1869 by the French engineer, De Lesseps. The canal puts Egypt on the main oceanic highway to the East and makes the



occupation of that country vital to the security of the British possessions in India.

213. The Opening-Up and Partition of Asia

British expansion in India, begun by Clive during the Seven Years' War, has proceeded scarcely without interruption to the present day. The conquest of India was almost inevitable. Sometimes the Indian princes attacked the British settlements and had to be overcome; sometimes the lawless condition of their dominions led to intervention; sometimes, again, the need of finding defensible frontiers resulted in annexations. The entire peninsula, covering an area half as large as the United States, is now under the Union Jack.

The East India Company¹ continued to govern India until after the middle of the nineteenth century. In 1857 came the Sepoy mutiny, a sudden uprising of the native soldiers in the northern part of the country. Bloodily conducted, it was as bloodily suppressed, some of the

¹ See page 447.

ringleaders even being shot from the mouths of cannon as a punishment. The mutiny disclosed the weakness of company rule and brought about the transfer of all governmental functions to the Crown. Queen Victoria assumed the title, Empress of India, in 1877. A viceroy, whose seat is the ancient capital Delhi, and the officials of the Civil Service administer the affairs of about two-thirds of the country. The remainder is ruled by native princes under British oversight and protection. Their contributions of both men and money during the World War showed their loyalty to Great Britain.

The fact that a handful of foreigners has been able to subdue and keep in subjection more than three hundred million Indian Peoples of India peoples is sufficiently explained by their disunion. They are not one in blood and language. The Hindus, who dwell in the river valleys of the Indus and the

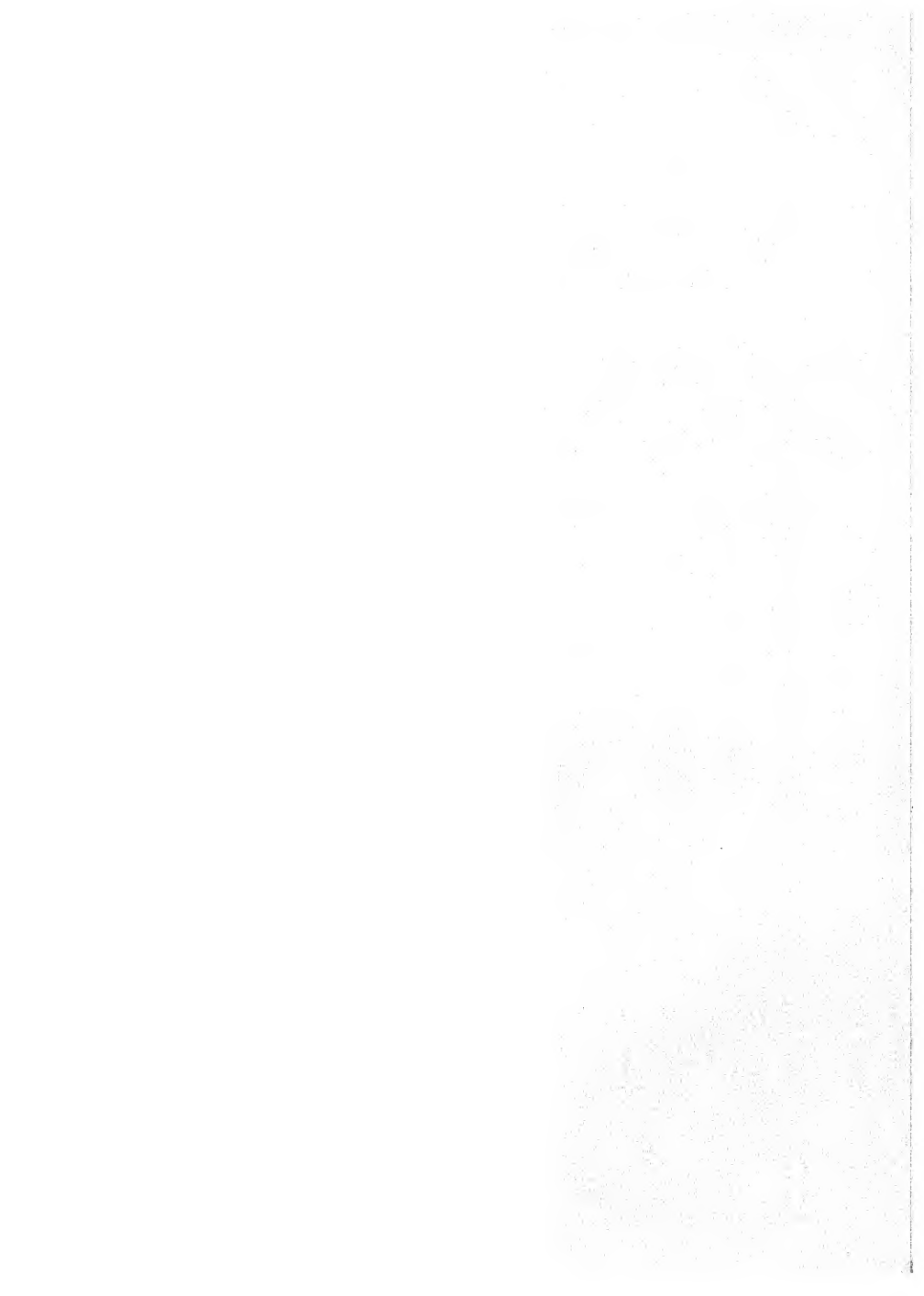


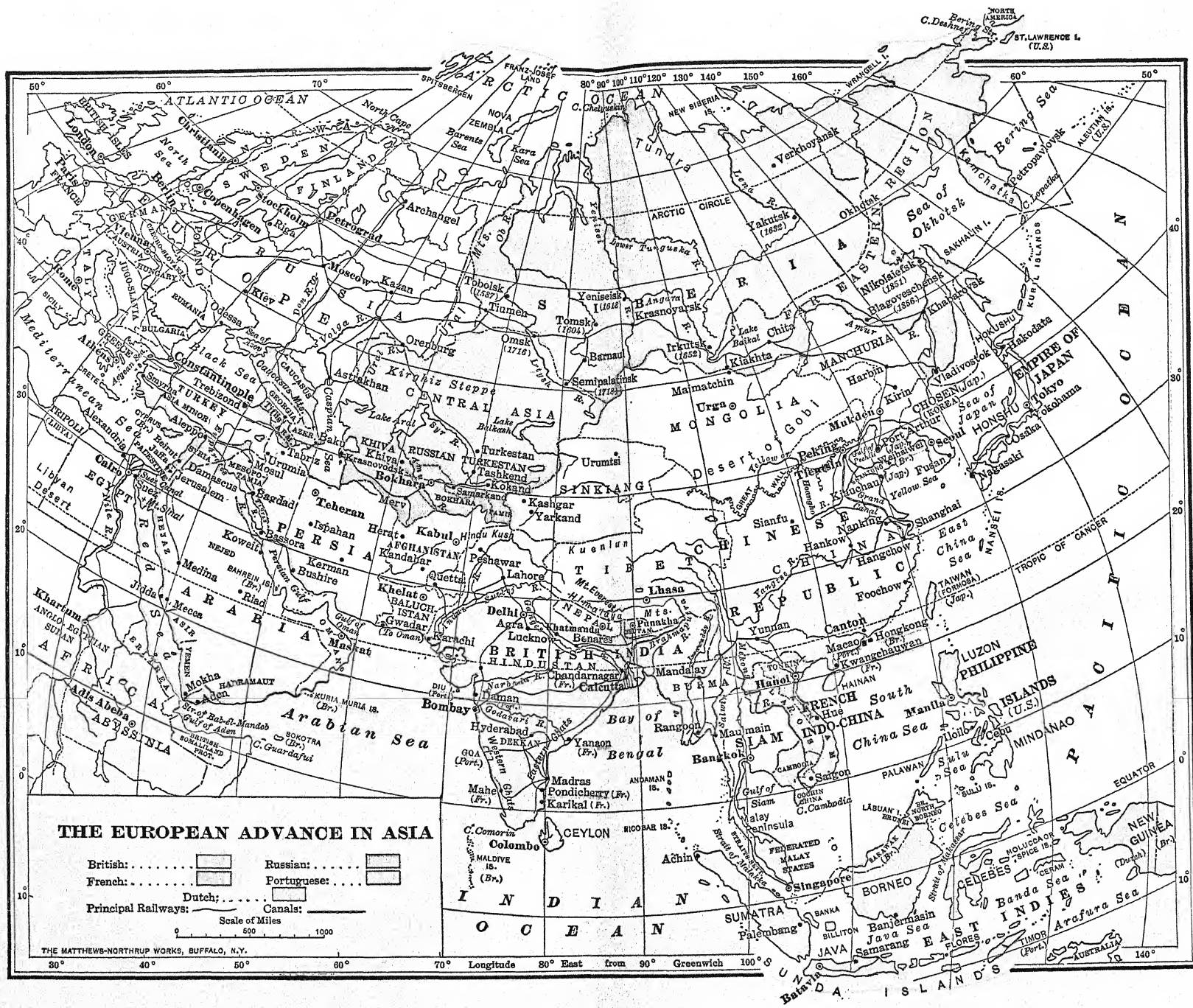
"THE LION'S VENGEANCE ON THE BENGAL TIGER"

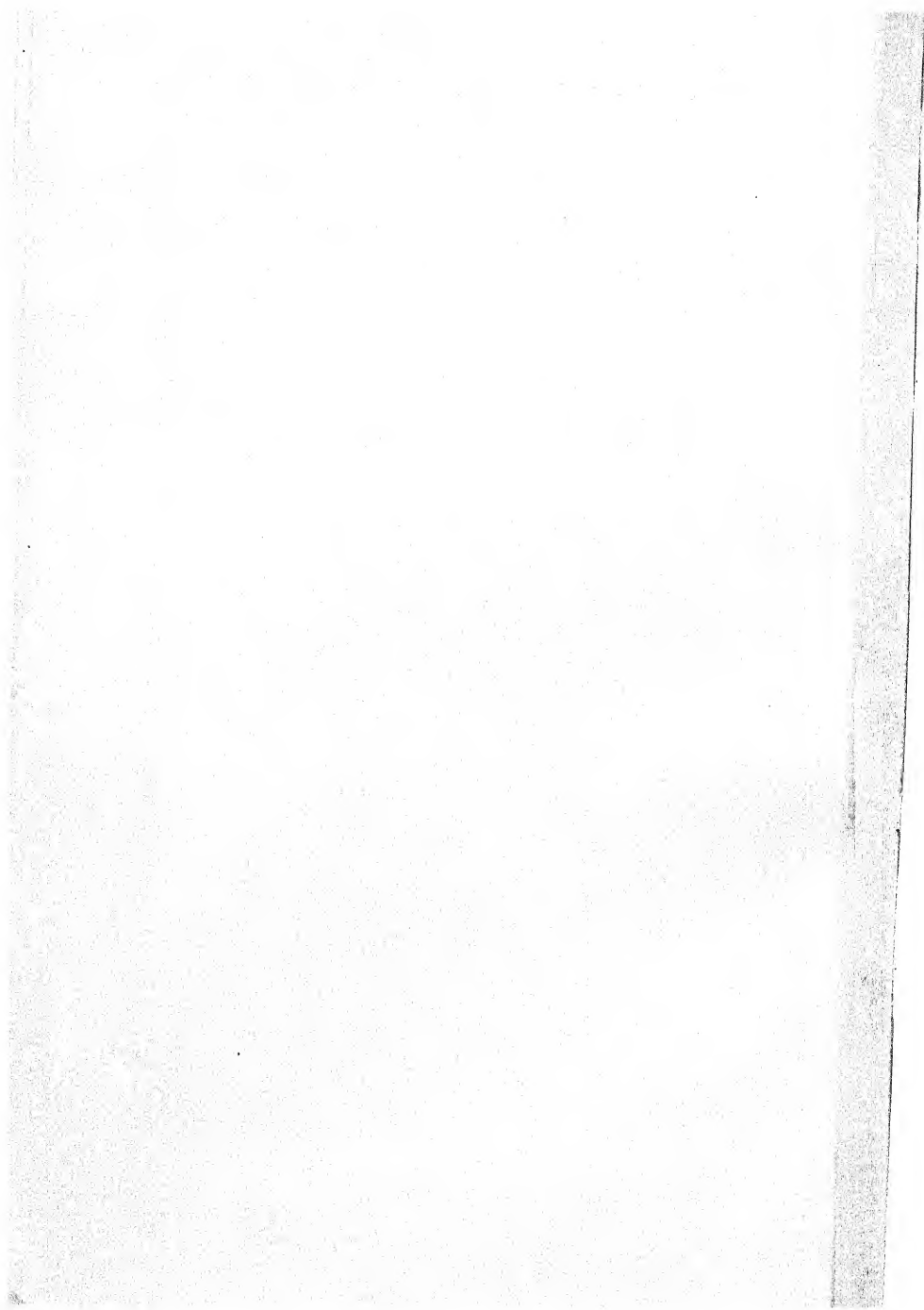
A cartoon by Sir John Tenniel which appeared in the English journal *Punch* for August 22, 1857.

Ganges (Hindustan), comprise no more than a majority of the population. Southern India belongs chiefly to the primitive Dravidians, who speak a non-Aryan tongue, and who probably represent the aboriginal inhabitants of the peninsula. The slopes of the Himalayas are occupied by still other peoples, the descendants of Arab, Afghan, Persian, and Turkish invaders.

Religion likewise acts as a divisive force. The Hindus







accept Brahmanism, a name derived from Brahma, the Supreme Being or First Cause. In its original form, three thousand years ago, Brahmanism appears to have been an elevated faith, but it has now so far declined that its adherents generally worship a multitude of gods, venerate idols, revere the cow as a sacred animal, and indulge in many debasing rites. The Dravidians are only nominal Brahmanists; their real worship is that of countless village deities. The stronghold of Islam lies in the northern fringe of provinces, but Moslem missionaries have penetrated almost every part of the country.

Nor are the Hindus themselves united. The all-pervading caste system splits them up into several thousand distinct groups, headed by the Brahmins or

priests. Members of a given caste may not marry outside it; may not eat with any one who does not belong to it; may not do work of any sort unrecognized by it. Caste, in fact, regulates a man's actions from the cradle to the grave. It has lasted in India for ages.

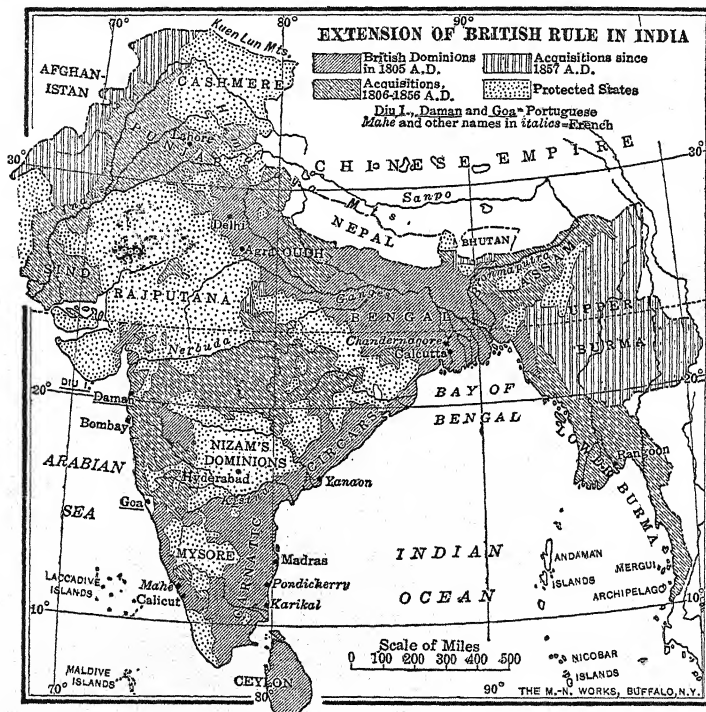
The spread of European civilization in India promises to remove, or at least to lower, the barriers of race, religion, and caste. Great Britain enforces peace throughout the peninsula, builds railways and canals linking every part of it together, stamps out the famines and plagues which used to decimate the inhabitants, and has begun their education in schools of many grades. All this work tends to



QUEEN VICTORIA

foster a sense of nationality, something hitherto lacking in India. Educated Hindus, familiar with the national and democratic movements of the past century in Europe, now go so far as to demand complete self-government for their own country. This may come in time, but a united Indian nation must necessarily be of slow development.

Farther India, or Indo-China, except for the independent



state of Siam, is now under British and French control. Great Britain holds Burma, annexed as recently as 1885, and the Straits Settlements at the tip of the Malay Peninsula. France holds Tonkin, Anam, Laos, Cambodia, and Cochin-China. All these possessions have been acquired at the expense of China, which formerly exercised a vague sovereignty over southeastern Asia.

The Russians were established in Siberia before the close of the seventeenth century.¹ Their advance over this enormous but thinly peopled region was facilitated by its **Russia in northern Asia** magnificent rivers, which furnished highways for explorers and fur traders. Northern Siberia is a waste of swamp and tundra, where the terrible climate blocks the mouths of the streams with ice and even in summer keeps the ground frozen beneath the surface. Farther south comes one of the most extensive areas of virgin forest to be found on the globe, and still farther south extend treeless steppes, adapted in part to agriculture and in part to herding. The country also contains much mineral wealth. In order to secure an outlet for Siberian products, Russia compelled China to cede the lower Amur Valley with the adjoining seacoast. The Russians in their newly acquired territory founded Vladivostok as a naval base.

Vladivostok is also the eastern terminus of the Trans-Siberian Railway. The western terminus is Petrograd, three thousand miles distant. The railway was completed in **The Trans-Siberian Railway, 1900** 1900 by the imperial government, partly to facilitate the movement of troops and military supplies in Siberia and partly to develop that region as a home for Russian emigrants and a market for Russian manufactures. A branch line extends to Port Arthur in Manchuria and another branch to Tientsin in China.

During the past century Russia widened her boundaries in central Asia. She conquered the Caucasus and absorbed what remained of Turkestan east of the Caspian **Russia and Great Britain in central Asia** and south of Lake Balkash and the Aral Sea. Alarmed by the advance of the Russian colossus, Great Britain took steps to increase her influence in Afghanistan, through whose passes runs the one road over the mountains to India. In 1907 the two European powers reached a friendly agreement, and Afghanistan became a buffer state between them. Great Britain meanwhile annexed Baluchistan, thus carrying the northwestern frontier of her Indian possessions as far as Persia.

¹ See page 414.

214. China

Between Russian Asia and British and French Asia lies China, with a larger area than Europe and probably quite as populous. China proper consists of eighteen provinces in the fertile valleys of the Yangtse and the Hoangho, or Yellow River. The great length of the country accounts for the variety of its productions, which range from hardy grains in the north to camphor and mulberry trees, tea, and cotton in the south. The mineral wealth includes deposits of copper, tin, lead, and iron, much oil, and coal fields said to be the most extensive in the world.

The traditions of the Chinese throw no light on their origin. They may have come from the west in prehistoric times, but more probably developed out of the Mongolian stock inhabiting China proper. In the course of centuries they have pushed into Manchuria, Mongolia, Chinese Turkestan (Sinkiang), and Tibet. Chinese farmers, laborers, and traders are also numerous in Indo-China, the Malay Peninsula, and the Malay Islands. The enterprising spirit of the people is further shown by their recent emigration in large numbers to the United States and other distant lands.

The Chinese boast a civilization already old when Rome was young. They are famous for artistic work in wood and metal, the manufacture of silk, and the production of porcelain or chinaware. Rudimentary forms of such inventions as the compass, gunpowder, paper, and movable type were early known to them. Though hampered by a cumbrous, nonalphabetic system of writing, the Chinese have managed to produce an extensive literature. One of their encyclopedias fills over five thousand volumes.

The government of China, until recently, has always been a monarchy. The emperor, in theory absolute, was really under the thumb of the office-holding or mandarin class, which took the place of a hereditary nobility. Any one, high or low, could enter its ranks by passing a rigid examination in the sacred books. These were

Society and
religion in
China

in part collected and edited by Confucius (551-478 B.C.), the reformer who did so much to make reverence for ancestors and imitation of their ways the Chinaman's cardinal virtues. Confucianism is a code of morals rather than a religion. It has not supplanted among uneducated people a lively belief in many spirits, good and bad. Buddhism, an Indian religion now practically extinct in the land of its birth, has spread so widely over China and the adjoining countries that to-day it forms the creed of about one-third of mankind. Christianity and Islam are also making some headway in China.

The rugged mountains and trackless deserts which bound three sides of China long shut it off from much intercourse with the western world. The proud disposition of its people, to whom foreigners were only barbarians ("foreign devils"), likewise tended to keep them isolated. Before the nineteenth century the only Europeans who gained an entrance into the "Celestial Empire" were a few missionaries and traders.¹ The merchants of Portugal established themselves at Macao, and those of Holland and Great Britain at Canton. There was also some traffic overland between Russia and China. Foreign trade, however, had no attraction for the Chinese, who discouraged it as far as possible.

The difficulties experienced by merchants in China led at length to hostilities between that country and Great Britain. The British, with their modern fleet and army, had an easy victory and in 1842 compelled the Chinese government to open additional ports and cede the island of Hongkong. Other nations now hastened to secure commercial concessions in China. Many more ports were opened to foreign merchants, Europeans were granted the right to travel in China, and Christian missionaries were to be protected in their work among the inhabitants. But all this made little impression upon perhaps the most conservative people in the world. The Chinese remained absolutely hostile to the western civilization so rudely thrust upon them.

Foreign aggression soon took the form of annexations in

¹ See pages 183 and 310.

outlying portions of Chinese territory. We have seen how Great Britain appropriated Burma; France, Indo-China; and Russia, the Amur district. Meanwhile, Japan, just beginning her national expansion, looked enviously across the sea to Korea, a tributary kingdom of China. The Chino-Japanese War (1894-1895) followed. Completely defeated, the Chinese had not only to renounce all claim to Korea, but also to surrender to Japan the island of Formosa and the Liaotung peninsula in Manchuria.

Japan's gains aroused the jealousy of Russia, who saw the road to an ice-free port on the Pacific blocked by the Japanese occupation of the Liaotung peninsula. Russia took her grievance to France and Germany, and together the three powers induced the Japanese to give up their acquisitions on the mainland. The coalition then seized several Chinese harbors¹ and divided the country into "spheres of influence." The partition of China seemed at hand.

But Europe was not to have its own way in China. A secret society called the "Boxers," whose members claimed to be invulnerable, spread rapidly through the provinces and urged war to the death against the "foreign devils." Encouraged by the government, the "Boxers" murdered many traders and missionaries. The foreigners in Peking took refuge within the legations, where after a desperate defense they were finally relieved by an international army composed of European, Japanese, and American troops. The allies then made peace with China and promised henceforth to respect her territory. They insisted, however, on the payment of a large indemnity for the outrages committed during the anti-foreign outbreak.

Events now moved rapidly. Educated Chinese, many of whom had studied abroad, saw clearly that their country must adopt western ideas and methods, if it was to remain a great power. The demand for thorough reforms in the government soon became a revolu-

¹ Russia took Port Arthur, Germany, Kiauchau, and France, Kwangchauwan. Great Britain also acquired Weihaiwei.

THE PEOPLES OF ASIA

Legend:

- Indo-Europeans
- Mongolians
- Chinese, Tibetans, Burmans, etc.
- Dravidians
- Malays
- Australians and Papuans
- Japanese and Koreans
- Semites

Scale of Miles: 0 250 500 1000

THE M. N. YORK, BUFFALO, N. Y.

THE M.-B., WORKS, BUFFALO, N.Y.

tionary propaganda, directed against the unprogressive Manchu (or Manchurian) dynasty, which had ruled China for nearly three hundred years. The youthful emperor finally abdicated, and the oldest empire in the world became the youngest republic.

This sudden awakening of China from her sleep of centuries is a prodigious event in world history. Already China possesses many thousands of miles of railroads and telegraph lines, besides numerous factories, mills, and mines equipped with machinery. She has begun the creation of a modern army. She has abolished long-established customs, such as the torture of criminals and the foot-binding of women. She has prohibited the consumption of opium, a vice which sapped the vitality of her people. Her temples have been turned into schools teaching the sciences and foreign languages, and her students have been sent in large numbers to foreign universities. Such reforms are rapidly bringing China into the fellowship of Occidental nations. It remains to be seen, however, whether China will allow her ancient culture to be completely extinguished by that of Europe.

215. Japan

Nippon ("Rising Sun") is the name which the inhabitants give to the six large islands and about four thousand smaller ones stretching crescent-like off the coast of eastern Asia. Because of its generally mountainous character, little more than one-eighth of the archipelago can be cultivated. Rice and tea form the principal crops, but fruit trees of every kind known to temperate climates flourish, and flowers bloom luxuriantly. The deep inlets of the coast provide convenient harbors, and the numerous rivers, though neither large nor long, supply an abundance of water. Below the surface lie considerable deposits of coal and metals.

The modern Japanese are descended chiefly from Koreans and Chinese, who displaced the original inhabitants of the archipelago.¹ The immigrants appear to have reached Japan

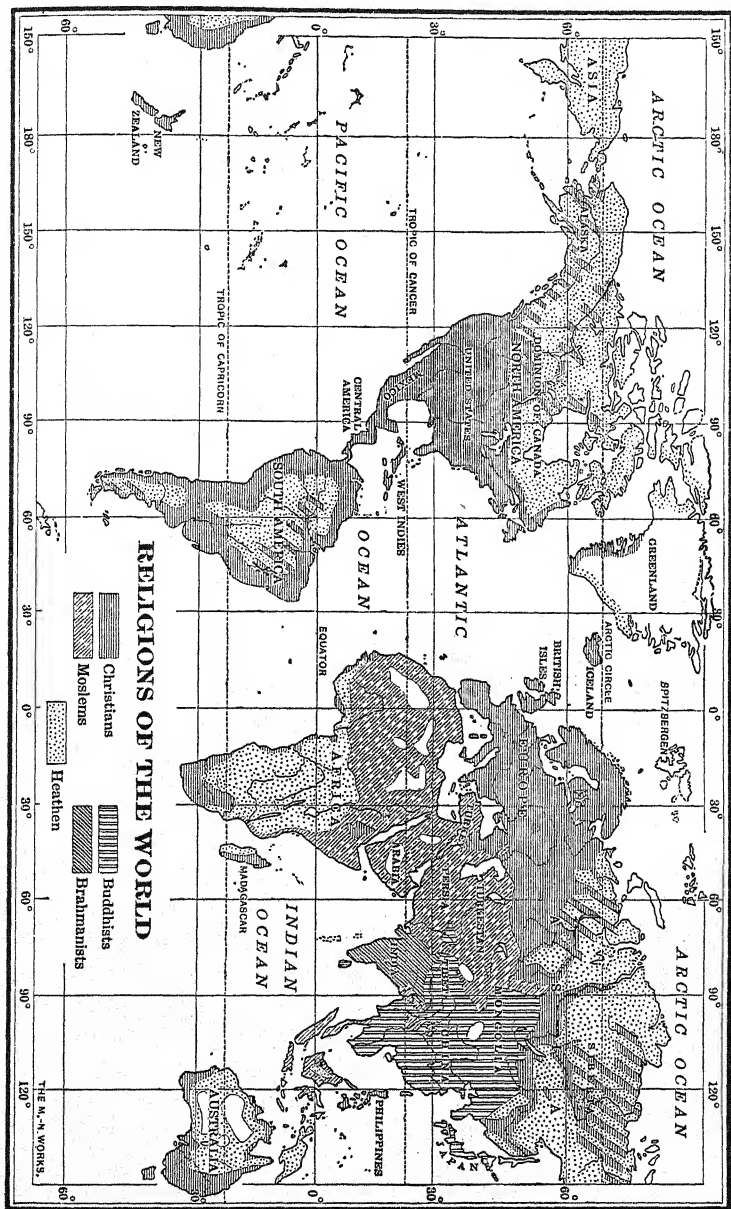
¹ Now probably represented by the "hairy Ainu" of the island of Yezo.

in the early centuries of the Christian era. Except for their shorter stature, the Japanese closely resemble the Chinese in **The Japanese** physique and personal appearance. They are, **people** however, more quick-witted and receptive to new ideas than their neighbors on the mainland. Other qualities possessed by the Japanese in a marked degree include obedience, the result of many centuries of autocratic government; a martial spirit; and an intense patriotism. "Thou shalt honor the gods and love thy country" is the first commandment of the national faith.

The Japanese naturally patterned their civilization upon that of China. They adopted a simplified form of Chinese **Japanese** writing and took over the literature, learning, **civilization** and art of the "Celestial Empire." The moral system of Confucius found ready acceptance in Japan, where it strengthened the reverence for parents and the worship of ancestors. Buddhism, introduced from China by way of Korea, brought new ideas of the nature of the soul, of heaven and hell, and of salvation by prayer. It is still the prevailing religion in Japan. Like the Chinese, also, the Japanese had an emperor (the mikado). He became in time only a puppet emperor, and another official (the shogun) usurped the chief functions of government. Neither ruler exerted much authority over the nobles (daimios), who oppressed their serfs and waged private warfare against one another very much as did their contemporaries, the feudal lords of medieval Europe.

The first European visitors to Japan were Portuguese merchants and Jesuit missionaries, who came in the sixteenth **European** century.¹ The Japanese government welcomed **intercourse** them at first, but the growing unpopularity of **with Japan** the foreigners before long resulted in their expulsion from the country. Japan continued to lead a hermit life until the middle of the nineteenth century. Foreign intercourse began in 1853-1854, with the arrival of an American fleet under Commodore Perry. He induced the shogun to sign a treaty which opened two Japanese ports to American

¹ See page 310.



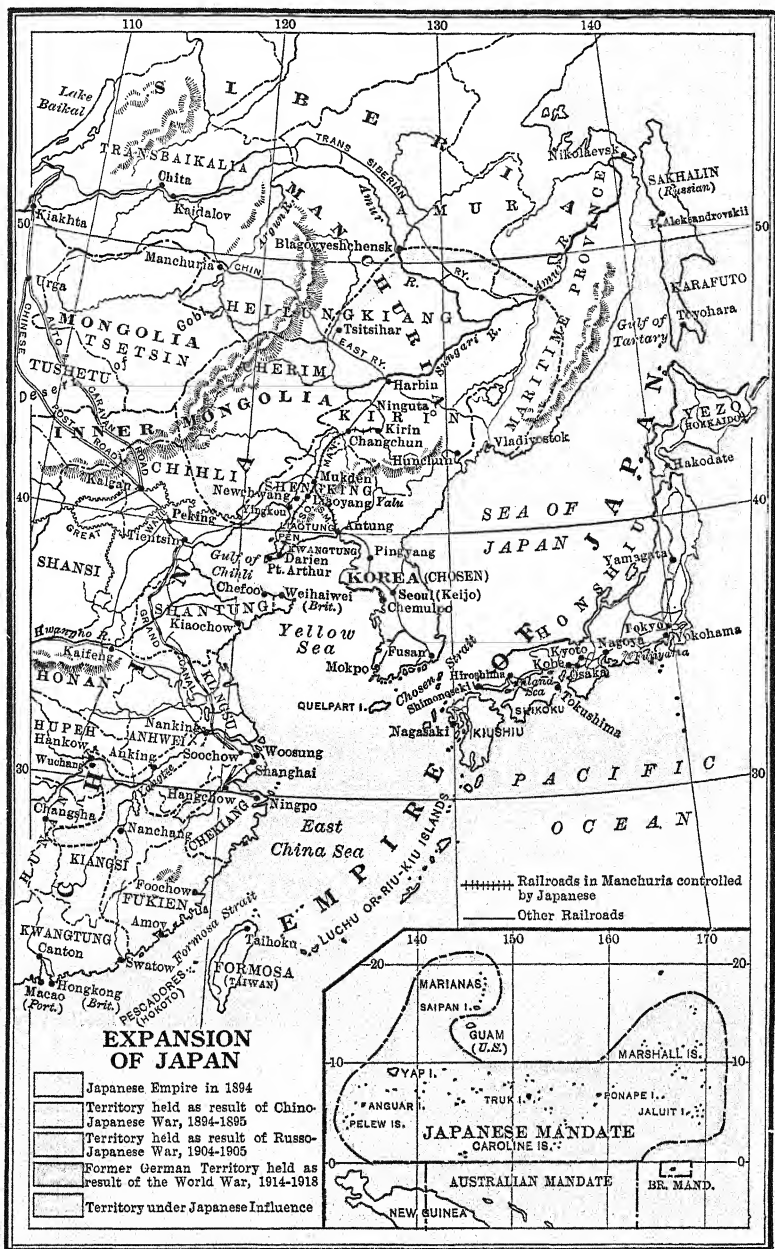
ships. The diplomatic ice being thus broken, various European nations soon negotiated commercial treaties with Japan.

Thoughtful Japanese, however great their dislike of foreigners, could not fail to recognize the superiority of the western nations in the arts of war and peace. A group of reformers, including many prominent daimios, now carried through an almost bloodless revolution. As the first step, they compelled the shogun to resign his office, thus making the mikado¹ the actual as well as titular sovereign (1867). Most of the daimios then voluntarily surrendered their feudal privileges (1871). This patriotic act made possible the abolition of serfdom and the formation of a national army on the basis of compulsory military service. In 1889 Japan secured a written constitution, with a parliament of two houses and a cabinet responsible to the mikado. He, however, is guided in all important matters by a group of influential nobles — the “Elder Statesmen” — who thus form the real power behind the throne.

The revolutionary movement affected almost every aspect of Japanese society. Codes of civil, commercial, and criminal law were drawn up to accord with those of western Europe. Universities and public schools were established upon Occidental models. Railroads and steamship lines were multiplied. The abundant water power, good harbors, and cheap labor of Japan facilitated the introduction of European methods of manufacturing; factories sprang up on every side; and machine-made goods began to displace the artistic productions of handworkers. Japan thus became a modern industrial nation.

Once in possession of European arts, sciences, and industries, Japan entered upon a career of territorial expansion in eastern Asia. Her merchants and capitalists wanted opportunities for money-making abroad; above all, her rapidly increasing population required new regions suitable for colonization beyond the narrow limits of the archipelago. As we have learned, the Chino-Japanese War (1894-

¹ The youthful Mutsuhito, who reigned 1867-1912.



1895) brought Korea¹ under Japanese influence and added Formosa to the empire. Just ten years later Japan and Russia clashed over the disposition of Manchuria and the Liaotung peninsula. The Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905) seemed a conflict between a giant and a pygmy, but the inequality of the Japanese in numbers and resources was more than made up by their preparedness for the conflict, by their irresistible bravery, and by the strategic genius which their generals displayed. After much bloody fighting by land and sea, both sides accepted the suggestion of President Roosevelt to arrange terms of peace. The treaty, as signed at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, recognized the claims of Japan in Korea, gave to Japan a lease of the Liaotung peninsula, including Port Arthur, and provided for the evacuation of Manchuria by both contestants. Russia also ceded to Japan the southern half of the island of Sakhalin. No indemnity was paid by either country.

Even before the Russo-Japanese War Japan had become a world power. Great Britain first recognized this fact and hastened to conclude an offensive and defensive alliance with the "Island Empire." Each contracting party pledged itself to come to the other's assistance, in case the possessions of either in eastern Asia and India were attacked by another state. Both France and Russia also entered into a friendly understanding with Japan for the preservation of peace in the Far East. How loyally Japan observed these agreements was soon shown upon the outbreak of the World War.

216. The Opening-Up and Partition of Oceania

The term Oceania, or Oceanica, in its widest sense applies to all the Pacific islands. The continental group includes, in addition to the Japanese archipelago and Formosa, the Philippines, the East Indies, New Guinea, Australia, and Tasmania. Many of these islands appear to have been connected at a remote period, and still more remotely to have been joined to the Asiatic mainland. The oceanic

¹ Known as Chosen since its formal annexation by Japan in 1910.

group includes, besides New Zealand, a vast number of islands and islets either volcanic or coralline in formation. They fall into the three divisions named Melanesia, Micronesia, and Polynesia.

The natives of Oceania exhibit a wide variety of culture, ranging from the savage aborigines of Australia to the semi-civilized Malays, Filipinos, and Polynesians. The Oceanic peoples first emigrants to the continental islands doubtless came from Asia and walked dryshod from one archipelago to another. On the other hand, the oceanic islands could only have been reached by water. Their inhabitants, at the time of European discovery, were remarkable navigators, who sailed up and down the Pacific and even ventured into the icy Antarctic. No evidence exists, however, that they even once sighted the coast of America.

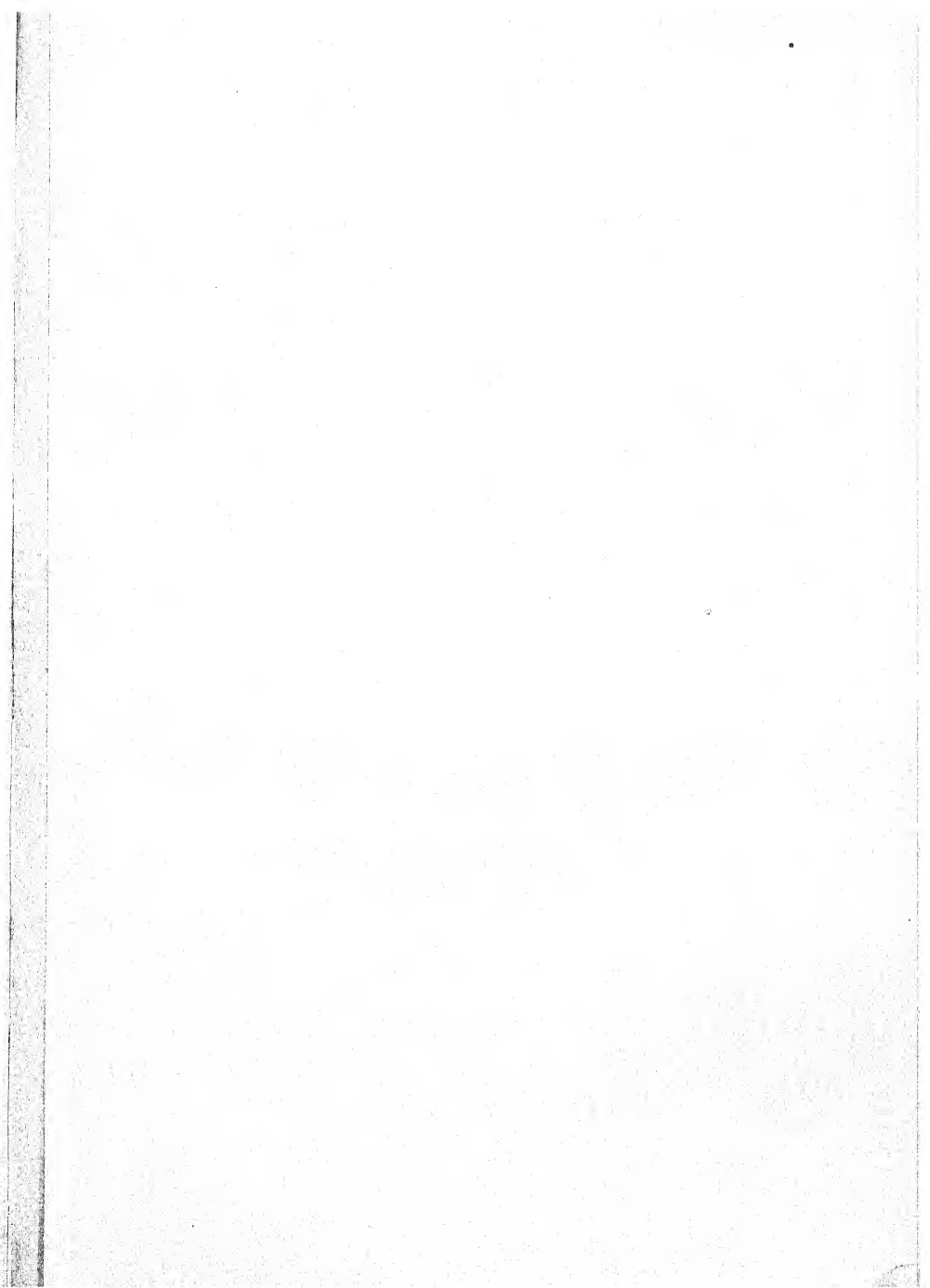
The occupation of Oceania by European powers, beginning in the sixteenth century, has been completed only in the twentieth century. Portugal was the first in the field, but her East Indian territories ultimately passed to Holland.¹ Spain ruled the Philippines for three hundred and fifty years, relinquishing them to the United States as recently as 1898. The United States has several other oceanic possessions.² Great Britain, besides colonizing Australia and New Zealand, secured parts of New Guinea and Borneo and many small island groups. France annexed several Polynesian and Melanesian archipelagoes. The German possessions in the Pacific³ were surrendered to the Allies shortly after the opening of the World War.

Much of Australia lies in the temperate zone and therefore offers a favorable field for white settlement. Captain Cook, on the first of his celebrated voyages, raised the British flag over the island continent. Colonization began in 1787, with the foundation of Sydney on the coast of New South Wales. For many years Australia served

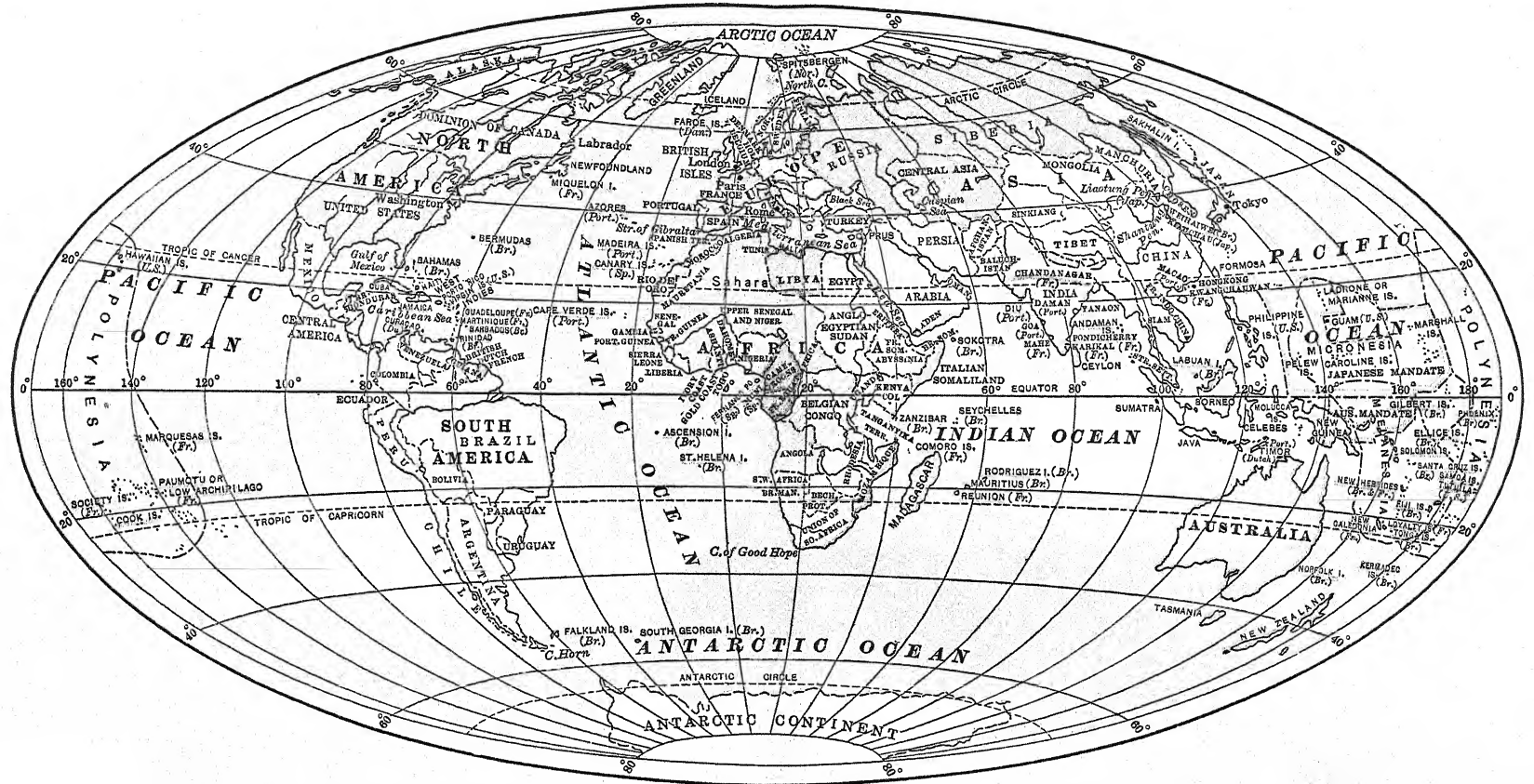
¹ See page 443.

² See page 630.

³ The eastern half of New Guinea, some Melanesian and Micronesian islands and part of Samoa.



THE WORLD POWERS.



 British	 French	 Dutch	 Belgian	 Portuguese	 Spanish
 Italian	 Danish	 Japanese	 Chinese	 United States	 Russian

as a penal station, to which the British transported the convicts who had been previously sent to America. More substantial colonists followed, especially after the introduction of sheep-farming and the discovery of gold in the nineteenth century. They settled chiefly on the eastern and southern coasts, where the climate is cool and there is plenty of water and rich pasture land.

New South Wales, the original colony, had two daughter colonies, Victoria and Queensland. Two other colonies — South Australia and Western Australia — were founded directly by emigrants from Great Britain. **The Australian Commonwealth, 1900** All these states, together with Tasmania, have now united into the Australian Commonwealth. This federation follows American models in its written constitution, its senate and house of representatives, and its high (or supreme) court. A Governor-General, sent from England, represents the British Crown. The Commonwealth, however, is entirely self-governing except in foreign affairs.

The two large islands of New Zealand, lying twelve hundred miles southeast of Australia, were annexed by Great Britain in 1839. Their temperate climate, abundant rainfall, and luxuriant vegetation soon attracted settlers, who now number more than a million. **The Dominion of New Zealand, 1907**

Because of her growing importance, New Zealand in 1907 was raised from the rank of a colony to that of a dominion. It thus takes a place beside South Africa, Australia, and Canada among the great self-governing divisions of the British Empire.

217. British North America

The population of Canada in 1763 was almost entirely French. After the American Revolution Canada received a large influx of "Tories" from the Thirteen Colonies,¹ together with many emigrants from Great Britain. **Upper and Lower Canada** The new settlers had so many quarrels with the French Canadians that Parliament in 1791 passed an act dividing the country into Upper Canada for the British and Lower Canada for the

¹ See page 475.

French. Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Newfoundland remained separate provinces.

When Great Britain, in retaliation for Napoleon's Continental System, issued the Orders in Council,¹ the United States, as the chief neutral, was also the chief sufferer. The injury to American trade, coupled with the quarrel over the impressment of seamen, provoked the second war with Great Britain. It seemed to furnish a good opportunity for the conquest of Canada, but British and French Canadians united in defense of their country and drove out the American armies. The treaty of peace left matters as they were before the war, except for a heritage of unfriendly feeling on the part of the contestants. Even this has disappeared in the course of a century unbroken by the clash of arms. The unfortified boundary from the Atlantic to the Pacific is an eloquent testimony to the good relations between Canada and the United States.

Canada had done her duty to the British Empire during the War of 1812-1814, but she waited more than thirty years for her reward in the shape of self-government. Great Britain, after losing the Thirteen Colonies, did not favor any measures which might result in Canadian independence as well. Finally, Parliament sent over a wise statesman, Lord Durham, to investigate the political discontent in Canada. Lord Durham in his *Report* urged that the only method of keeping distant colonies is to allow them to rule themselves. If the Canadians received freedom to manage their domestic affairs, they would be more, and not less, loyal, for they would have fewer causes of complaint against the mother country. The *Durham Report* produced a lasting effect on British colonial policy. Not only did Great Britain grant parliamentary institutions and self-government to the Canadian provinces, but she also bestowed the same privileges upon her Australasian and South African dominions. All these colonies, though virtually independent, continue to enjoy the protection of the British Empire and share in its glory.

¹ See page 532.



CANADA, THE UNITED STATES, AND MEXICO
With Alaska and its islands laid down on the United States.

Another of Lord Durham's recommendations led to the union in 1840 of Upper Canada (Ontario) and Lower Canada (Quebec). In 1867 Ontario and Quebec formed with Nova Scotia and New Brunswick the confederation known as the Dominion of Canada.

The Dominion of Canada, 1867

It has a Governor-General, representing the British sovereign, a senate whose members hold office for life, and an elective house of commons, to which the cabinet of ministers is

responsible. Each Canadian province also maintains a parliament for local legislation.

The new Dominion expanded rapidly. It purchased from the Hudson Bay Company the extensive territories out of which the provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta have been created. British Columbia and Prince Edward Island soon came into the confederation. All the remainder of British North America, except Newfoundland, which still holds aloof, was annexed in 1878 to the Dominion of Canada. One government now holds sway over the whole region from the Great Lakes to the Arctic Circle.

Equally rapid has been the development of the Dominion in wealth and population. The western provinces, formerly left to roving Indian tribes and a few white traders, are attracting a large emigration from the United States and Europe. Two transcontinental railroads—the Canadian Pacific, completed in 1886, and the more recent Grand Trunk Pacific—make accessible the agricultural resources of the Dominion, its forests, and its deposits of coal and minerals. Canada now ranks as the largest, richest, and most populous member of the British Empire.

218. Latin America

The Spanish colonies in the New World, at the opening of the nineteenth century, were even more extensive than those of Great Britain. Spain had ruled them as dependencies for nearly three hundred years. She crippled trade by requiring the inhabitants to buy only Spanish goods and to sell only to Spaniards. She prohibited such manufactures as might compete with those at home. Furthermore, she filled all the offices in Church and State with Spaniards born in the mother country, to the exclusion of the creoles, or those born in the colonies.

This restrictive system made the colonists long for freedom, especially after they heard the stirring story of the revolutions which had created the United States and republican France. When Napoleon invaded Spain, forced the abdication of

Ferdinand VII, and gave the crown to his own brother Joseph,¹ the colonists set up practically independent states throughout Spanish America. For six years — 1808–1814 — they enjoyed liberty.

Preparation
for
independence

Ferdinand VII, who returned to his throne after Napoleon's overthrow, was a genuine Bourbon, incapable of learning anything or of forgetting anything. His refusal to satisfy the demands of the colonists for equal rights with the mother country precipitated the revolt against Spain. Its greatest hero is Simón Bolívar, who, in addition to

The revolt
against Spain

freeing his native Venezuela, helped to free the countries now known as Colombia, Ecuador, Bolivia, and Peru. One by one all the colonies in South America, together with Central America and Mexico, threw off the Spanish yoke. Great Britain, anxious to establish trading relations with the colonists and also sentimentally interested in their struggle for liberty, helped them with



SIMÓN BOLÍVAR

A medallion by David d'Angers, 1832.

money, ships, and munitions of war. She recognized their independence in 1825. A year later the Spanish flag was finally lowered on the American continents.

Brazil also took part in the revolutionary movement. The Brazilian people felt that the time had come for their enormous country to sever the ties binding it to weak little Portugal. In 1822 they set up an independent empire, with the oldest son of the Portuguese

The revolt
against
Portugal

¹ See page 533.

king as its first ruler. This monarchy gave way to a republican form of government as recently as 1889.

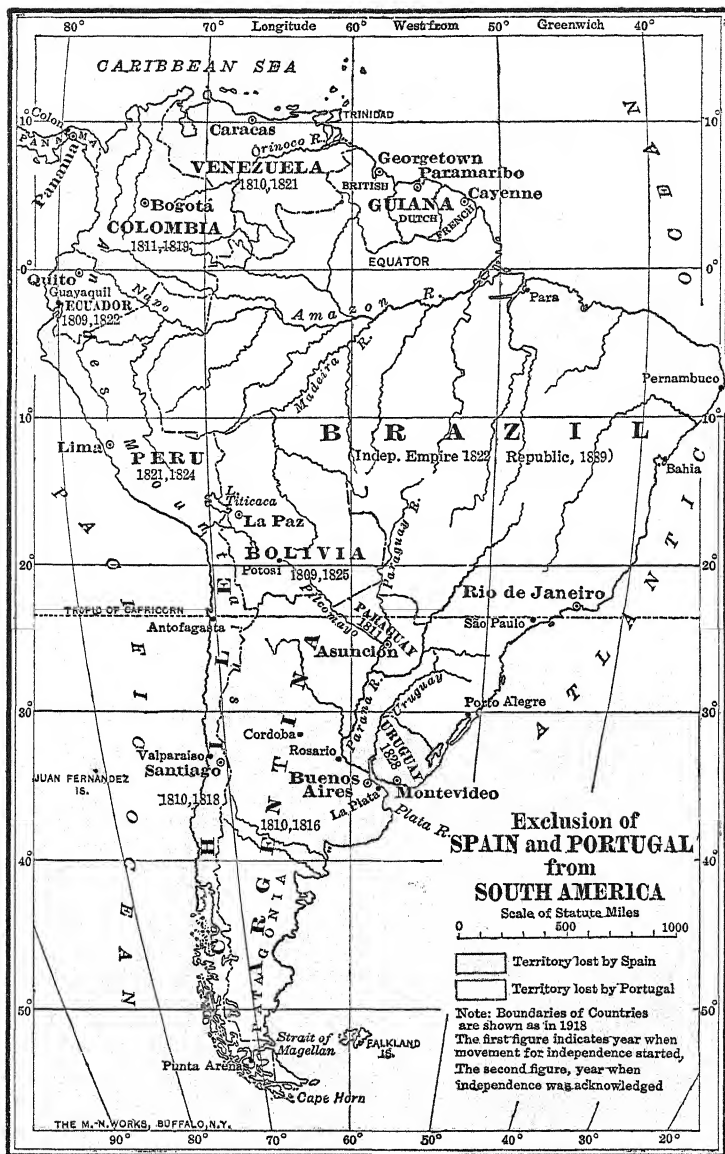
At the present time there are eleven republics in South America, including little Panama, which seceded from Colombia in 1903. All possess constitutions and the forms of democratic government. Frequent revolutions and civil wars long retarded their development. Recently, however, foreign capitalists have begun to invest heavily in South American railroads, lands, and factories; and a large immigration, chiefly of Europeans, has set in. Due to this stimulus, such states as Argentina, Brazil, and Chile—the so-called A-B-C powers—are becoming very prosperous.

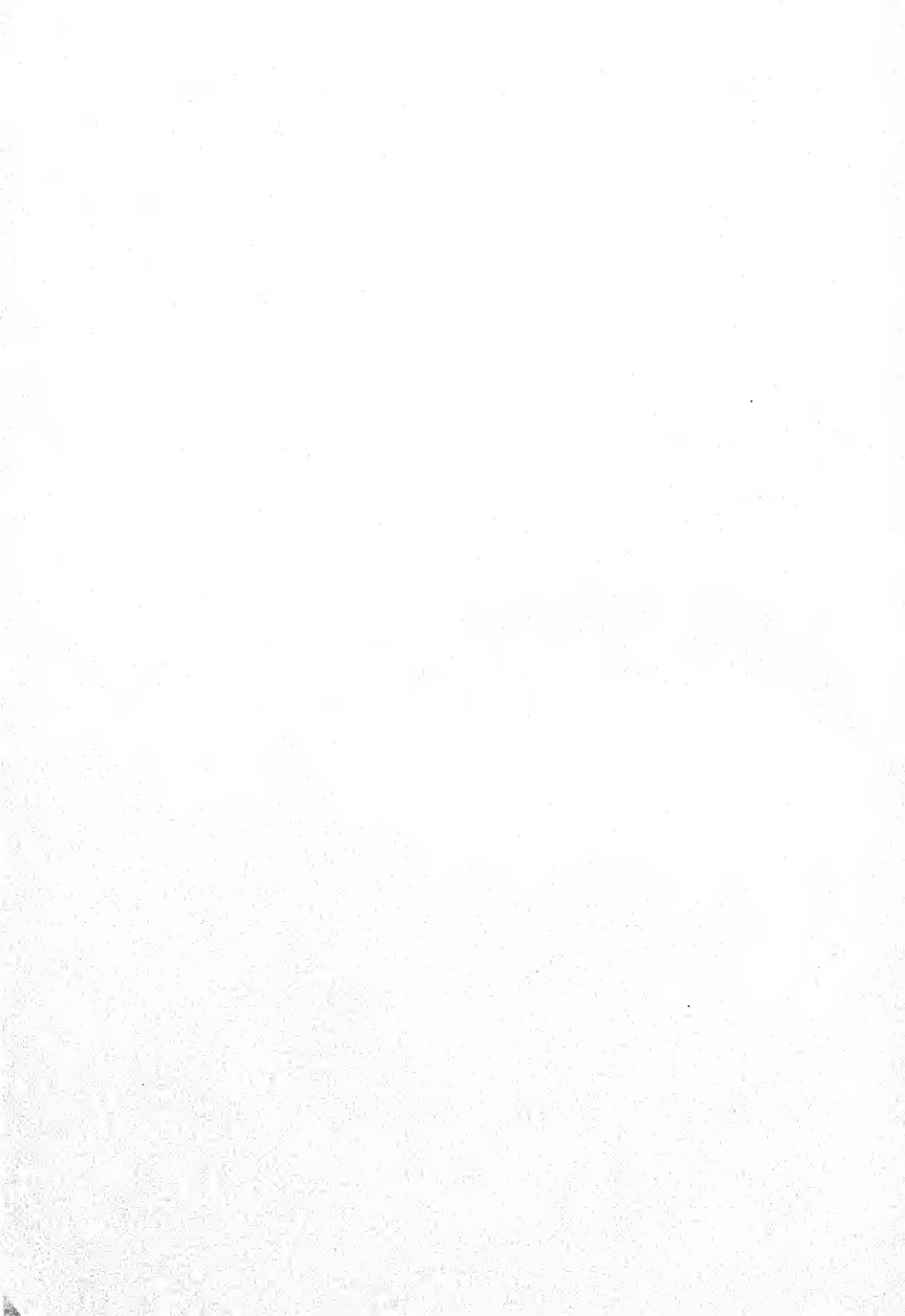
A Central American Federation, which was created in 1821, soon disintegrated into five diminutive republics. They still maintain a separate existence, often vexed by factional strife and insurrections.

Mexico, with some fifty revolutions, has had an even more checkered history. Porfirio Diaz ruled the country as a virtual dictator for many years, until an uprising in 1911 compelled him to withdraw to Europe. Civil conflict between rival generals and their followers then ensued. It has now died down, leaving General Elias Calles as the recognized president. The problems before him are difficult. Mexico needs not only a stable government, but also land reforms which will raise the oppressed “peons”—mostly ignorant Indians—from their condition of practical serfdom to that of free men. Whether these problems will be solved or not remains to be seen.

Many of the smaller West India islands¹ are still held by Great Britain, France, and Holland. Haiti, once a possession of France, declared its independence at the time of the French Revolution and successfully resisted Napoleon's efforts at reconquest. It is now divided between the two negro republics of Haiti and Santo Domingo. Cuba, thanks to American intervention during the Spanish-American War, also forms a republic. The United States took Porto

¹ See the map on page 321.

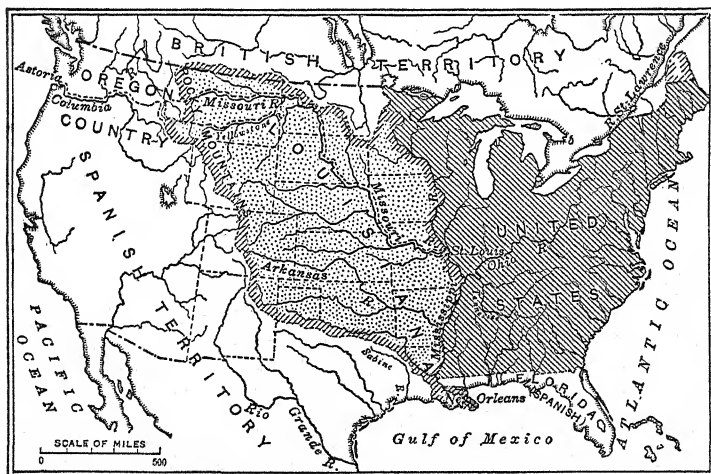




Rico from Spain in 1808 and in 1817 purchased three neighboring islands¹ from Denmark. Their acquisition reflects the increased importance of the West Indies to the American people.

219. The United States

The expansion of the United States beyond the limits fixed by the Treaty of Paris in 1783² began with the purchase of the Louisiana territory between the Mississippi and the Rocky Mountains. This immense region, originally claimed by France in virtue of La Salle's discoveries, had passed to Spain at the close of the Seven Years' War and



THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE

had been reacquired for France by Napoleon Bonaparte. The French emperor, about to renew his conflict with Great Britain,³ realized that he could not defend Louisiana against the mistress of the seas. Rather than make a forced present of the country to Great Britain, he sold it to the United States for the paltry sum of \$15,000,000.

¹ St. Thomas, St. John, and St. Croix.

² See page 476.

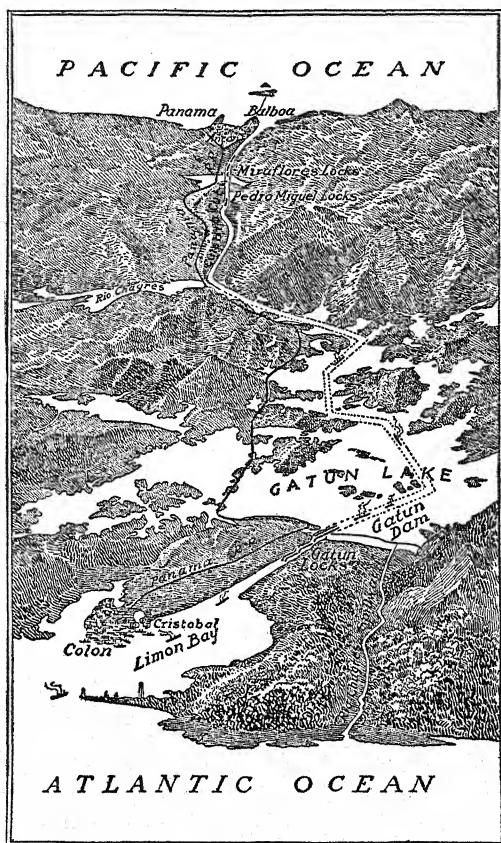
³ See page 527.

The possession of Louisiana gave the United States an outlet upon the Gulf of Mexico. This was greatly extended by **Acquisitions, 1803-1867** the purchase of Florida from Spain in 1819 and the annexation of Texas in 1845. The settlement of the dispute with Great Britain as to the Oregon country (1846) and the Mexican Cession (1848) brought the United States to the Pacific. Every part of this western territory is now linked by transcontinental railroads with the Mississippi Valley and the Atlantic-facing states.

Alaska had been a Russian province since Bering's voyages in the eighteenth century. Russia, however, never realized **Purchase of Alaska, 1867** the value of her distant dependency and in 1867 sold it to the United States for \$7,200,000. Since then Americans have taken from Alaska in gold alone many times the original cost of the territory. Its resources in coal, lumber, agricultural land, and fisheries are also very great, though as yet little has been done to exploit them.

In the last decade of the nineteenth century the United States began to secure possessions overseas. **The Hawaiian Acquisitions, 1867-1917** Islands, lying about two thousand miles off the coast of California, were annexed in 1898. The same year saw the acquisition of the Philippines, Guam, and Porto Rico as the result of the war with Spain. Part of the Samoan archipelago and the Danish West Indies have also come into American hands.

The United States, though not unwilling to obtain colonies in the New World, denies the right of any European nation to **The Monroe Doctrine, 1823** acquire additional territory here. This policy of "America for Americans" is known as the Monroe Doctrine. It was first formulated partly to stave off any attempt of the Old World monarchies, led by Metternich, to aid Spain in the reconquest of her colonies, and partly to prevent the further extension southward of the Russian province of Alaska. The interests of Great Britain in both these directions coincided with those of the United States. Relying on the support of the British government, President Monroe in 1823 sent his celebrated message to Congress in



RELIEF MAP OF THE PANAMA CANAL

which he declared that the American continents were henceforth "not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers."

The solemn protest of the United States, backed as it was by Great Britain, removed for a time the danger of European interference in America. During the Civil War, however, Napoleon III took advantage of our difficulties to send a French army to Mexico. It conquered the country and set up an Austrian

Enforcement
of the
Monroe
Doctrine

prince¹ as emperor. The American government protested vigorously against this high-handed proceeding, and after the close of the Civil War required Napoleon III, under threat of hostilities, to withdraw his soldiers. The French empire in Mexico now quickly collapsed.

The enforcement of the Monroe Doctrine makes it necessary for the United States not only to defend the Latin-American **Pan-Americanism** republics against foreign aggression, but also to intervene from time to time in their domestic affairs. Our warships and soldiers have been repeatedly sent to the West Indies, Mexico, and Central America for the purpose of protecting American and European citizens and their property from rioters or revolutionists. Though grateful to her mighty neighbor for help, Latin America has trembled lest our intervention to restore order might pass into downright conquest. The benevolent purposes of this country are now being better understood. It has inaugurated a series of Pan-American conferences, composed of delegates from all the independent nations of the New World. With the assistance of the Latin-American republics, it has also established the Pan-American Union at Washington, which seeks to spread information about the resources and trade of the different countries and also to cultivate friendly relations between them. The coöperation of most of the Central American and South American nations with the United States, during the World War, cannot fail to strengthen the bonds between the republics of the New World.

The completion of the Panama Canal (1914) is also certain to have a profound effect upon the relations of North and **The Panama Canal, 1914** South America. The canal greatly shortens the distance between the Atlantic, the Gulf, and the Pacific coasts of the New World. This means lower freight rates and improvement in the passenger and mail service. Increased commerce, travel, and communication will do much to bring together and keep together the two Americas.

¹ Maximilian, the brother of Francis Joseph I. He was captured and shot by the Mexicans in 1867.

220. Close of Geographical Discovery

Half the globe was still unmapped in 1800. Canada, Alaska, and the Louisiana territory were so little known that a geography published at this time omits any reference to the Rocky Mountains. South America, though long settled by white men, continued to be largely unexplored. Scant information existed about the Pacific islands and Australia. Much of Asia remained sealed to Europeans. Accurate knowledge of Africa did not reach beyond the edges of that continent. The larger part of the Arctic realm had not yet been discovered, and the Antarctic realm had barely been touched.

Discoveries and explorations during the nineteenth century carried far the geographical conquest of the world. The great African rivers were traced to their sources in the heart of what had once been the "Dark Continent." In Asia, the headwaters of the Indus and the

Ganges were reached; the Himalayas measured and shown to be the loftiest of mountains; Tibet, the mysterious, penetrated; and the veil of darkness shrouding China, Korea, Farther India, and other Asiatic countries lifted. Travelers penetrated the deserts of inner Australia and finally crossed the entire continent from south to north. The journeys of Alexander von Humboldt (1799-1804) inaugurated the systematic exploration of South America, while those of Lewis



ROBERT E. PEARY

and Clark (1804-1806) opened up the Louisiana territory. Still later, Alaska, the Northwest Territories of Canada, and Labrador began to emerge from their obscurity. Even Greenland

was crossed by Nansen, a Norwegian, and its coast was charted by Danish geographers and the American Peary.

Voyages in search of the Northwest Passage¹ had already revealed the labyrinth of islands, peninsulas, and ice-bound channels north of the American continent. Many Arctic heroic but fruitless attempts had also been made exploration to reach the North Pole. Nansen in 1892-1895 utilized the ice drift to carry his ship, the *Fram*, across the polar sea. Finding that the drift would not take him to the pole, he left the *Fram* and with a single companion advanced to 86° 14' N., the highest latitude which had been yet attained. An Italian expedition, a few years later, got still farther north. The honor of actually reaching the pole was carried off by Peary in 1909. He traveled the last stages of the journey by sledge over the ice and reached his goal in company with a colored servant and several Eskimos. Nansen's and Peary's journeys showed that no land exists in the north polar basin, only a sea of great but unknown depth.

The south polar region, on the other hand, is a land mass of continental dimensions. First approached by Captain Cook on his second voyage,² it has since been visited by Antarctic many explorers. They have traced the course of exploration the great ice barrier, discovered extensive mountain ranges, and even found two volcanoes belching forth lava amidst the snows. Amundsen, who attained the pole in 1911, was soon followed by Scott, but this gallant Englishman and his four companions died of cold and starvation on the return journey. The records of polar exploration are, indeed, full of tragedies.

Considerable spaces of the earth's surface still await scientific investigation. The Antarctic continent and Greenland offer many problems to geographers. The enormous Regions still basin of the Amazon is still little known. Practically unmapped no knowledge exists of the interior of New Guinea, the largest of islands, if Australia be reckoned as a continent.

¹ See page 325. The Northwest Passage was first completely navigated by the Norwegian Amundsen between 1903 and 1906.

² See pages 477-478.

Australia itself has not been completely explored. In Asia, there is still much information to be gained concerning the great central plateau, the Arctic coast, and inner Arabia. Equatorial Africa affords another promising field for discovery. It thus remains for the twentieth century to complete the geographical conquest of the world.

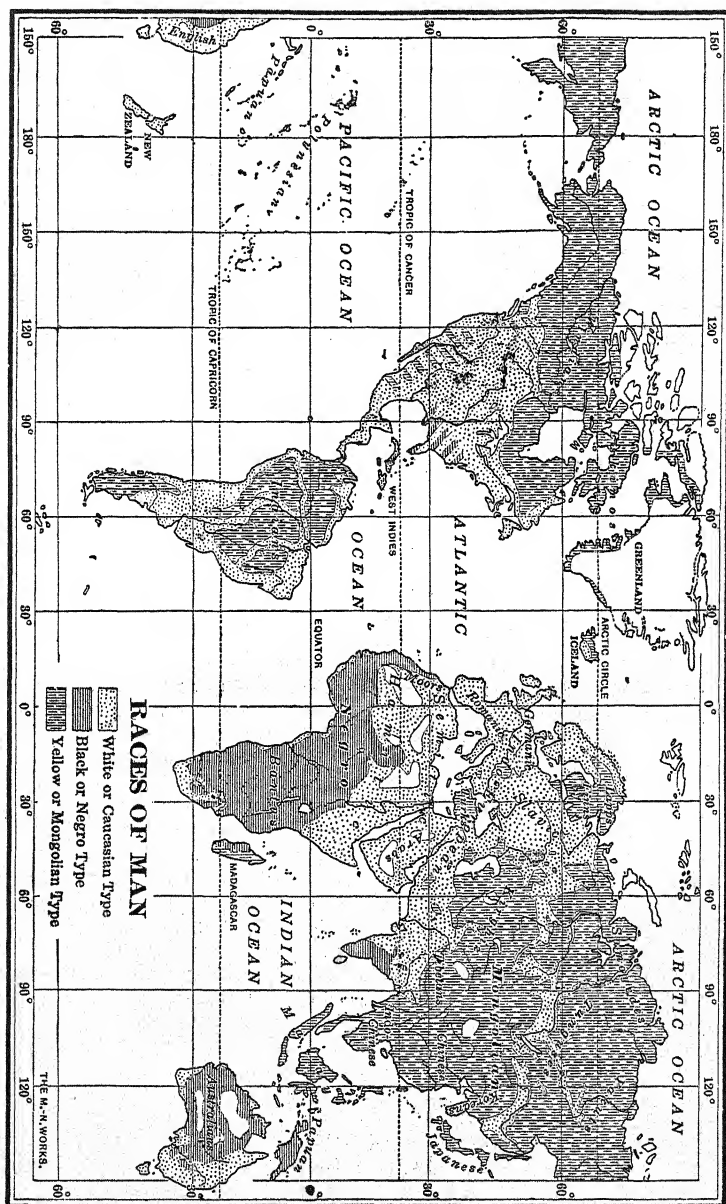
221. Inter-racial Problems

The number of people on the earth is estimated to exceed 1,600,000,000. Asia has perhaps 900,000,000; Europe, Population of 400,000,000; America, 150,000,000; Africa, 140,- the world 000,000; and Oceania, 10,000,000. These figures are only approximate, since many countries either do not take a census or take it quite inaccurately.

The world's inhabitants are distributed in three great races, each of which occupies, roughly speaking, distinct geographical areas. The Yellow or Mongolian race holds the distribution north, east, and center of Asia, whence it has of races spread into the Malay Archipelago, over the Pacific, and into the Americas.¹ The Black or Negro race holds most of Africa south of the Sahara. The Dravidians of India, the aborigines of Australia, and the Papuans of New Guinea and the adjacent islands, are negroid (negro-like) peoples. The White or Caucasian race is found in Europe, northern and eastern Africa, and southwestern Asia. It also forms the bulk of the population of the New World, as well as of South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand.

The wonderful expansion of Europeans during the last four centuries has been largely confined to the temperate and sparsely settled regions of the globe, where they have Limits of the White race gone as home-seekers. The few Europeans settling in tropical and sub-tropical parts of Africa, Asia, Oceania, and America go as soldiers, officials, clerks, and agents sent out for a term of years. They seek, not new homes, but the profits of trade or rule over subject peoples. Such

¹ The so-called Brown race (Malays, Polynesians) and the so-called Red race (American Indians) must be considered branches of the Yellow race.



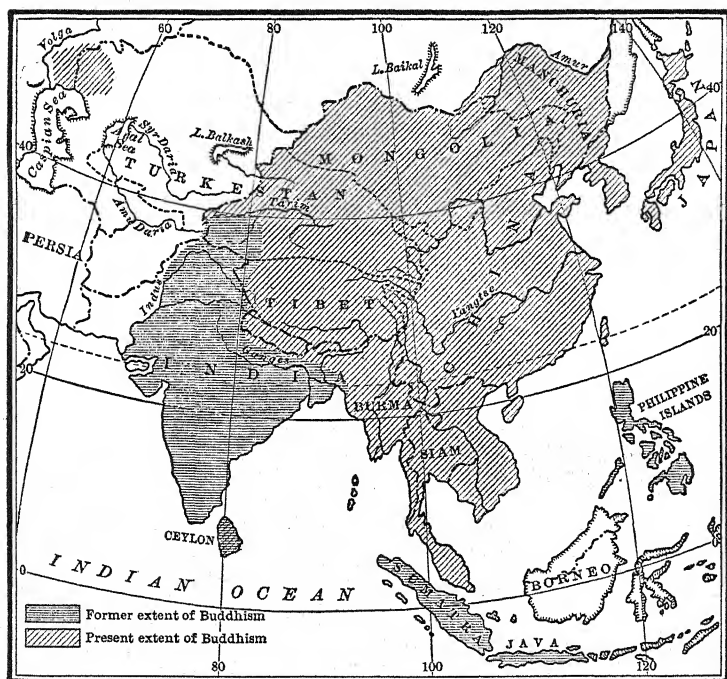
are the seventy-five thousand Englishmen in India and the still fewer Dutch who control the East India dependencies of Holland. Men of the White race languish in hot, moist climates, nor will they perform hand labor where there are natives to work for them. Europeans may long continue to exploit the tropics and sub-tropics, but it seems unlikely that they can ever live there in large numbers. Even where the climate is favorable, as in China, Japan, and parts of Indo-China and India, the teeming population of those countries precludes their colonization by Europeans.

The limitation of the White man to the temperate zone will make it necessary for him henceforth to associate more and more with the Yellow man and the Black man in the common work of civilization. Coöperation between them can only be secured in proportion as each one learns to appreciate the others. In place of the unreasoning antipathy which has kept the races apart so long, must come a recognition of their common humanity. Racial prejudices must give way to a decent regard for the value of human beings everywhere.

Studies

1. Draw up a list of the chief colonial possessions of Great Britain, France, Italy, and the United States.
2. What parts of the world are to-day occupied or colonized by Anglo-Saxon peoples? By Latin peoples? By Slavic peoples?
3. What is the origin of the names Liberia, Rhodesia, Tasmania, Alberta, Colombia, Venezuela, Bolivia, and Louisiana?
4. Trace the routes followed by the Cape-to-Cairo, Trans-Siberian, and Canadian Pacific railroads.
5. Show how Africa has become "an annex of Europe."
6. Look up in an encyclopedia an account of the negro republic of Liberia.
7. Where are the Spanish possessions in Africa? Where were the German possessions there?
8. What is implied in calling the Suez Canal the "heel of Achilles" of the British Empire?
9. What possessions in India are still kept by Portugal and France?
10. Look up in an encyclopedia an account of the life and teachings of the Buddha.
11. Do the Chinese form a genuine nation? How is it with the Japanese?
12. Show that the Chino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese wars contributed to the "awakening of China."
13. Compare the Europeanization of Japan in the nineteenth century with that of Russia in the eighteenth century.
14. What are the possessions of European powers in the East Indies?
15. Compare the combined area of Australia and Tasmania with that of the United States (excluding Alaska), and the area of New Zealand with that of Great Britain.
16. Why are the Hawaiian Islands called the "crossroads of the Pacific"?
17. Why has Lord Durham's *Report* been styled the "Magna Carta of the British colonies"?
18. Name and locate the twenty Latin-American republics.
19. What

European powers have possessions in South America? 20. Name the principal transcontinental railroads in the United States. 21. Compare the westward expansion of the United States with Russian expansion eastwards. 22. How was the promulgation of the Monroe Doctrine a check to *Metternichism*? 23. On the map, page 633, trace the routes in the polar regions followed by Nansen, Peary, and Amundsen.



EXPANSION OF BUDDHISM

CHAPTER XXIV

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION¹

222. Modern Industrialism

THE year 1776, the year of the Declaration of Independence and of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, also marks, approximately, the commencement of the Industrial Revolution. No other word except "revolution" so well describes those wholesale changes in manufacturing, transportation, agriculture, and other industries which, within a century and a half, have transformed modern life. This revolution originated in Great Britain, spread after 1815 to the Continent and the United States, and now extends throughout the civilized world.

The rapid expansion of European peoples over Africa, Asia, Australia, and America, as described in the preceding chapter, was itself largely an outcome of the Industrial Revolution. Improvements in means of transportation — railroads, canals, steam navigation — by facilitating travel permitted an extensive emigration from Europe into other continents. Improved communication — the telegraph and the telephone — by annihilating distance made easier the occupation and government of remote dependencies. The growth of manufacturing in Europe also gave increased importance to colonies as sources of supply for raw materials and foodstuffs, as markets for finished goods, and as places of investment for the surplus wealth accumulated by the capitalists whom the Industrial Revolution created.

The Industrial Revolution also created a numerous body of wage-earners, who moved from rural districts and villages into the factories, sweatshops, and tenements of the great cities. There, in spite of a crowded, miserable existence they

¹ Webster, *Historical Source Book*, No. 24, "Communist Manifesto, 1848"; No. 25, "Declaration of Paris, 1856."

gradually learned the value of organization. They formed trade unions in order to secure higher wages and shorter hours. They read newspapers, listened to speeches by agitators, and began to press for laws which would improve their lot. Then they went further and demanded the right to vote, to hold office, to enjoy all the liberty and equality which the *bourgeoisie* or middle class had won from monarchs and aristocrats. The Industrial Revolution furnished much of the driving power for the revolutionary outbreaks of 1830 and 1848, and especially for that democratic movement which has been so marked in Europe since 1871. It thus reinforced the new ideas of democracy introduced into the world by the American and French revolutions.

Democracy
and the
Industrial
Revolution

Great Britain took the lead in the Industrial Revolution. Her damp climate proved to be very favorable to the manufacture of textiles, her swift streams supplied abundant water power for machinery, and beneath her soil lay stores of coal and iron ore. There were other favoring circumstances. Industry in Great Britain was less fettered by guild restrictions than on the Continent. She possessed more surplus capital for investment, more skilled laborers, and a larger merchant marine than any other country. Furthermore, Great Britain had emerged from the Seven Years' War victorious over all her rivals for maritime and commercial supremacy. Her trade in the markets of the world grew by leaps and bounds after 1763. The enormous demand for British goods in its turn stimulated the mechanical genius of British artisans and so produced the era of the great inventions.

The Indus-
trial Revolu-
tion in Great
Britain

223. The Great Inventions

Man has advanced from the lowest savagery to the height of civilization chiefly through invention. Beginning in pre-historic times, he slowly discovered how to supplement hands and feet and teeth and nails by the use of tools. From the tool it was a forward step to the

Invention

machine, which, when supplied with muscular energy, only needed to be directed by man to do his work. The highest type of machine is that driven by the stored-up forces of nature — by wind, waterfall, steam, gas, or electricity. Such machines have been well described as non-human slaves, working without wages and without fatigue.

A list of prehistoric tools and machines would include many kinds of implements, first of stone and then of metal; levers, **Development of invention** rollers, and wedges; bows-and-arrows, slings, and lassos; oars, sails, and rudders; fishing nets, lines, and hooks; the plow and the wheeled cart; the needle, bellows, and potter's wheel; the distaff and spindle for spinning; and the hand loom for weaving. Few important additions were made to this list in antiquity, even by such cultivated peoples as the Egyptians, Babylonians, Greeks, and Romans. The Middle Ages were also singularly barren of inventions. It was only toward the close of the medieval period that gunpowder, the mariner's compass, paper, and movable type reached Europe from Asia. More progress took place during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which produced the telescope, microscope, thermometer, and barometer, clocks and watches run by weights, sawmills driven by wind or water, an improved form of the windmill, and the useful though humble wheelbarrow. Manufacturing, transportation, and agriculture continued, however, to be carried on in much the same rude way as before the dawn of history.

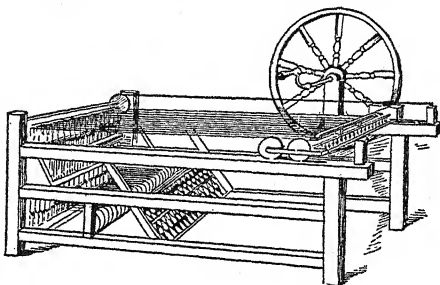
The revolution in manufacturing began with the textile industry. Old-fashioned spinning was a slow, laborious process. **Old-fashioned spinning** The wool, flax, or cotton, having been fastened to a stick called the distaff, was twisted by hand into yarn or thread and wound upon a spindle. The spinning wheel — long known in India and not unknown in Europe as early as the fourteenth century — afterwards came into general use. It enabled the operator by working a treadle to make two threads at once, one in each hand.

Weaving was done on the hand loom, a wooden frame to which vertical threads (the "warp") were attached. Hori-

zontal threads (the "woof") were then inserted by means of an enlarged needle or shuttle. The invention of the "flying shuttle" (1733) enabled the operator by pulling a cord to jerk the shuttle back and forth without the aid of an assistant. This device not only saved labor but also doubled the speed of weaving.

The demand for thread and yarn quickly outran the supply, for the spinners could not keep up with the weavers. Prizes were then offered for a

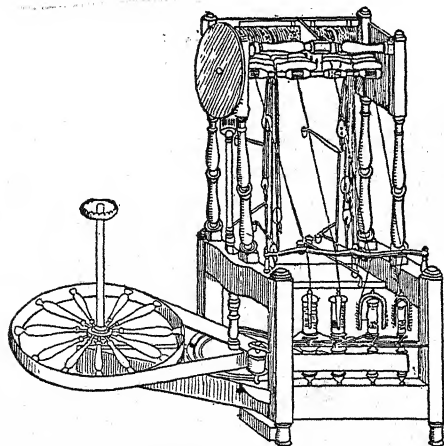
The "spinning jenny,"
1770



HARGREAVES'S "SPINNING JENNY"

better machine than the spinning wheel. At length, in 1770 James Hargreaves, a poor workman of Lancashire in north-

ern England, patented what he named the "spinning jenny," in compliment to his industrious wife. It was a very simple affair, operated by a hand wheel, but it carried (at first) eight spindles and thus spun eight threads simultaneously.



ARKWRIGHT'S SPINNING MACHINE

Meanwhile, Richard Arkwright, a barber, obtained a patent

The "water frame" 1769,
and the "mule," 1779

for a spinning machine run by water power and hence called the "water frame." In this machine the cotton was drawn out by rollers to the requisite fineness

and was then twisted into thread by revolving spindles. Samuel Crompton, ten years later, combined the essential features of the Hargreaves and Arkwright machines into what became popularly known as the "mule," because of its hybrid origin. It has been steadily improved; and at present a spinning machine may carry as many as two thousand spindles.

These three inventions again upset the balance in the textile industry, for the spinners could produce more thread and yarn than the weavers could convert into cloth. The **The power loom, 1785** invention which revolutionized weaving was made by Edmund Cartwright, an English clergyman, who had never even seen a weaver at work. He constructed a loom with an automatic shuttle operated by water power. Improvements in this machine now enable a single operator to produce more cloth than two hundred men could weave on the old-fashioned hand loom.

Both spinners and weavers needed for the new machinery an abundant supply of raw material. They found it in cotton, which previously had been much less used than either wool or flax. **The cotton gin, 1794** Eli Whitney's cotton gin, patented in 1794, separated the seeds from the cotton fibers more rapidly than fifty negro slaves could do it by hand, thus stimulating enormously the production of cotton for the mills of Great Britain. Cotton manufacture soon became and still remains the leading industry of that country.

Many inventors working independently in England, France, and the United States produced the sewing machine. **The sewing machine, 1846** Elias Howe, of Cambridge, Massachusetts, patented the first effective lockstitch machine in 1845. Henceforth it was rapidly improved and adapted to every variety of work, from making button-holes to the manufacture of carpets and shoes. The sewing machine run by hand or foot keeps an indispensable place in the home, but in factories steam or electricity provides the motive power.

The expansive force of steam, though known in antiquity, had been first put to practical use at the close of the seventeenth century. The earliest steam engine was simply a pump for

ridding mines of water. James Watt, a Scotchman of mechanical genius, patented an improved steam pump in 1769, a year also memorable for the birth of Napoleon and Wellington. Watt subsequently adapted his engine to propel machinery for spinning and weaving, and in 1785 it began to be used in factories.

The steam engine, 1769, 1785

The nineteenth century has been called the age of steam. The steamboat, the steam locomotive, and the steam printing press are some of the children of Watt's epochal invention. Toward the close of the century electricity began to compete with steam as a motive force, and in the twentieth century the gas engine, as applied to automobiles, airplanes, tractors, and other machines, continued the Industrial Revolution.

The age of steam

The growing use of machinery called for an increased production of iron. Northern and north-central England contained vast deposits of iron ore, but until the latter part of the eighteenth century they had been little worked. Improved methods of smelting with coal and coke, by means of the blast furnace, were then adopted. Steel, a product of iron, whose toughness and hardness had been prized for ages, was not manufactured on a large scale until after 1850. Better methods of manufacture now enable the poorest iron to be converted into excellent steel, thus opening up extensive fields of low-grade ore in France, Germany, and other countries. Used in every form, from building-girders to watch springs, steel is now the mainstay of modern industry.

The age of iron

The manufacture of iron and the operation of the new machinery required an abundant, inexpensive fuel. Coal had long been burned in small quantities for domestic purposes; applied to the steam engine and the blast furnace it was to become an almost boundless source of power and heat. Various improvements in mining cheapened its production, one of the most notable being Sir Humphry Davy's safety lamp (1815), which protected miners against the deadly fire damp and thus allowed the most dangerous mines to be worked with comparative safety. Great Britain

The age of coal

furnished nearly all the coal for manufacturing until the middle of the nineteenth century; later, much of the world's supply has come from the mines of France, Germany, and the United States.

224. Effects of the Great Inventions

The great inventions, besides hastening the transition from hand-labor to machine-labor, also did much to separate labor and capital. No such separation was possible
Guild system in the Middle Ages. A master who belonged to a craft guild purchased his raw materials at the city market or at a fair, manufactured them in his own house, assisted by the members of his family and usually by a few journeymen and apprentices, and himself sold the finished article to the person who had ordered it. This guild system, as it is called, has not entirely disappeared. One may still have a pair of shoes made by a "custom" shoemaker or a suit of clothes made by a "custom" tailor.

The growing exclusiveness of the craft guilds, toward the close of the medieval period,¹ prevented many apprentices and
Domestic system journeymen from ever becoming masters. Consequently, workers often left the cities and settled in the country or in villages where there were no guild restrictions. The movement gave rise to the domestic system, as found, for example, in the British cotton industry. A middleman with some capital would purchase a supply of raw cotton and distribute it to the spinners and weavers to convert into cloth on their own spinning wheels and hand looms. They worked at home and usually eked out their wages by cultivating a small garden plot. Something akin to the domestic system still survives in the sweatshops of modern cities where clothing is made on "commission."

It is clear that under the domestic system the middleman provided the raw materials, took all the risks, and received all
Factory system the profits. The workers, on the other hand, had to accept such wages and labor upon such conditions as he was willing to offer. The separation of labor and

¹ See pages 231-232 and 484.

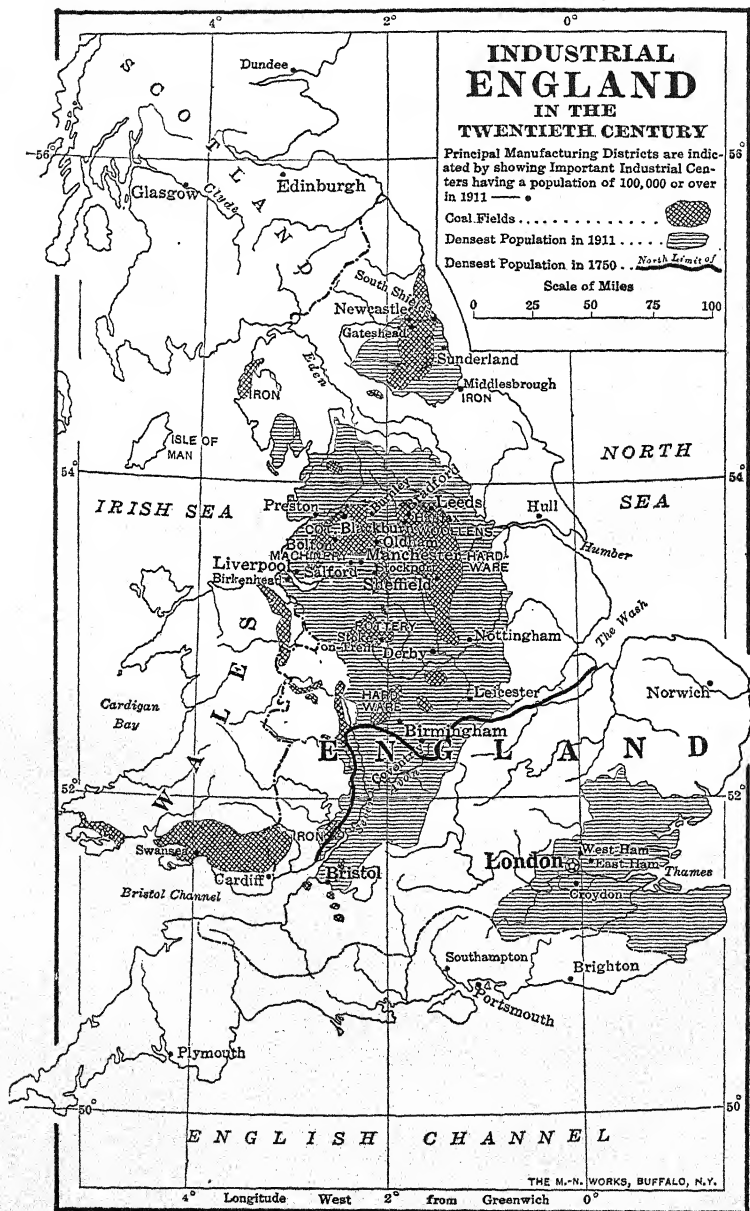
capital which thus began under the domestic system became complete under the factory system. Arkwright's, Crompton's, and Cartwright's machines were too expensive for a single family to own; too large and heavy for use in private houses; and they needed water power or steam power to operate them. The consequence was that the domestic laborer abandoned his household industry and went with hundreds of others to work in a mill or factory. The capitalist employer now not only provided the raw materials and disposed of the finished product, but he also owned the machinery and the workshop. The word "manufacturer"¹ no longer applied to the hand-worker, but to the person who employed others to work for him.

The factory system introduced a minute division of labor into industry. Thus, there are forty operations involved in the manufacture of ready-made clothing; nearly Division
of labor one hundred in the manufacture of shoes; and over a thousand in the construction of a fine watch. Many men, working together, may turn out in a few minutes an article which one man in former times required weeks or months to produce. The division of labor, besides saving time, also increased output. A single instance will show this. Adam Smith, writing in 1776, contrasted the one pin which an artisan might make in a day, if he did all the work himself, with the five thousand pins which he could produce each day in a factory. Now, however, when pins are made by automatic machinery, the average daily output for each operative totals over a million.

Machinery, the factory system, and the division of labor made it possible to manufacture on a large scale and in enormous quantities for world-wide markets. For example, Large-scale
production the value of British cotton goods rose from one million dollars in 1760 to six hundred times that amount in 1910. Similar increases were registered in other textile manufactures and in the iron industry of Great Britain.

The Industrial Revolution soon changed the face of Great Britain. Instead of farms, hamlets, and an occasional small

¹ Latin *manu, facere*, to make by hand. Manufacture by machinery has been well named *machinofacture*.



town, appeared great cities crowded with workers who had left their rural homes to seek employment in factories. The movement of population was especially toward the northern and northwestern counties, where there were many streams to furnish water power and abundant supplies of coal and iron. Manchester, Leeds, Sheffield, and Birmingham sprang up as centers for the manufacture of textiles and hardware, while Liverpool, little more than a village at the opening of the nineteenth century, became a commercial metropolis. Aside from London, it is northern England and southern Scotland which to-day form the chief seat of British trade and industry.

The Industrial Revolution began later on the Continent than in Great Britain, partly because of the opposition of the guilds, which feared that the new machinery would deprive workers of employment; partly because Continental manufacturers showed less enterprise than their British rivals; but chiefly because the revolutionary and Napoleonic wars left France and Germany too exhausted to compete in manufacturing. Great Britain thus became by 1815 the world's workshop and the richest of European nations. It was only toward the close of the nineteenth century that her industrial primacy began to be seriously threatened by Germany and the United States.

225. Improvements in Transportation

Civilized man until the Industrial Revolution continued to use the conveyances which had been invented by uncivilized man in prehistoric times. Travel and transport were still on horseback, or in litters, wheeled carts, rowboats, and sailboats. Various improvements produced the sedan chair, the stagecoach, and large ocean-going ships, without, however, finding any substitutes for muscles or wind as the motive power.

The roads in western Europe scarcely deserved that name; they were little more than track ways, either deep with mud or dusty and full of ruts. Passengers in stagecoaches seldom

made more than fifty miles a day, while heavy goods had to be moved on pack horses. Conditions in Great Britain improved during the latter part of the eighteenth century, for the

Roads enormous quantity of goods produced by the new machinery increased the need for cheap and rapid transport. The turnpike system, allowing tolls to be charged for the use of roads, encouraged the investment of capital by private companies in these undertakings; and it was not long before Telford, Macadam, and other engineers covered the country with well bottomed, well drained, and well surfaced highways. The splendid highways which attract the attention of Americans on the Continent were all built in the nineteenth century, chiefly before the era of railroads.

The expense of transportation by road led people in antiquity

and the Middle Ages to send their goods by river routes, whenever possible.

Canals

Canal-

building began toward the close of the mediæval period, especially after the invention of locks for controlling the flow and level of the water. The great era of the canal was between 1775 and 1850, not only in Great Britain and on the Continent, but also in the United States. Canals



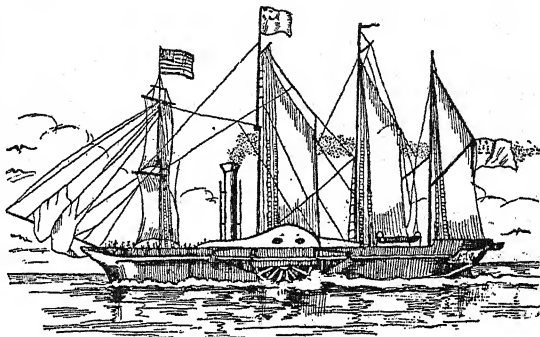
ROBERT FULTON

After a portrait by Benjamin West painted in 1805.

relieved the highways of a large part of the growing traffic, but the usefulness of both declined after the introduction of railroads. Ship canals, however, have begun to be constructed within recent years, as a result of the general adoption of steam navigation on the ocean.

The earliest successful steamboat appears to have been a tug built in Scotland for towing canal boats. Robert Fulton, an American engineer who had lived in England and France, adapted the steamboat to river navigation. His side-wheeler, the *Clermont*, equipped with a Watt engine,

began in 1807 to make regular trips on the Hudson between New York and Albany. Twelve years later an American vessel, provided with both sails and a



THE "GREAT WESTERN"

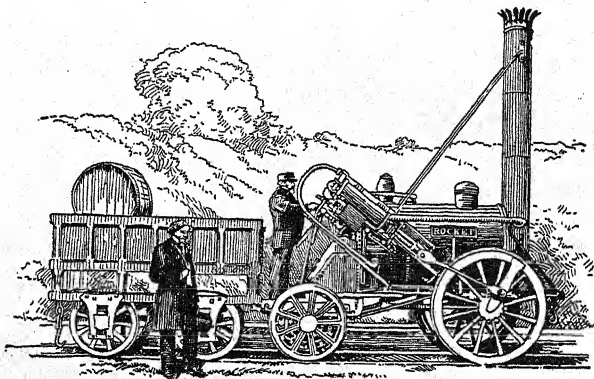
steam engine, crossed the Atlantic in twenty-nine days. The first ship to cross without using sails or recoaling on the way was the *Great Western*, in 1838. The trip took her fifteen days.

Various improvements since the middle of the nineteenth century added greatly to the efficiency of ocean steamers. Iron, and later steel, replaced wood in their construction, with a resulting gain in strength and buoyancy. Screw propellers were substituted for clumsy paddle wheels. The size of steamers, also, has so increased that the *Great Western*, a boat of 1378 tons and 212 feet in length, would appear a pygmy by the side of the fifty-thousand ton "leviathans" which now cross the Atlantic in less than six days.

Wooden or iron rails had long been used in mines and quarries to enable horses to draw heavy loads with ease, and as early as 1803 a horse-car line was opened to general traffic in the suburbs of London. George Stephenson, who profited by the experiments of other inventors, produced in 1814 a successful locomotive for hauling coal from the mine to tide-water. He improved his model and eleven

years later secured its adoption on the Stockton and Darlington Railway, the first line over which passengers and freight were carried by steam power. Stephenson also built the Liverpool and Manchester Railway, which was opened in 1830 and on which his famous engine, the *Rocket*, made its maiden trip.

Many technical improvements — the increased size of locomotives and cars, air brakes, and the use of steel rails in place of iron rails which supported only light loads and wore out rapidly — have extended the usefulness of the railroad far beyond the dreams of its earlier promoters. Railroad construction began on an extensive scale after the middle

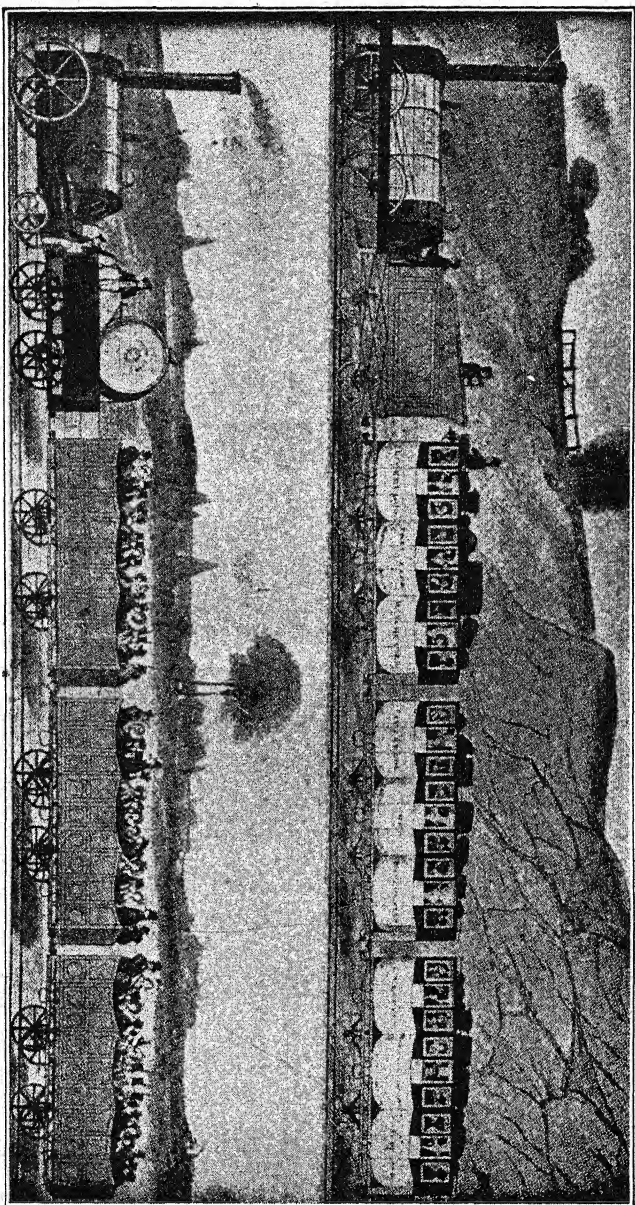


THE "ROCKET," 1830

Built by Stephenson to compete in a trial of locomotive engines for the Liverpool and Manchester Railway. The greatest speed it attained in the trial was 29 miles an hour, but some years later it ran at the rate of 53 miles an hour. The total weight of the engine and tender was only about $7\frac{1}{2}$ tons.

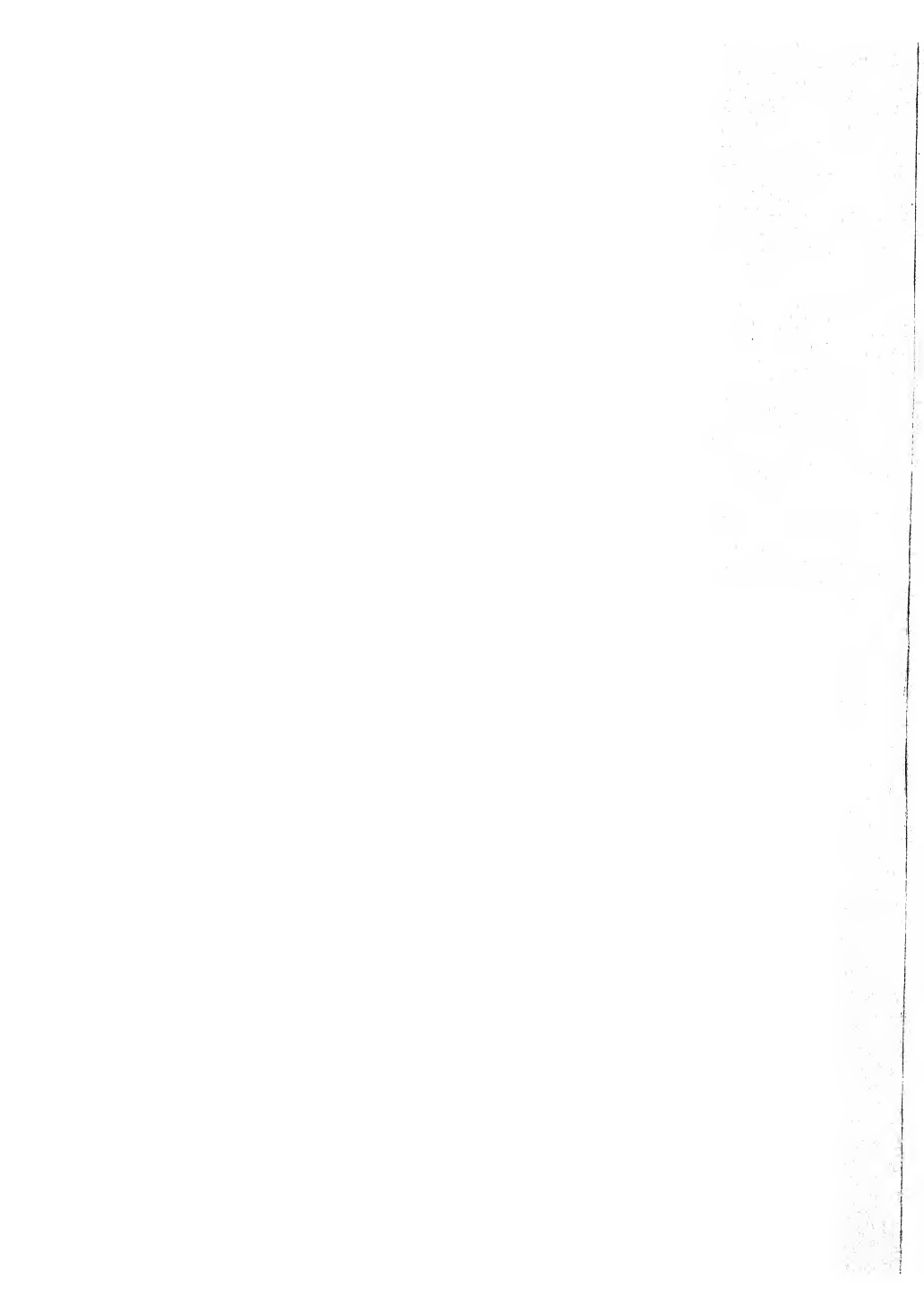
of the nineteenth century. The year 1854 saw the first line over the Alps; 1869, the first transcontinental line in the United States (the Union Pacific and Central Pacific); and 1900, the Trans-Siberian line. Western Europe and the United States are now covered with a network of railroads.

On the Continent (Belgium, Switzerland, Italy, Germany, Austria, and Russia) railroads are mostly state-owned and state-managed. Nearly all the French lines are privately



EARLY PASSENGER TRAINS

Views on the Liverpool and Manchester Railway in 1831-32. The upper picture shows a train with first-class carriages and the mails; the lower picture shows second and third-class carriages.



owned, but they will revert to the State upon the expiration of their franchises. Great Britain and the United States took over their railroads for military purposes during the World War. This step has been followed by what promises to be the permanent nationalization of the lines in Great Britain.

Modern electric traction dates from the early 'eighties of the last century, when the overhead trolley began to supplant horse cars and cable cars in cities. The development of the electric locomotive promises to bring about a partial substitution of electricity for steam on railroads through tunnels and over heavy grades. Automobiles have been built for more than a hundred years, but it was the gas or "internal combustion" engine (as patented in 1895), which made them a commercial success.

The gas engine is likewise responsible for the airplane. Its history illustrates the truth that great inventions do not spring fully developed from the brain of one man, but, on the contrary, represent the long and patient experimentation of many men. An American scientist, S. P. Langley, who himself owed much to the work of others, produced in 1903 a heavier-than-air machine which only needed skillful guidance to be successful. The accidents attending the first trials of the machine caused it to be abandoned. Other inventors followed in Langley's footsteps, and in 1908 the Wright brothers made the public flights which showed that the problem of aviation had finally been solved.

As far back as the Revolutionary War, an American inventor constructed a tiny submarine and tried, without success, to sink a British warship. Robert Fulton, encouraged by Napoleon, made several submarines. In one of them he descended to a depth of twenty-five feet, remained below for four hours, and succeeded in blowing up a small vessel with a torpedo. Under-water boats, propelled by steam power, were used by the Confederates in the Civil War. From about this time inventors in several countries worked on the problem of the submarine. One of the most

successful was an Irish-American, J. P. Holland, who sold the boat named after him to the United States in 1898. The rapid development of the submarine since then parallels that of the airplane. Thus, in the course of about a century, man has completed the conquest of land and air and sea.

226. Improved Communications

The means of communication which we employ daily would have been inconceivable to our ancestors less than a hundred years ago. Scientists in the eighteenth century were indeed familiar with the idea of using electricity to communicate at a distance, but it was not until the 'thirties of the nineteenth century that Samuel F. B. Morse, an American, constructed a practicable apparatus for this purpose. He also devised the "Morse alphabet." The telegraph found an immediate application on the railroads and in the transmission of government messages. Later, it made its way into the business world.

Hardly any one at first believed that a telegraph line could be carried across the ocean. Experiments soon showed, however, that wire cords, protected by wrappers of gutta-percha, would conduct the electric current under water. The first cable was laid from Dover to Calais in 1851. A group of American promoters, including Cyrus W. Field, then took up the project of an Atlantic cable and after discouraging failures laid it in 1866. No less than fourteen lines now stretch across the Atlantic, while all the other oceans have been electrically bridged.

Experimentation with rude forms of the telephone began in the same decade which produced the telegraph. Little progress took place until 1875, when Alexander Graham Bell, a native of Edinburgh but later a resident of Boston, patented his first instrument. Many improvements have since been made in it by Bell himself, Edison, and others.

The wonderful invention of wireless telegraphy by William (Guglielmo) Marconi may be said to date from 1899, when

wireless messages were sent between France and England across the Channel. A trans-Atlantic service by "wireless" began eight years later, and since then the range of Marconi's apparatus has been greatly extended. The still more recent introduction of wireless telephony promises to work another revolution in the methods of communication.

Wireless
telegraphy
and telephony

A regular postal service under government management existed in Europe as early as the seventeenth century, but it was slow, expensive, and little used. Stamps were unknown, prepayment of The postal service postage was considered an insult, and rates increased according to distance. The modern postal service began in Great Britain in 1840, with the adoption of a uniform charge irrespective of distance (penny postage), prepayment, and the use of stamps. These reforms soon spread to the Continent and the United States and everywhere led to greatly increased use of the mails. The postal service is now a necessity of civilized life.



FIRST ADHESIVE
PENNY POSTAGE
STAMP

The design, a conventionalized head of Queen Victoria, was used without change from 1840 to 1870.

Weekly and daily newspapers also began to appear in the seventeenth century, but they were luxuries reserved for subscribers of the middle and upper classes. The cheap newspaper for the masses is a product of the Industrial Revolution. The London *Times* installed the first steam printing press in 1814. A paper-making machine, which produced wide sheets of unlimited length, came into use soon after. To these inventions must now be added the linotype machine. In newspaper offices, where rapid composition is necessary, it has largely superseded hand-work in setting type.

Newspapers

Many inventions in communication—the instantaneous camera, the phonograph, the cinematograph or motion picture, the automatic piano—are so new that we have scarcely as yet begun to realize their possibilities. Properly directed, they will furnish the common

The new
communi-
cation

people in civilized countries with an education in art, music, and the drama which in former days could be secured only by persons of wealth and leisure. Their great service promises to be that of democratizing culture, as cheap newspapers and books have democratized knowledge.

227. Commerce

A tremendous expansion of commerce followed the improvements in transportation and communication. Macadamized roads, inland and ship canals, ocean steamships, and railroads reduced freight rates to a mere fraction of those once charged, while the telegraph, telephone, cheap postage, and newspapers made possible the rapid spread of information relating to crops and markets. It is estimated that the commerce of the world (including even backward countries) increased over twelve hundred per cent in the nineteenth century. Rapid as was the growth of the world's population during this period, commerce grew much faster; so that the average share of each human being in international trade amounted in 1900 to a sum six times that in 1800. During the first two decades of the twentieth century commercial expansion has been on a still more colossal scale.

The organization of commerce shows wonderful changes since the Middle Ages. There is now so steady a flow of commodities from producers through wholesalers and retailers to consumers that the old system of weekly markets and annual fairs is all but obsolete.¹ Distinctively modern are produce exchanges for trade in the great staples (wheat, cotton, wool, sugar, etc.) and stock exchanges for buying and selling the stocks and bonds of corporations. Modern insurance companies also perform a notable service in the organization of commerce.

A commercial bank, as distinguished from a savings bank or a trust company, may be defined as an institution which deals in money and credit. It attracts the deposits of many persons, thus gaining control of enormous sums available for loans

¹ See page 232.

to manufacturers and merchants. Banks do not increase the amount of capital (factory buildings, machinery, raw materials, etc.) in a community, but they help to put it at the disposal of active business men; in other words, banks make capital *fluid*. Furthermore, bank checks, drafts, and foreign bills of exchange provide a cheap and elastic substitute for money. It is possible through their use to discharge a large volume of indebtedness without the transfer of cash.

The earliest medieval banks were the private establishments of moneyed men in Italian cities.¹ Venice and Genoa subsequently founded public or state banks, and during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries similar institutions arose in many European capitals. The Bank of England received its charter from the government as late as 1694. The Bank of France was the creation of Napoleon Bonaparte.² The Imperial Bank of Germany (Reichsbank) came into existence only in 1876. All these great European banks, as well as the national banks of the United States, have the privilege of issuing redeemable notes which circulate in place of gold.

In spite of the extensive use of checks and bank notes, the growth of commerce continues to absorb immense quantities of gold, the money metal. The supply has kept pace with the demand. The mines of California, Australia, South Africa, Alaska, and other countries produced in the second half of the nineteenth century nine times as much gold as had been produced between 1800 and 1850.

The supply of silver increased during the nineteenth century far in excess of the demand. Its declining value led the principal commercial states to diminish or suspend silver coinage. Great Britain in 1816 abandoned the double or bimetallic standard and adopted the single gold standard. Her example has since been followed by the Continental nations, the British colonies, Japan, the South American republics, and, in 1900, the United States. China and Mexico are the only important countries which remain on a silver basis.

¹ See page 237.

² See page 525.

Commercial progress has been frequently interrupted during the past century by periods of depression called crises. They are a product of the Industrial Revolution. Arising in one country, perhaps as a result of bad banking, over-issue of paper money, speculation, unwise investments, or failure of crops, they tend to spread widely until all civilized countries are involved. For instance, the crisis of 1857 started in the United States and that of 1873, in Austria.

What happens during a crisis is familiar to every one. Capitalists refuse to invest in new railroads, factories, and other undertakings; bankers will not lend money; merchants, unable to borrow, go into bankruptcy; and manufacturers, receiving fewer orders, either reduce their output or shut down their plants. Then ensues a period of "hard times," with low prices, low wages, much unemployment, and widespread destitution. The wave of prosperity sets in again, eventually, and times again become "good." Crises have occurred at intervals of about ten or eleven years since 1800, but recently with lessening severity. They may cease altogether as modern commerce becomes still more efficient.

228. Commercial Policies

Many obstacles which impeded the exchange of goods in the Middle Ages¹ disappeared in modern times, especially after the French Revolution. The burdensome tolls imposed by feudal lords on transport and travel could no longer be exacted when feudalism itself died out. The principle of free navigation was extended to include important international rivers and inland seas which had been more or less monopolized by adjacent countries. A movement also began to reduce the high duties levied by every European nation on imports and exports.

One nation went still further in the nineteenth century and adopted free trade. Great Britain, we have learned, enjoyed by 1815 a virtual monopoly in most lines of industry. Having no reason to fear the competition of foreign manufacturers,

¹ See page 234.

it was to her advantage to lower or abolish the duties on imports, especially those on raw materials. The Younger Pitt, influenced by the writings of Adam Smith, began the work of tariff reform; Sir Robert Peel continued it in the 'forties; and Gladstone completed it. Since 1860 Great Britain has been a free-trade nation. She imposes no restrictions whatever on exports and levies import duties only on a few articles, including coffee, tea, tobacco, alcoholic liquors, and sugar. Even these are for revenue, not for protection. They do not encourage the production at home of anything which can be produced more cheaply abroad.

**Free trade
in Great
Britain**

The repeal of the Corn Laws formed another feature of the free-trade movement in Great Britain. These laws restricted or entirely prohibited the importation of foreign wheat, in the interest of British agriculture. They made food dear for the working classes, however, and so aroused the hostility of manufacturers, who had to pay their employees higher wages. After prolonged agitation the laws were repealed in 1846. Great Britain since then has purchased most of her food abroad, paying for it in the products of her mines and factories.

**The Corn
Laws**

The free-trade movement spread to the Continent, where it led at first to a general lowering of tariff walls. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, however, France, Germany, and other countries returned to the policy of protection. Rightly or wrongly, they saw in protection the means of building up their own "infant industries," in order to supply the home market and even to compete with Great Britain in the markets of the world.

**Protection on
the Continent**

The first American tariff was framed in 1789. It levied a few small protective duties. The United States adopted protection on an extensive scale only in 1816, as a means of keeping alive the industries which had sprung up in the country when the second war with England stopped all imports of foreign goods. Later tariffs have generally raised duties, except for a few decades before the Civil War. In following a protective policy, the

**Protection in
the United
States**

United States thus ranges itself with the Continental nations rather than with Great Britain.

229. Agriculture and Land Tenure

The student will recall the description which has been given of medieval agriculture, with its wasteful system of "open fields" and "fallow" lands, its backward methods, and its scanty yield.¹ Improvement in these conditions took place first in Holland. The Dutch learned to cultivate their narrow territory according to scientific principles, and from them English farmers borrowed many secrets of tillage. More diligent manuring, the shifting or rotation of crops from field to field, so that the soil would not have to be left uncultivated every third year, and the introduction of new crops, such as turnips, clover, and rye, all helped to transform English agriculture by the close of the eighteenth century.

The improvements in agriculture since 1800 have extended to every progressive country. Machinery now does the work of the ancient scythe, sickle, flail, and other implements. One machine, of American invention, not only reaps the grain, but threshes it, winnows it, and delivers it into sacks at a single operation. The use of cheap artificial fertilizers makes profitable the cultivation of poor lands formerly allowed to lie idle. The advance of engineering science leads to the reclamation of marshes and arid wastes. Finally, steam navigation allows a country to draw supplies of wheat, meat, and other foodstuffs from the most distant regions, with the result that the specter of famine, so common in the Middle Ages, has well-nigh disappeared from the modern world.

The "open-field" system of cultivation, whereby the same person tilled many small strips in different parts of the manor, was so wasteful of time and labor that medieval farmers began to surrender their scattered strips for compact holdings which could be inclosed with hedges or

Inclosures

¹ See pages 130-132.

fences and operated independently. This inclosure movement continued in western Europe all through the modern period, until in the nineteenth century the old common cultivation of the soil had been practically abandoned in favor of individual tillage.

Inclosures meant better farming everywhere, but in Great Britain they also did much to create the system of large estates so characteristic of that country. The lord of the manor, not satisfied with inclosing his demesne lands, often managed to inclose those of the peasants as well, and even the meadows and forests, which had been formerly enjoyed by them in common. At the present time about ten thousand persons own two-thirds of all England and Wales; seventeen hundred persons own nine-tenths of Scotland. The rural population of Great Britain consists of a few landlords; numerous tenant farmers who rent their farms from the lords; and a still larger number of laborers who work for daily wages and have no interest in the soil they till.

Better arrangements have long prevailed in France. A considerable part of the agricultural land belonged to the peasants even before the French Revolution.¹ Their holdings were increased in the revolutionary era as the result of legislation confiscating the estates of the Crown, the Church, and the emigrant nobles.² France to-day is emphatically a country of small but prosperous and contented farmers.

Peasant proprietorships are common in much of Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, and western Germany. Prussia, where serfdom was only abolished in the Napoleonic era,³ contains many large estates owned by the *Junkerthum*, or country gentry. The revolutionary disorders of 1848-1849 extinguished serfdom in Austria and Hungary, without, however, disturbing the landed possessions of the great lords. Peasant proprietorships are rare in much of Spain and in southern Italy and Sicily. It now seems probable that among the economic consequences

British
landlordism

French
peasant prop-
rietorships

Land tenure
in other
Continental
countries

¹ See page 484.

² See page 509.

³ See page 536.

of the revolutions following the World War will be the introduction of small farms for the people in those countries where the land has been monopolized by the aristocracy.

Russia, so backward in many respects, retained serfdom until after the middle of the nineteenth century. It was not until 1858-1861 that Alexander II¹ issued the decrees which freed nearly fifty million people and earned for their author the title of the "Tsar Liberator."

Following the grant of personal freedom came measures establishing a new system of land tenure. The nobles were required to sell a portion of their estates to the peasants. About half of the agricultural area of European Russia thus changed hands. Except in Poland and certain other districts, where individual ownership prevailed, the farming land was intrusted to the entire village, or *mir*, for redistribution at intervals among its inhabitants. All that the peasant really possessed in his own right was a house and a garden plot. This communal arrangement began to break down even before the Russian Revolution and has now disappeared altogether. One of the first acts of the revolutionary government was the confiscation of the imperial domains, together with many estates of the nobility, for partition among the peasants. The adoption by Russia of individual ownership of land will mark a significant step in the progress of that country, for about seven-eighths of its people live wholly or mainly by agriculture.

230. The Labor Movement

The craft guilds, which modern Europe inherited from the Middle Ages, gradually became obsolete after the Industrial Revolution. They were out of place in a world of whirling machinery, crowded factories, free competition, and the separation of labor and capital. Few of them in Great Britain survived the eighteenth century. In France it required a decree of the National

Disappearance
of the craft
guilds

¹ See page 592.

Assembly to end their existence. Those in Germany did not completely disappear until late in the nineteenth century.

As contrasted with craft guilds, trade unions are combinations of wage-earners to maintain or improve the conditions under which they labor. These associations began to appear in Great Britain between 1700 and 1800, ^{Rise of trade unions} especially after the domestic system gave way to the factory system. Under the new conditions of industry, an employer could not know many of his employees personally; their relations, henceforth, tended to become cold-blooded and impersonal. At the same time, the workers in any one establishment or trade, being thrown more closely together, came to realize their common interests and to appreciate the need for organization.

The unions immediately encountered opposition. The Common law treated them as conspiracies in restraint of trade and hence as illegal. Moreover, the employers used ^{Trade unions prohibited} their influence in Parliament to secure the passage of a long series of acts designed to prevent what were styled "unlawful combinations of workmen." The last of these acts, passed in 1800, even provided the penalty of imprisonment at hard labor for persons who combined with others to raise wages, shorten hours, or in any way control the conditions of industry.

Agitation by trade-union leaders induced Parliament in 1825 to repeal all the Combination Acts and to replace them by a new and more liberal statute. Laborers ^{Trade unions legalized} might now lawfully meet together for the purpose of agreeing on the rate of wages or the number of hours which they would work, as long as the agreement concerned only those who were present at the meeting. This qualification was removed a number of years later. Finally, the Trade Union Act of 1875 declared that nothing done by a group of laborers should be considered illegal unless it was also illegal when done by a single person. The act thus gave the working classes the full right of combination for which they had long been striving. It has been called the Magna Carta of trade unionism.

The trade unions of Great Britain have made much progress within recent years. In 1914 they enrolled nearly four million members, including factory operatives, railway workers, coal miners, and agricultural laborers. They send their representatives to Parliament and exercise great influence on labor legislation. Their officers also frequently serve as factory inspectors. Many unions enjoy a considerable income, which goes to support members who are temporarily out of work, sick, disabled, or infirm.

Trade unions exist in France, Germany, Austria, Italy, and other Continental countries. They are modeled upon the British organizations, but do not equal them in numbers, wealth, or influence. Many have a political character, being closely connected with socialist parties. In general, Continental workingmen rely for improvement in their condition rather upon State action than upon collective bargaining with their employers.

The organization of American trade unions began early in the nineteenth century, but their great and rapid growth has taken place since the Civil War. Probably about fifteen per cent of the male wage-earners belong to them. While this may seem a small proportion, it must be remembered that their membership consists chiefly of skilled laborers. Most of the trade unions are affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, which was founded in 1886.

The coöperative movement also started in Great Britain. There are in that country a large number of societies, open to workingmen on the payment of a small fee, and selling goods to members at prices considerably lower than those charged by private concerns. Members share in the profits in accordance with the amount of their purchases. The success of coöperation in retailing has brought about its extension to wholesaling and even to manufacturing and banking. Similar societies are numerous on the Continent. They have made little headway in the United States, with such conspicuous exceptions as mutual life insurance companies and building and loan associations.

231. Government Regulation of Industry

Improvement in the lot of the working classes has taken place not only through the activities of trade unions, coöperative societies, and other voluntary associations, but also by legislation. The need for government regulation of industry very soon became apparent.

Evils of
the factory
system

The crowded factories were unsanitary. Hours of labor were too long. Wages were on the starvation level. Furthermore, the use of machinery encouraged the employment of women and children, for whose labor there had been previously little demand outside the home. Their excessive toil amid unhealthy surroundings often developed disease and deformity or brought premature death. Much excuse existed for the passionate words of one reformer that the slave trade was "mercy compared to the factory system."

These evils were naturally most prominent in Great Britain, where the Industrial Revolution began. Little effort was made at first to remedy them. The working classes exercised no political influence; indeed, by the Combination Acts they had been prohibited from forming trade unions for their protection. Statesmen, instead of meeting the situation by remedial legislation, adopted the *laissez-faire*, or "let alone" policy.¹ The government, they declared, should keep its hands off industry. The greatest good to the greatest number could only be secured when "economic laws" of supply and demand were allowed to determine the wages and conditions of employment, just as they determined the prices, quantity, and quality of commodities produced.

The "let
alone" policy

"Let alone" naturally became the watchword of selfish employers, to whose avarice and cruelty it gave full rein. Yet there were also humane employers who felt that the State ought to protect those who could not protect themselves. One was Sir Robert Peel, father of the distinguished statesman of the same name.² He succeeded in securing the enactment of the first British factory act (1802).

Early labor
legislation

¹ See page 486.

² See page 659.

It prohibited the binding-out for labor of pauper children under nine years of age, restricted their working hours to twelve a day, and forbade night work. This measure applied only to cotton factories. Little more was done for thirty-one years. During this time several philanthropists, among whom Lord Ashley, afterwards earl of Shaftesbury, had the greatest influence, took up the cause of the oppressed workers and on the floor of Parliament, on the platform, in the pulpit, and in the newspapers waged a campaign to arouse the public to the need for additional legislation.¹ The result was the passage in 1833 of an act which applied to all textile factories and provided for their regular inspection by public officials.

Government regulation of industry now began to become a reality. Mines, bakeries, laundries, docks, retail and wholesale shops, and many other establishments were gradually brought under control. At the present time the State restricts the employment of children so that they may not be deprived of an education. It limits the hours of labor, not only of children and women, but also of men. It requires employers to install safety appliances in their plants and to take all other precautions necessary for the preservation of the lives, limbs, and health of their employees. Recent legislation has gone so far as to fix a minimum wage for workers in sweatshops and mines and to provide for government employment bureaus or labor exchanges, in order that the idle may find work.

The labor legislation of France, Belgium, Holland, Austria, and the Scandinavian states compares favorably with that of Great Britain. In no Continental country has it gone farther than in Germany. Bismarck gave it his powerful support, in order to check the spread of socialism. Germany has laws establishing a maximum number of working hours, limiting child and female labor, and providing a system of workingmen's insurance against accidents, sickness, incapacity, and old age.

The need for labor legislation has been felt less acutely in

¹ Read Mrs. Browning's *The Cry of the Children*.

the United States than in Europe. One reason for this is the fact that American workingmen enjoy higher wages and better conditions of employment than workingmen abroad. Another reason is found in the comparatively late development of the factory system in the United States. Labor laws, when passed, are often declared unconstitutional by state and federal courts, as interfering with freedom of contract or as being class legislation. In spite of this obstacle, the movement for the legal protection of labor has made much progress within recent years, especially in New England and the states of the Middle West.

American
labor
legislation

The youthful commonwealths of Australia and New Zealand, unhampered by tradition, are trying a number of interesting experiments in government regulation of industry. Both countries give compensation to workingmen injured by accidents and old age pensions to poor people. New Zealand, in addition, provides fire and life insurance, conducts postal savings banks, rents model homes to workingmen, and makes arbitration of labor disputes compulsory, in order to do away with strikes. Such legislation is sometimes described as "socialistic," especially by its opponents.

Australasian
labor legisla-
tion

232. Rise and Spread of Socialism

Contemporary socialists unite in making the following demands. First, the State shall own and operate the instruments of production, that is, land and capital. Under this arrangement rent, interest and profits, as sources of personal income, would disappear, and private property would consist simply of one's own clothing, household goods, money, and perhaps a house and a garden plot. Second, the leisure class shall be eliminated by requiring everybody to perform useful labor, either physical or mental. Third, the income of the State shall be distributed as wages and salaries among the workers, according to some fairer principle than obtains at present.

What so-
cialism is

Socialism, thus explained, is not identical with public ownership of railroads, telegraphs, telephones, the postal service,

and other utilities. There is still a leisure class and there are still personal incomes in those countries which have gone furthest in the direction of public ownership. **What socialism is not** Similarly, labor legislation is not properly described as socialistic, since it fails to abolish private property, the factory system, and rent, interest, and profits.

Socialism is, in part, an outcome of the Industrial Revolution, which completed the separation of capital and labor. The gulf between the capitalists and the landless, property-less, wage-earning proletariat became wider, the contrasts between rich and poor became sharper, than ever before. Vastly more wealth was now produced than in earlier ages, but it was still unequally distributed. The few had too much; the many had too little. Radical reformers, distressed by these inequalities and dissatisfied with the slow progress of the labor movement and government regulation of industry, began to proclaim the necessity of a wholesale reconstruction of society.

In Great Britain the most prominent of these early radicals was Robert Owen, a rich manufacturer and philanthropist, who met great success in improving the conditions of life for his employees. He did pioneer work as an advocate of trade unionism and labor legislation, at a time when neither had many influential friends. Owen's special remedy for social ills was the establishment of small coöperative communities, each one living by itself on a tract of land and producing in common everything needed for its support. He thought that this arrangement would retain the economic advantages of the great inventions without introducing the factory system. Owen's experiments in coöperation all failed, including the one which he established at New Harmony, Indiana, in 1825. Owen thus belongs in the class of Utopian¹ socialists, men who dreamed of ideal social systems which were never realized.

Socialism is also, in part, an outcome of the French Revolution. That upheaval destroyed so many time-hallowed

¹ A name derived from Sir Thomas More's *Utopia*. See page 301.

institutions and created so many new ones that it gave a great impetus to schemes for the regeneration of society. French radical thinkers soon set out to purge the world of capitalism as their fathers had purged it of feudalism. Their ideas began to become popular with workingmen after the factory system, with its attendant evils, gained an entrance into France.

Socialism and
the French
Revolution

The workers found a leader in Louis Blanc, a journalist and author of wide popularity. The revolution of 1789, he declared, had benefited the peasants and the *bourgeoisie*; Louis Blanc, that of 1830 the capitalists; the next must be for 1813-1882 the benefit of the proletariat. Blanc believed that every man had an inalienable right to remunerative employment. To provide it, the State should set up national workshops managed by the workers in each particular industry. His ideas triumphed for a time in the revolution of 1848. The Second French Republic expressly recognized "the right to labor" and proceeded to set up the national workshops. They were so badly managed, however, that Blanc himself disapproved of them. Their speedy failure brought such discredit upon him and his followers that socialism became almost extinct in France. "To speak of it," said a writer of the time, "is to deliver its funeral oration."

Meanwhile, a new socialism, more systematic and practical than Karl Marx, the old, began 1818-1883 to be developed by German thinkers. Its chief representative was Karl Marx, a man of fine education and



KARL MARX

wide learning. Becoming interested in economic subjects, he founded a socialist newspaper to advocate the cause of the work-

ing classes. The government suppressed it, after the failure of the revolutionary movement of 1848-1849, and expelled Marx from Germany. He went to London and lived there in exile for the rest of his days, finding time, in the midst of a hard struggle for existence, to write his famous work, *Das Kapital*. It has a place beside Rousseau's *Social Contract* and Smith's *Wealth of Nations* among the books which have profoundly influenced human thought.

Marx felt little sympathy with Utopian schemes to make over society and described them sarcastically as "duodecimo editions of the New Jerusalem." In opposition to Owen, Blanc, and other earlier socialists, he sought to build up a system of socialism based on economic principles. Put in its simplest form, Marxism asserts that, while labor is the source of all value, the laborer receives, in fact, only a fraction of what he produces. All the rest goes to the capitalist, who produces nothing. Capitalism, however, is the inevitable result of the factory system. Like feudalism, it forms a stage, a necessary stage, in the development of mankind. It is fated to disappear with the progress of democracy, which, by giving the proletariat the vote, will enable them to take production into their own hands and peacefully inaugurate the socialist state.

Das Kapital appeared in 1867. A few years later the co-workers of Marx in Germany founded the Social Democratic Party.¹ The government, under Bismarck's leadership, tried to repress it by prohibiting meetings of socialists and the circulation of socialist literature. Any effort to propagate socialist doctrine was made punishable by fines and imprisonment. This persecution failed to check the socialist movement, and before the World War the Social Democrats polled a larger vote than any other German party.

The Social Democratic Party provided a model for similar organizations of Marxian socialists in France, Great Britain, the United States, Australia, Japan,

¹ See page 588.

and many other countries. Congresses of representatives of the various national parties are held from time to time, in order to bring together the working classes of every land.

Not all contemporary socialists rely on orderly and legal means to abolish capitalism. A large group of extreme socialists would confiscate private property and use violence and terrorism in the supposed interest of the proletariat. France has recently had to cope with the movement called syndicalism. Its adherents gained control of a number of trade unions (*syndicats*), with the idea of bringing on general strikes to coerce employers. The syndicalists also introduced "sabotage,"¹ or the practice of injuring machinery and destroying an employer's property. Similar methods have been advocated and adopted in the United States by the "Industrial Workers of the World." Bolshevism in Russia is the latest and most impressive manifestation of this type of socialism.

233. Progress and Poverty

The most important consequence of the Industrial Revolution is the increased population of the leading nations. The number of people who can be supported in a given region now depends less on the food which they raise, than on their production of raw materials and manufactured goods to exchange for food. Thus Belgium and Great Britain, with only a limited agriculture, support more inhabitants to the square mile than any other countries; while the population of such industrial states as New York, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts far exceeds that of the agricultural commonwealths of the Middle West.

At the opening of the nineteenth century western Europe was still mainly rural, as eastern Europe is to-day. Europe, as a whole, had fourteen cities of more than one hundred thousand inhabitants in 1800; in 1900 it had one hundred and forty such cities. London, which in 1800 contained under a million inhabitants, now counts seven

¹ From the French *sabot*, a wooden shoe.

millions within its borders; Paris contains five times as many people as shortly before the French Revolution; and Berlin has grown ten-fold since the reign of Frederick the Great. The development of provincial centers within the past century has been equally remarkable. Turning to the United States, it is enough to contrast the six cities of over eight thousand inhabitants in 1800 with the six hundred cities which, according to the census of 1910, had a population of ten thousand or more. About half of the American people are now city dwellers.

The increased wealth of the leading nations is another important consequence of the Industrial Revolution. Statistics of government revenues and expenditures, imports and exports, income tax returns, deposits in savings banks, and assets of life insurance companies show how wealth has multiplied, especially within recent years. The enormous public loans, successfully floated during the World War, also reveal the resources now at the command of industrial peoples.

Notwithstanding the creation of huge individual fortunes as the result of the Industrial Revolution, the general standard of living has been raised by the addition of innumerable things—sugar, coffee, linen, cotton goods, glass, chinaware, wall paper, ready-made clothing, books, newspapers, pictures—which were once enjoyed only by a few wealthy persons. If the rich are undoubtedly getting richer, the poor are not getting poorer in western Europe and the United States. As a matter of fact, poverty is most acute in such countries as Russia, India, and China, which modern industrialism has scarcely begun to penetrate.

Nevertheless, no one conversant with social conditions in large cities can deny the existence there of very many people below or scarcely above the poverty line. An English investigator found thirty per cent of the inhabitants of London so wretchedly housed, clothed, warmed, and fed that their health and physical efficiency as workers were seriously impaired. The results showed themselves in the high death rate of young and old and their marked inferiority in height, weight, and physical condition. What is

true of London is true of other industrial centers in Europe, and, to a less extent, in the United States. Despite all the wonderful inventions and scientific discoveries which have so increased the productive powers of man, there are still millions of human beings in the Christian world who lead lives of grinding toil, without an income sufficient for their barest needs.

No single condition — over-population, private property in land, competition, the factory system — explains poverty, for each one has been absent in previous stages of human society. Since there is no single cause of poverty, there can be no single remedy for it.

Prevention
and abolition
of poverty

Putting aside anarchism as fantastic and socialism as impracticable, one may still look confidently for the prevention of much poverty by trade union activity, by government regulation of industry, including labor insurance and protection against non-employment, by education of the unskilled, by improved housing, and by all the other agencies and methods of social betterment. One may even reasonably anticipate the complete abolition of poverty, at least all suffering from hunger, cold, and nakedness, in those progressive countries which have already abolished slavery and serfdom.

The evils of the Industrial Revolution, though real, have been exaggerated. They are and were the evils accompanying the transition from one stage of society to another.

Few would wish now to retrace their steps to a time when there were no factories, no railroads, and no great mechanical inventions. Machinery now does much of the roughest and hardest work and, by saving human labor, makes it possible to shorten hours of toil. The world's workers, in consequence, have opportunities for recreation and education previously denied them. After one hundred and fifty years of modern industrialism, we begin to see that, besides helping to produce political democracy, it is also creating economic democracy. It is gradually diffusing the necessities and comforts, and even many of the luxuries of life, among all peoples in all lands.

Economic
democracy

Studies

1. Using material in encyclopedias, prepare reports for class presentation upon the following inventions and discoveries: (a) the bicycle; (b) the typewriter; (c) lucifer matches; (d) illuminating gas; (e) electric lighting; (f) dynamite; and (g) photography. 2. For what are the following persons famous: Arkwright; Cartwright; Watt; Stephenson; Whitney; Fulton; Howe; Morse; Bell; Langley; and Marconi? 3. Explain what is meant by the following: (a) capital; (b) capitalism; (c) domestic system; (d) factory system; (e) division of labor; (f) bimetallicism; (g) crises; (h) protectionism; (i) peasant proprietorships; (j) minimum wage; and (k) socialism. 4. "Since the middle of the eighteenth century changes have come to pass which have made civilized man rather nature's conqueror than its drudge and prey." Comment on this statement. 5. What is the difference between a tool and a machine? 6. Name in order the early inventions in the textile industry and explain the changes which each one produced. 7. Has division of labor any disadvantages from the point of view of the worker? 8. What are Telford blocks? What is a macadamized road? 9. Enumerate some of the social and economic consequences of the wide use of the automobile in the United States. 10. "Of all inventions, the alphabet and the printing press alone excepted, those inventions which abridge distance have done most for the civilization of our species." Comment on this statement. 11. Mention some of the most important articles of modern commerce and the countries where they are chiefly produced. 12. Why should there be an international or world price for such commodities as wheat and cotton? 13. Show how modern commerce has been facilitated by (a) the submarine cable, (b) wireless telegraphy, (c) the postal system, and (d) marine insurance, or underwriting. 14. How has the construction of the Suez and Panama canals affected oceanic trade routes? 15. Why did Great Britain adopt a free-trade policy? Why does she maintain it, when other nations follow the policy of protection? 16. What are the effects of smuggling, or evasion of customs duties, on (a) the public revenue, (b) honest merchants, and (c) consumers? 17. Comment on some of the social effects of peasant proprietorships. 18. Compare the modern trade union with the medieval craft guild. 19. What criticisms are sometimes leveled at trade unionism? Discuss their justification. 20. Distinguish (a) between socialism and anarchism and (b) between socialism and democracy. 21. Is it true, as Marx asserted, that labor is the source of all value? 22. Mention some of the probable advantages and some of the probable disadvantages of the socialist state. 23. "The growth of large cities constitutes perhaps the greatest of all the problems of modern civilization." Comment on this statement. 24. How does the development of electric traction tend to relieve overcrowding in cities? 25. Compare as to purposes and results the charity of the Middle Ages with the organized charity of to-day.

CHAPTER XXV

MODERN CIVILIZATION

234. Internationalism

THE world, which seemed so large to our forefathers, to us seems very small and compact. Railroads, steamships, and airplanes bind the nations together, and the telegraph, the submarine cable, and the "wireless" keep them in constant communication. The oceans, no longer barriers, serve as highways uniting East and West, Orient and Occident. National isolation disappears as ideas and ideals tour the globe.

Unity of
modern
civilization

Everywhere people build the same houses, use the same furniture, and eat the same food. Everywhere they enjoy the same amusements and distractions: concerts, "moving pictures," the theater, clubs, magazines, automobiles. They also dress alike. Powder, gold lace, wigs, pigtails, three-cornered hats, silk stockings, and knee breeches passed away with the other follies of the Old Régime, and simplicity and convenience became the characteristics of men's apparel. Women's apparel still changes year by year, but the new fashions, emanating from Paris, London, or New York, are speedily copied in San Francisco, Melbourne, and Tokio.

Uniformity
of modern
civilization

The inconveniences resulting from the diversity of languages were never greater than to-day, when travel is a general habit and when nations read one another's books and profit by one another's discoveries and inventions.

Universal
languages

The internationalism of modern literature, science, philosophy, and art demands an international medium of expression. Latin was the speech of learned men in Europe throughout the Middle Ages, as English, French, and German are to a more limited extent at the present time. What is needed, however,

is a universal language, so simple in grammar and vocabulary as to be readily mastered by any one. Crude attempts at such a language have already appeared in Volapük and Esperanto, but a really satisfactory artificial idiom remains to be created.

The idea of a universal exposition, to which all countries should send their art treasures or the marvels of their industry, first took shape in the Crystal Palace Exhibition (London, 1851). Since then European expositions have been numerous, each one larger than its predecessor. The Universal Exhibition (Paris, 1900) attracted 51,000,000 visitors. The United States began with the Philadelphia Centennial of 1876.

This was followed by the World's Fair at Chicago in 1893 and by the more recent expositions at St. Louis and San Francisco.

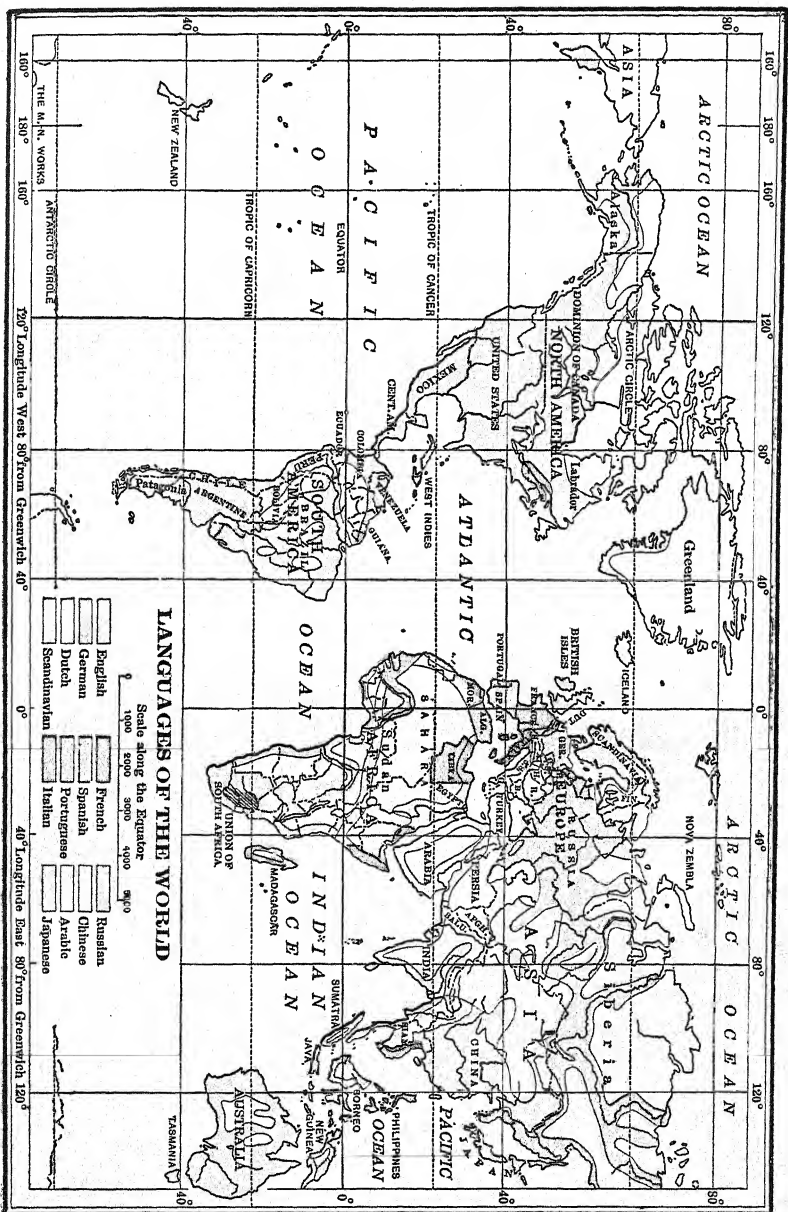
World congresses are constantly being held to deal with such matters of common interest as the metric system of weights and measures, monetary standards, protection of patents and copyrights, improvement in the condition of the working classes, advancement of social reform, woman's suffrage, and the establishment of universal peace. Some of these gatherings have resulted in

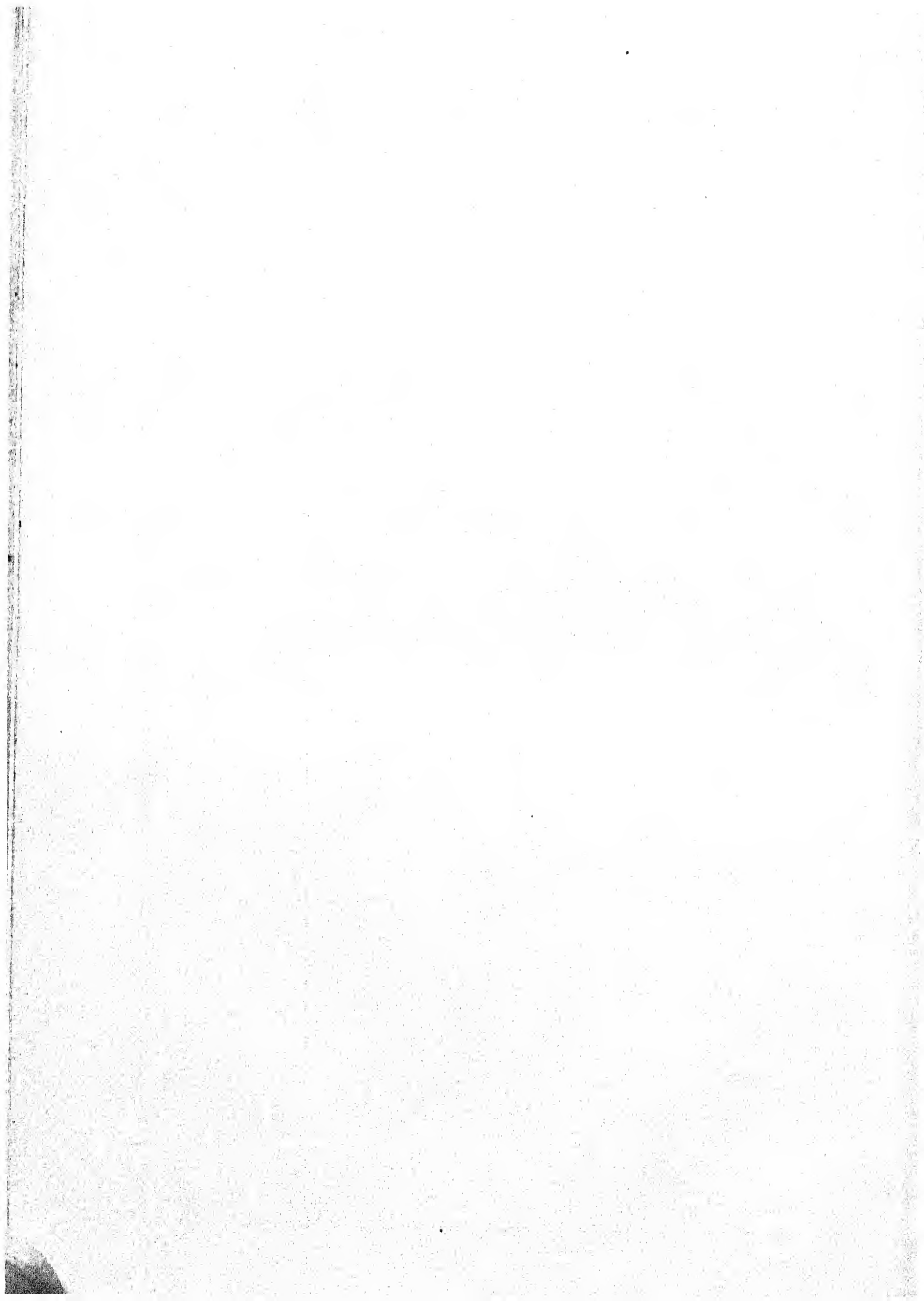


"RIDICULOUS TASTE, OR THE LADIES' ABSURDITY"

One of the many caricatures of the extravagant fashions in headress of both sexes during the eighteenth century.

universal peace. Some of these gatherings have resulted in





the formation of permanent organizations, including the Red Cross Society (1864), the Postal Union (1874), and the Hague Tribunal (1899). Frequent meetings of distinguished scholars and men of letters from the different countries also help to produce what has been well called the "international mind."

The "international mind"

Increased intercourse between civilized peoples not only broadens their outlook but also widens their sympathies. Feelings of human brotherhood, once limited to the members of one's clan, tribe, city, or state, expand to include all mankind. There develops an "international conscience," which emphasizes the obligations of the strong toward the weak and protests against the oppression of any members of the world community by any others. Let us consider some of its manifestations during the past century.

The "international conscience"

235. Social Betterment

Little more than one hundred years ago the slave trade was generally regarded as a legitimate business. Hardly any one thought it wrong to kidnap or purchase African negroes, pack them on shipboard, where many died in the stifling holds, and carry them to the West Indies or the American mainland to be sold as slaves. Denmark first abolished this shameful traffic. Great Britain and the United States took the same step in 1807-1808, and in subsequent years the Continental nations, one after another, agreed that the slave trade for the supply of their territories should no longer enjoy the protection of their flags.

Abolition of the slave trade

Slavery had all but died out in Christian lands by the close of the Middle Ages. It revived, on a much larger scale, after the era of geographical discovery, which opened up Africa as a source of slaves and America as a field for their profitable employment. Anti-slavery agitation began in the seventeenth century with the Quakers, who excluded slave-owners from membership in their society. The French revolutionists abolished slavery in the colonies of France, but Napoleon restored it. Great Britain in 1833 freed the slaves

Abolition of slavery

in the British West Indies, paying one hundred million dollars to their former masters as compensation. Within the next thirty years slavery peacefully disappeared in the colonial possessions of France, Portugal, and Holland, but in the United States only at the cost of civil war. Brazil, in 1888, was the last Christian state to put an end to slavery.

The penal code of eighteenth-century Europe must be described as barbarous. Torture of an accused person, in order to obtain a confession, usually preceded his trial. The old penal code Only a few nations, Great Britain among them, forbade its use. Prisons were private property, and the inmates, whether innocent or guilty, had to pay their keeper for food and other necessities. Men, women, and children were herded together, the hardened criminals with the first offenders. Branding, flogging, and exposure in the pillory formed common punishments. Death was the punishment for murder, arson, burglary, horse-stealing, theft, forgery, counterfeiting, and many other crimes. The British code included nearly two hundred capital offenses, but often permitted transportation to America or Australia to be substituted for the death penalty. Executions took place in public, on the mistaken theory that to see them would deter from crime.

The great name in penal reform is that of the Italian Beccaria, whose *Essay on Crimes and Punishments* appeared in 1764. It bore early fruit in the abolition of torture and of such ferocious punishments as burning alive, breaking on the wheel, and drawing and quartering. Penal reform in France was hastened by the Revolution. Great Britain still later began to reduce the number of capital offenses, until only murder remained. Meanwhile, the prisons were placed under state management, and special reformatories were established for first offenders. The idea is now to make confinement less a punishment than a means of developing the convict's self-respect and manhood, so that he may return to free life a useful member of society.

The modern attitude toward the feeble-minded and the insane likewise shows the increasing humanity of the age.

Such persons are no longer regarded with amusement or contempt, but are rather considered as pitiful victims of heredity and of circumstances for which they were not reponsible. Every civilized country now provides asylums for their proper care under medical supervision.

The crusade against alcoholism further illustrates humanitarian progress. The use of wine, beer, and spirits, formerly uncondemned, more and more comes under moral reprobation as it is realized that they form one of the most potent agencies of man's degeneration. The World War led Russia to abolish the government monopoly of vodka and other countries to restrict the consumption of intoxicating liquors. Their manufacture, sale, or transportation in the United States is prohibited by a constitutional amendment, which was ratified in 1918-1919 by more than three-fourths of the state legislatures. It went into effect one year after ratification.

Asylums

Abolition
of the
liquor
traffic

236. Emancipation of Women and Children

Woman's position in Europe a century ago was what it had been in the Middle Ages — a position of dependence on man. She received little or no education, seldom engaged in anything but housework, and for support relied on husband, father, or brother. After marriage she became subject to her husband. In Great Britain she could neither make a will nor enter into a contract without his consent. All her possessions belonged to him. Any money that she earned or inherited was his and might be taken to pay his debts. The law even deprived her of control over her own children. Similar disabilities rested upon Continental women.

Disabilities
of woman

The humanitarian sentiment evoked by the French Revolution began by freeing slave and serf, but presently demanded the emancipation of woman also. The demand received a powerful impetus from the Industrial Revolution, which opened new employments to woman outside the home and thus lessened her economic dependence on man. The agitation for woman's rights has so far succeeded

Woman's
rights

that many countries permit her to obtain an education, own property, and enter business or the professions on her own account. Certain countries also grant her the right to vote and hold public office.

Woman suffrage scored its first victories in Scandinavia. During the decade before the World War both Finland and Norway permitted women to vote at general elections. Den-

**Woman
suffrage in
Europe** mark extended full voting privileges to women shortly after the outbreak of the war, and Sweden is about to take the same progressive step. The

patriotic work of British women in munition factories, in the hospitals, and on the farms had its reward in 1918, when Parliament passed an equal franchise bill. This measure ranks in importance with the three Reform Acts of 1832, 1867, and 1884.¹ It not only confers the franchise for the House of Commons upon substantially every man over twenty-one years of age in Great Britain and Ireland, but also confers it upon every woman over thirty years of age who has hitherto voted in local elections or is the wife of a local elector. As a result, the number of voters in the United Kingdom has been practically doubled. Even more radical concessions to women are promised by the revolutionary governments of Germany and central Europe.

Australia and New Zealand have established complete political democracy by giving the vote to women without restrictions. The suffrage movement has made

**Woman
suffrage
outside of
Europe** slower progress in the United States. Wyoming, when admitted to statehood in 1892, set the example of granting the ballot to women on the

same terms as to men, and by 1918 fourteen other states had done the same. A constitutional amendment to provide for woman suffrage throughout the Union was ratified in 1920.

The decline of the husband's power over his wife is accompanied by a decline of the father's authority over his children.

**Emancipation
of children** Among early peoples, the ancient Romans for example, the father's control of his offspring was absolute, and their liberty was often sacrificed to his despotic

¹ See pages 578 and 580.

rule. The Roman idea of family obligations survived in Europe through the Middle Ages and still lingers in Latin countries at the present time. In Anglo-Saxon countries, on the other hand, both law and custom regard the grown-up child as independent of the father. Even his authority over minors is considered mainly in the light of guardianship. This liberal conception of paternal rights bids fair to prevail among all civilized peoples.

237. Religious Toleration and the Separation of Church and State

Few of us realize how gradually the principle of religious toleration has won acceptance in modern times.¹ At first only certain Protestant sects, such as the Lutherans Religious toleration in Germany after the Peace of Augsburg and the Huguenots in France after the Edict of Nantes, enjoyed liberty of conscience and worship. Next, the same privileges were granted to all Protestant sects, as in Holland, in England by the Toleration Act, and in the American colonies. Finally, toleration was extended to every one, whether Protestant or Roman Catholic, Christian or non-Christian. The First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States provides that Congress shall make no law prohibiting the "free exercise of religion." The French revolutionists in the Declaration of the Rights of Man also announced that no one should be disturbed on account of his religious opinions, provided he did not thereby trouble public order. The Great Elector and Frederick the Great established toleration in Prussia. It was secured in the rest of Germany and in Austria-Hungary and Italy only during the nineteenth century. Great Britain delayed until the same century before admitting Roman Catholics, Unitarians, and Jews to the full rights of citizenship. Several American states still debar atheists from voting and holding public office.

The liberal movement in religion has carried further that multiplication of sects which began with the Reformation.² Seventeenth-century England produced the Baptists and the Society of Friends, or Quakers, as they are commonly called.

¹ See pages 334 and 351.

² See page 349.

The Methodists arose in the eighteenth century, out of the preaching of John Wesley (1703-1791) and his associates. They worked among the common people of England, gained a large following by their fervor, piety, and the strictness of their ways,¹



JOHN WESLEY

After a painting by George Romney in the possession of W. R. Cassels, London.

and gradually separated from the Anglican Church. Other sects, including the Adventists, Universalists, and Disciples of Christ, and even new religions, such as Mormonism, Spiritualism, and Christian Science, have originated in the United States.

Both Freemasonry and Odd-fellowship took their present form in Great Britain about two centuries ago. They now have thousands of lodges and several

millions of members throughout the world. Their insistence upon religious toleration makes it possible for them to admit votaries of even non-Christian faiths, as in India.

The modern principle of "a free Church in a free State" has been slowly and imperfectly attained. In the Middle

**Separation
of Church
and State**

Ages the Church controlled, or tried to control, the State, upon the theory that temporal as well as spiritual authority is derived from the pope.

The Reformation, in those countries where it succeeded, merely substituted a number of separate national churches for the one Church of Rome. To Roger Williams and William Penn in the seventeenth century belongs the honor of having founded the first political communities where religious matters were taken entirely out of the hands of the civil government. Neither Rhode Island nor Pennsylvania in colonial times had an established church.

¹ Hence the name "Methodists."

The ideas of Williams and Penn found expression in the First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. Congress is forbidden to make any law "respecting an establishment of religion." This means that the federal government cannot appropriate money for the support of any church. No such restriction binds the several states, but most of their constitutions repeat the federal prohibition.

Disestab-
lishment
in the
United States

The example of the United States has been followed in Canada, Australia, South Africa, and other parts of the British Empire. The Liberal Party under Gladstone disestablished the Anglican Church in Ireland (1869) and under Lloyd George disestablished it in Wales (1914). The French revolutionists, by the Constitution of 1795, separated Church and State, but a few years later Napoleon's Concordat¹ with the pope again made Roman Catholicism the official religion. The Concordat was abrogated as recently as 1905, and both Catholic and Protestant bodies in France now depend entirely upon voluntary contributions for support. The Portuguese revolutionists, when founding a republic in 1910, disestablished the Roman Church, and the Russian revolutionists in 1917 disestablished the Greek Church. The separation of Church and State prevails in Holland and Belgium and has been adopted in the new republican constitution of Germany.

Disestab-
lishment
abroad

238. Popular Education and the Higher Learning

The schools of the Middle Ages were neither secular nor public nor free.² Clergymen taught them, the Church generally controlled them, and the few pupils who attended them paid fees for their tuition. One result of the Reformation was the introduction into some of the German states, Holland, Scotland, and the Puritan colonies of New England of elementary schools supported by general taxation, so that every one might be able to read and interpret the Scriptures intelligently. This free public school system,

Popular
education

¹ See page 524.

² See pages 160 and 257.

which it is the glory of the reformers to have established, spread throughout the United States after the Revolution and became entirely secular in character. The advance of democratic ideas in Europe during the nineteenth century has produced a similar movement there in favor of popular education.

British statesmen for a long time looked with disfavor upon projects for public schools. Education, they thought, unfits the people for manual labor and nourishes revolutionary ideas. "If a horse knew as much as a man, I should not like to be its rider," declared a peer in Parliament, when voting against an appropriation for educational purposes. In 1870, after the passage of the second Reform Act, which enfranchised the working classes, the government set up for the first time a national system of instruction. "We must educate our masters," it was said. Elementary education in Great Britain is now free, compulsory, and secular. Many parents, however, prefer to send their children to private institutions under the control of the Established Church.

The French revolutionists believed with Danton that "next to bread, education is the first need of the people." They prepared an elaborate scheme for public schools. More pressing questions compelled its postponement, however, and France waited until the 'eighties of the last century before putting it into operation. Prussia began to reorganize elementary education along modern lines as early as the reign of Frederick the Great and carried the work further after her crushing defeat by Napoleon. The public school movement has made much progress in other Continental countries during recent years, with a notable decrease in illiteracy as the result. More and more it is recognized that at least the rudiments of an education should be the birthright of every child.

What deserves to be called the American system of education reaches from the kindergarten to the graduate and professional school. High schools and normal schools for the professional training of teachers are found in

every state, and state universities in every one south and west of Pennsylvania. Their work is supplemented not only by the private colleges and universities, but also by the splendid benefactions especially associated with the names of Rockefeller and Carnegie. No European country makes it so easy for an ambitious student to obtain the higher learning.

239. Science

When the nineteenth century opened, science enjoyed only a limited recognition in universities and none at all in secondary and elementary schools. The marvelous achievements of scientific men fixed public attention on their work, and courses in science began to displace the older "classical" studies. At the same time science has become an international force which recognizes no national boundaries, no distinctions of race or religion. Scientists in every land follow one another's researches; they carry on their labor in common.

Many pages would be needed merely to enumerate the scientific discoveries of our age. The astronomer found a new planet, Neptune; measured the distances of the fixed stars; and, by means of the spectroscope, analyzed the constituents of the most distant heavenly bodies. The physicist determined the velocity of light and showed that light, radiant heat, electricity, and magnetism are due to waves or undulations of the ether; are, in fact, interconvertible forms of cosmic energy. The chemist proved that matter exists in a solid, liquid, or gaseous state according to the degree of heat to which it is subjected; that it is composed of one or more of eighty-odd elements; and that these elements combine with one another in fixed proportions by weight, as when one pound of hydrogen unites with eight pounds of oxygen to form nine pounds of water. The biologist discovered that all plants and animals, from the lowest to the highest, are made up of cells containing the transparent jelly or protoplasm which is the basis of life.

The practical applications of science are innumerable. Ap-

plied physics gave us the storage battery and the dynamo, making possible the telegraph, telephone, electric lighting, and electric motive force. More recently, wireless telegraphy and telephony have developed from the discovery in 1887 of the "Hertzian waves," or electro-magnetic vibrations in the ether. In 1895 the German Röntgen found



MARIE CURIE

the mysterious X-rays, and in 1898 the French professor Curie, assisted by his Polish wife, revealed the existence of the still more mysterious radium. Applied chemistry gave us illuminating gas, friction matches, such powerful explosives as dynamite and nitroglycerine, which are produced from animal or vegetable fats, artificial fertilizers, beet sugar, aluminum, and various derivatives of coal tar, including

the aniline dyes, carbolic acid, naphtha, and saccharine. The biological researches of the Frenchman, Louis Pasteur, and others upon microbes or bacteria revolutionized the practice of medicine and led to the speedy elimination in civilized countries of hydrophobia, typhus, yellow fever, cholera, the bubonic plague, and other scourges. Meanwhile surgery has been revolutionized by the use of anæsthetics and the introduction of antiseptics and asepsis.

New conceptions of the earth were set forth by Sir Charles Lyell in his *Principles of Geology* (1830-1833). He explained

The uni-
formitarian
theory the changes which have produced mountains, valleys, plains, lakes, sea-coasts, and other natural features, not as the result of convulsions or catastrophes, as had been previously supposed, but as due to erosion by water, the action of frost and snow, and other forces working gradually over immense periods of time.

The acceptance of Lyell's uniformitarian theory, coupled with the discovery of fossils in the rocks, made it necessary to reckon the age of the earth by untold millions, instead of a few thousands, of years. The further discovery in western Europe of rude stone implements and human bones associated with the remains of extinct animals, such as the mammoth, woolly rhinoceros, and cave bear, indicated the existence of man himself at a remote period.

Extraordinary interest has been excited in recent years by the so-called relativity theory put forth by the German-Swiss physicist and mathematician, Albert Einstein. The relativity theory His contributions to our ideas of time and space, and to our knowledge of the world in general, are regarded as worthy to be compared in importance with the great discoveries made by Copernicus and Newton.

Einstein conceives of the universe as four-dimensional, "time" being accepted as the fourth dimension, along with length, breadth, and height. He would explain gravitation as the effect of a warping or strain in this four-dimensional universe, due to the presence of matter in space. This explanation, if accepted, disposes of the old view of gravitation as a real force acting between any two bodies at a distance from each other.

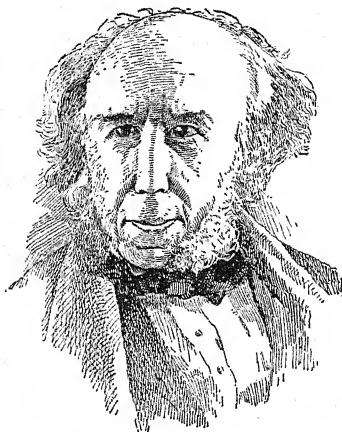
Einstein also rejects the widely accepted hypothesis of space as filled by the mysterious ether, since such an hypothesis does not seem necessary to explain light and other electromagnetic phenomena. He also presents another conception of the universe, which is regarded by him as continuous like any sphere but yet of finite size.

The theory of relativity has already been to some extent confirmed by experiments, but its full significance cannot be grasped without the aid of the higher mathematics.

240. Philosophy and Literature

Since the beginning of the nineteenth century man has become more and more interested in himself; he has resolved to learn what he is, whence he came, and what he shall be.

These are the old questions of philosophy. Herbert Spencer (1820-1903), the close friend of Darwin, sought to answer them with the aid of evolutionary principles. The ten volumes of



HERBERT SPENCER

After a photograph of the philosopher
at the age of seventy-eight.

his *Synthetic Philosophy* form an ambitious attempt to explain the development of the universe as a whole, from the atom to the star, from the one-celled organism to man. Spencer was a pioneer in the study of psychology, that branch of philosophy dealing with the mental processes of both man and the lower animals.

Spencer also broke fresh ground in the study of sociology. He carried over the principle of evolution into human society,

with the purpose of showing how languages, laws, religions, customs, and all other institutions naturally arise and develop among mankind. "Sociology," as the name for this new subject, had been previously introduced by the French philosopher, Auguste Comte.

The study of history has been transformed under the influence of the socialists. It is no longer merely a narrative in chronological order of political and military events, but rather an account of the entire culture of a people. The historian wants to learn about their houses, furniture, costumes, and food; how they made their



SIR WALTER SCOTT

After a painting by Colvin
Smith.

living; what buildings they raised, what books they read; what schools they supported; what beliefs and superstitions they held; what amusements and festivals they enjoyed. Some historical students do not limit inquiry to civilized man, but also investigate the culture of savage and barbarous peoples as found to-day or once found in remote ages. History, so considered, is closely related to anthropology, one of the most fascinating of the newer branches of learning.

Public schools, public libraries, and cheap books, magazines, and newspapers have multiplied readers. **Fiction** Literature, in consequence, is now a profession, and the successful novelist or poet may secure a world-wide

audience. Sir Walter Scott did much to give the novel popularity through his historical tales. Dickens, Thackeray, and other English writers made it a presentation of contemporary life. On the Continent almost all the celebrated authors of the past century have been novelists. It is sufficient to mention three only, whose fame has gone out into many lands: the Frenchman Victor Hugo; the Russian Tolstoy; and the Pole Sienkiewicz.



VICTOR HUGO

After a painting by Léon Bonnat.

The drama rivals the novel in popularity among all classes. It presents either a picture of bygone ages or scenes from everyday life. In no country does it assume more importance than in France, where the theater is considered a branch of

public instruction. Much dramatic poetry, however, is written to be read, rather than for acting on the stage, for instance, the *Faust* of Goethe. Lyric poetry has been produced in all countries, notably in Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, and the United States, and has become the favorite style of poetic expression.

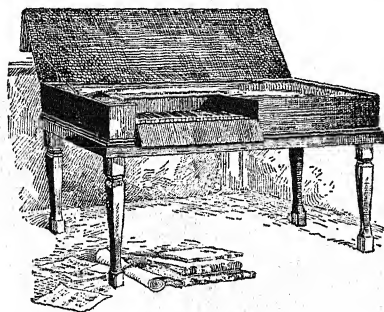
Poetry

241. Music and the Fine Arts

Music now takes almost as large a place as literature in modern life. Even more than literature, it ranks as an international force, for the musician, whatever his nationality, uses a language which needs no translation to be intelligible.

Music in modern life

During medieval times music was chiefly used in the services of the Church. The Renaissance began to secularize music, so that it might express all human joy, sadness, passion, and aspiration. The secular art thus includes operas, chamber music (for rendition in a small apartment instead of in a theater or concert hall), compositions for soloists, and orchestral symphonies.



MOZART'S SPINET

Stadt Museum, Vienna

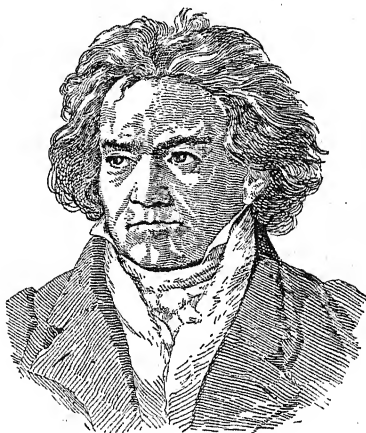
The spinet had only one string to a note, plucked by means of a quill or a plectrum of leather.

The Middle Ages knew the pipe-organ, harp, flute, drum, trumpet, and many other instruments. These were often played together, but with no other purpose than to increase the volume of sound. There was not the slightest idea of orchestration. After the Renaissance new instruments began to appear, includ-

ing the violin, viols of all sizes, the slide trombone, and the clarinet. Percussion action, applied to the old-fashioned spinet and harpsichord, produced in the eighteenth century the piano-

forte. The symphony, a tone poem combining all musical sounds into a harmonious whole, now began to assume its present form. The great symphonists — Haydn, Mozart, that supreme genius Beethoven (1770-1827), and their successors in the nineteenth century — thus created a new art to enrich the higher life of mankind.

Another master of music, Richard Wagner (1813-1883), created the musical drama, which unites music, poetry, and acting. Wagner believed that the singer should also be an actor and should adapt both song and gesture to the orchestra. He also gave much



LUDWIG VAN BEETHOVEN

After a painting by A. Kloeber, 1817.

attention to the scenery and stage-setting in order to heighten the dramatic effect. Wagner's most famous work, *The Ring of the Nibelung*, consists of four complete dramas based on old Teutonic legend.



RICHARD WAGNER

After a portrait by Franz von Lenbach painted about 1872.

Like music, sculpture illustrates the internationalism of art. The three greatest sculptors of the nineteenth century were Canova, an Italian, Thorwaldsen, a Dane, and Rodin, a Frenchman. The first two found inspiration mainly in classic statuary, which seeks ideal beauty of form; the third expressed in marble the utmost realism and

Sculpture

naturalism. Much fine work has also been done in bronze, for instance, the Chicago statue of Abraham Lincoln by St. Gaudens, who is rightly considered the most eminent sculptor produced by America.

No century has witnessed more activity in the construction of churches, town halls, court houses, theaters, schools, and other public edifices than the nineteenth, but these have usually been reproductions of earlier buildings. Architects either went to Greece and Rome for models or imitated the Romanesque and Gothic styles. The extensive use of structural steel has now begun to produce an entirely new architectural style, more appropriate to modern needs, in the "skyscraper" of American cities. It is sometimes criticized as being "not architecture, but engineering with a stone veneer." The criticism seems hardly just in all cases. Such a structure as the Woolworth Building in New York has a beauty of its own and truly expresses the spirit of our industrial age.

Modern painters, no longer restricted to religious pictures, often choose their subjects from history or contemporary life.

They excel in portraiture, and their landscape paintings unquestionably surpass the best which even the "old masters" of the Renaissance could produce. Painting flourishes especially in France, where the leading artists receive their training and exhibit their pictures at an annual exposition, the Salon at Paris.

242. Historic and Artistic Paris

The capitals of France and Great Britain represent much that is best in modern civilization. Paris and London are the largest cities in the Old World. Their civic life reaches back without a break to Roman times. They contain more monuments and edifices of historic or artistic interest than any other places in Europe, except Athens, Rome, and possibly Venice. To visit either of them is a liberal education.

Paris, the ancient *Lutetia*, first appears in history as a small

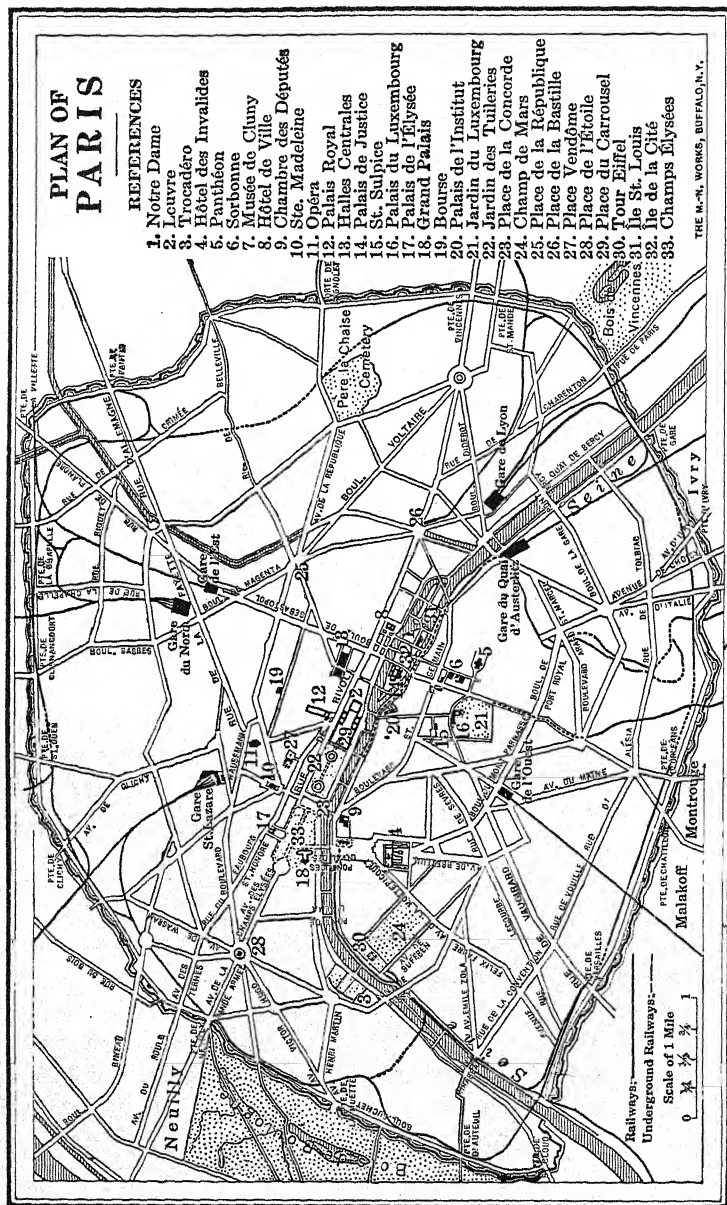
settlement of the Gallic tribe of the Parisii on an island in the Seine (Île de la Cité). This was for centuries the entire site. Conquered by the Romans under Julius Cæsar, Paris formed a place of some importance in the Roman Empire and after the introduction of Christianity became the see of a bishopric. It repelled the assaults of Attila the Hun in the fifth century, but surrendered to Clovis, who made it the official residence of the Merovingian kings.

Charlemagne and the later Carolingians seldom visited Paris, which did not again become the seat of government until the accession of Hugh Capet. The great Capetian rulers of the Middle Ages showed their affection for the city by extending its walls and paving its streets, founding its university, the most famous in Christendom, and building numerous abbeys and churches in the Gothic style.

The French monarchs of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, above all, Louis XIV, continued the embellishment of Paris. Here the first Napoleon erected his principal monuments. Still more noteworthy was the transforming work of the third Napoleon, who cleared away the maze of narrow winding streets and substituted for them broad avenues and noble squares. Paris suffered terribly at the hands of the "communards" of 1871. The city soon recovered from their depredations, however, and during the last half century completed the great public works which make it the most spacious and imposing of modern capitals.

The Seine runs through Paris from east to west in a broad curve for nearly eight miles. Rising from the river are the two islands — Île de la Cité and Île St. Louis — both covered with buildings. Thirty-one hand- some bridges span the Seine, and wide embankments, or quays, line its sides. The principal shops, cafés, and theaters are found on the north or right bank of the Seine, while many public buildings, schools, and museums occupy the south or left bank of the stream.

No uniformity marks the street plan of Paris. A few of the





COLONNE VENDÔME

four thousand-odd thoroughfares are shown on the map. Of these, a number are the exceptionally wide avenues and boulevards which Napoleon III constructed, as much to put an end to barricade fighting as to beautify the city.

Streets

The squares (*places*) of Paris form one of its chief attractions. The finest is the Place de la Concorde, laid out under Louis XV and noted as the scene of the execution of Louis XVI,

Squares

Marie Antoinette, and many other victims of the Terror. An Egyptian obelisk occupies the center of the square. The Place de la Concorde connects by the splendid Avenue des Champs Élysées ("Elysian Fields") with the Place de l'Étoile ("Square of the Star"), containing the Arc de Triomphe. The Place Vendôme has a column surmounted by a statue of Napoleon I. The Place de la Bastille, on the former site of that prison, is marked by a memorial column in honor of those who fell in the "July Revolution" of 1830.

Not less attractive are the promenades and parks of Paris. The Jardin des Tuileries, now wholly given over to trees, flowers, foun-

Set up by Napoleon in the Place Vendôme. It is 142 feet in height and 13 feet in diameter. Like Trajan's column, of which it is an imitation, the monument is encircled with a spiral band of bronze bas-reliefs commemorating the campaign of 1805. The summit is surmounted by a statue of the emperor. During the rule of the "communards" in 1871 the column was overthrown, but it was subsequently reerected and restored.

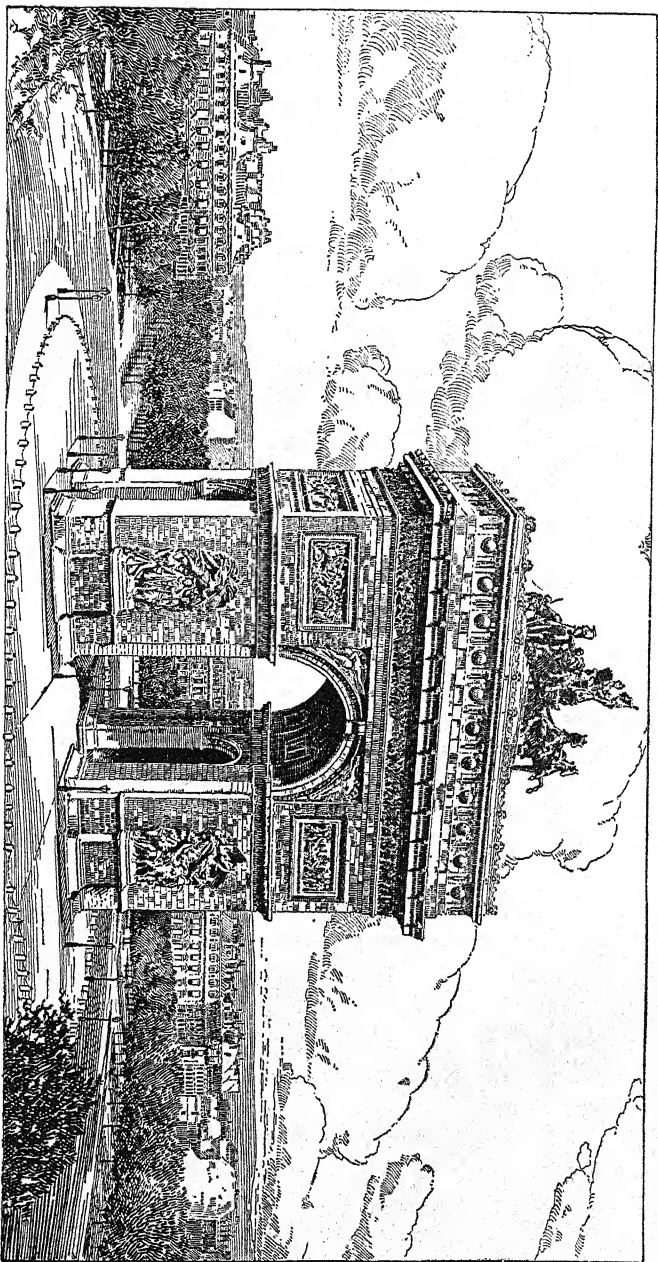
tains, and statues, formerly contained the Tuileries palace, which was burned by the "communards." Across the Seine **Promenades and parks** lies the Jardin du Luxembourg, with a palace used by the French Senate. The Champ de Mars ("Field of Mars") is a parade ground. Here stands the Tour Eiffel, a graceful structure of iron lattice-work nearly a thousand feet high. The tower was built for the Paris Exposition of 1889.

Notre Dame Cathedral,¹ the most important of Parisian churches and one of the finest examples of Gothic architecture in Europe, occupies part of the island called La **Churches** Cité. The present building has had several predecessors, for already in the fourth century a church stood on this site. The French revolutionists converted Notre Dame into a Temple of Reason, but under Napoleon I it went back to religious use. The same emperor built the exquisite Madeleine as a hall of fame to commemorate his victories. It has the lines of a Roman temple with a colonnade of Corinthian pillars. The structure is now a church.

The Louvre, impressive both for extent and noble architecture, was the chief royal palace until Louis XIV built Versailles. It is now a wonderful museum of the **Civil buildings** fine arts, ancient, medieval, and modern. Among the priceless treasures to be seen here are the "Aphrodite of Melos," the "Winged Victory of Samothrace," and Leonardo da Vinci's "Mona Lisa." The Palais de Justice (law courts) forms a huge assemblage of buildings on the site of the palace of Merovingian and Capetian kings. The Hôtel des Invalides, on the left bank of the Seine, dates from the reign of Louis XIV, who founded it as a home for infirm or disabled soldiers. But no one thinks of the "Grand Monarch" in the Invalides; it is dedicated rather to Napoleon, whose relics crowd its rooms and who himself lies in a huge sarcophagus under the gilded dome.² The Panthéon, another imposing domed building, served originally as a church, but the revolutionists in 1791

¹ Read Victor Hugo's tragic romance, *Notre-Dame de Paris*, especially book iii. chap. i.

² See the illustration, page 540.



ARC DE TRIOMPHE

In the center of the Place de l'Étoile, from which twelve broad avenues radiate in all directions. Commenced by Napoleon in 1805, but not completed until the reign of Louis Philippe. It is the largest triumphal arch in the world, being 162 feet high and 147 feet wide. The monument is adorned with groups of sculpture representing the military triumphs of the revolutionary and Napoleonic armies.

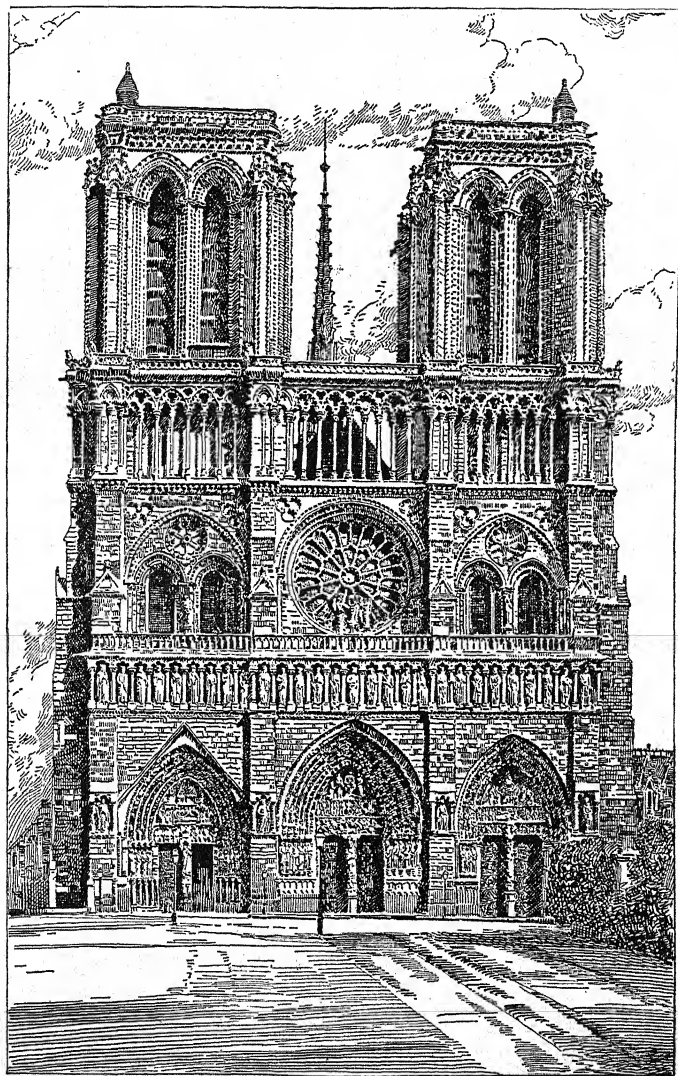
secularized it as a sepulcher for great Frenchmen. Voltaire, Rousseau, and Victor Hugo are entombed here.

Besides the Louvre, Paris has many other museums. The most interesting, historically, is the Musée de Cluny, installed in a Gothic mansion built by the abbot of Cluny during the fifteenth century. It stands on the site of a Roman palace, the ruins of whose baths still remain. Among the libraries of Paris the Bibliothèque Nationale, which occupies Cardinal Mazarin's residence, has first place. This immense collection of manuscripts, books, prints, and maps originated in the Middle Ages as a royal library, but since the Revolution it has been a state institution.

Paris is naturally a leading educational center. The fame of the École des Beaux-Arts as an art school attracts students of architecture, sculpture, and painting from all countries. In the Latin Quarter, where many of them live and maintain their studios, stands the Sorbonne, founded in the thirteenth century and until the Revolution celebrated as a theological seminary. The French revolutionists suppressed the institution, together with all other colleges and universities throughout France. Napoleon renewed it, however, and in its magnificent new building the Sorbonne has become the chief seat of learning in France. Not far away is the Palais de l'Institut, a seventeenth-century structure which houses the Institut de France, an association of the five French academies of letters and science.

The drama has a large part in Parisian life, and several of the important theaters receive annual subsidies from the government. The Opéra is the largest and most splendid playhouse in the world. The Théâtre Français, the home of the best French drama, was founded by Molière in the seventeenth century, and here his comedies are still played.

The tourist in Paris seldom omits a visit to the cemetery named after Père la Chaise, the confessor of Louis XIV. It covers over a hundred acres and contains the tombs of many famous Frenchmen.



NOTRE DAME

The present structure, begun in 1163 and completed about 1240, suffered severely during the French Revolution, when it was converted into a Temple of Reason. Extensive renovations and alterations were made during the nineteenth century. Two massive square towers, originally intended to support spires, crown the principal or western façade. Its three doors are surrounded by elaborate sculptures and surmounted by a row of figures representing twenty-eight kings of Israel and Judah. Above the central door is a rose window of stained glass and above this a graceful gallery of painted arches supported on slender columns.

Paris has always been a fortress. The present wall, replacing earlier ramparts, completely surrounds the city. Through its gates run the main highways into the charming suburbs. One may visit Fontainebleau, Napoleon's favorite residence, where he abdicated in 1814, and the château of Malmaison, which he presented to Joséphine after the divorce. Then there are St.-Denis, with its abbey-church, the burial place of the French kings; Sèvres, with its manufactory of exquisite porcelain; and St.-Germain, once the dwelling of royalty and now a national museum. Above all there is Versailles, twelve miles distant from Paris.¹ Here the Estates-General met in 1789 and began the Revolution; here William I of Prussia was proclaimed German emperor in 1871; and here in 1919 were signed the treaties which brought peace to a warring world.

Walls and
suburbs of
Paris

243. Historic and Artistic London

London, the ancient *Londinium*, seems to have been a British settlement before the Roman occupation of Britain in the first century A.D. Under the Romans it was a place of some importance, to judge from the abundant remains which we possess. Ruins of the walls, of villas, and of a basilica are still to be seen, while thousands of coins have been found in the bed of the Thames.

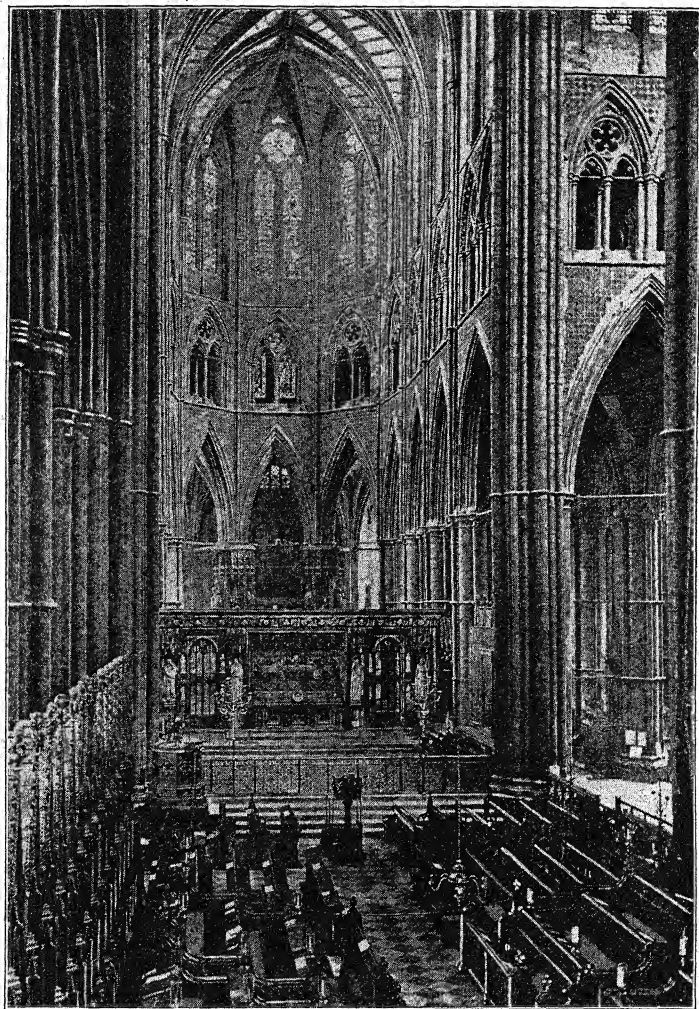
British and
Roman
London

After the departure of the Romans from Britain, London came under the rule of the Anglo-Saxons and subsequently of the Danes. It had grown to be the metropolis of England by the time of the Norman Conquest. Both Norman and Plantagenet kings recognized the importance of London by granting charters of liberty to its inhabitants, and Magna Carta expressly stipulated that the city should continue to enjoy all its old privileges.

Medieval
London

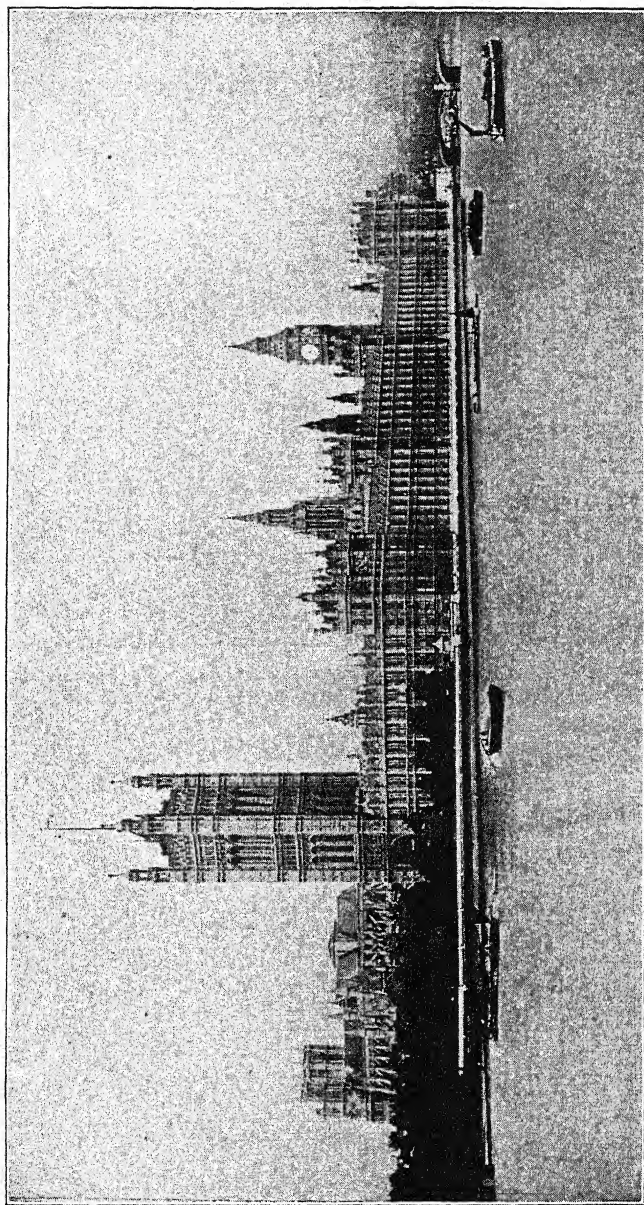
The chief event in the history of London under the Tudors was the suppression of the monasteries and nunneries by Henry VIII. More than half the area of the city had been occupied by these establishments, which were now adapted to secular

¹ See the illustration, page 400.



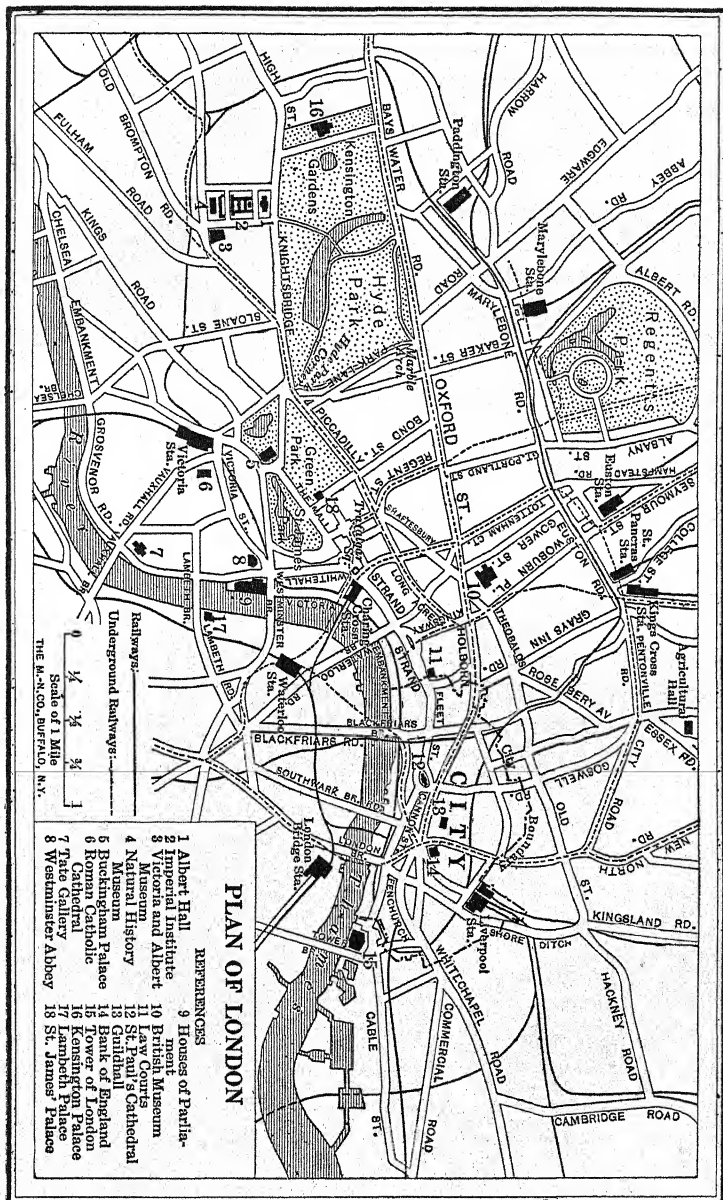
CHOIR OF WESTMINSTER ABBEY

The church formerly attached to the Benedictine abbey of St. Peter in Westminster was built in the 13th century, upon the site of an earlier church raised by Edward the Confessor in the 11th century. Since the Norman Conquest all but one of the English sovereigns have been crowned here, and until the time of George III, it served as their last resting place. The abbey is now England's Hall of Fame, where many of her distinguished statesmen, warriors, poets, artists, and scientists are buried.



HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT, LONDON

Designed by Sir Charles Barry; begun in 1840; completed in 1857. The edifice is in the richest style of Tudor Gothic architecture. It occupies an area of eight acres, contains eleven courts or quadrangles, and cost \$15,000,000. The principal facade, overlooking the Thames, measures 940 feet in length. There are three towers: the Clock Tower, containing the famous bell Big Ben, whose resonant note may be heard over the greater part of London; the Central Tower, used as a ventilating shaft; and the great Victoria Tower, 336 feet high. When Parliament is in session, a light is shown in the Clock Tower by night, and a flag flies from the Victoria Tower by day.

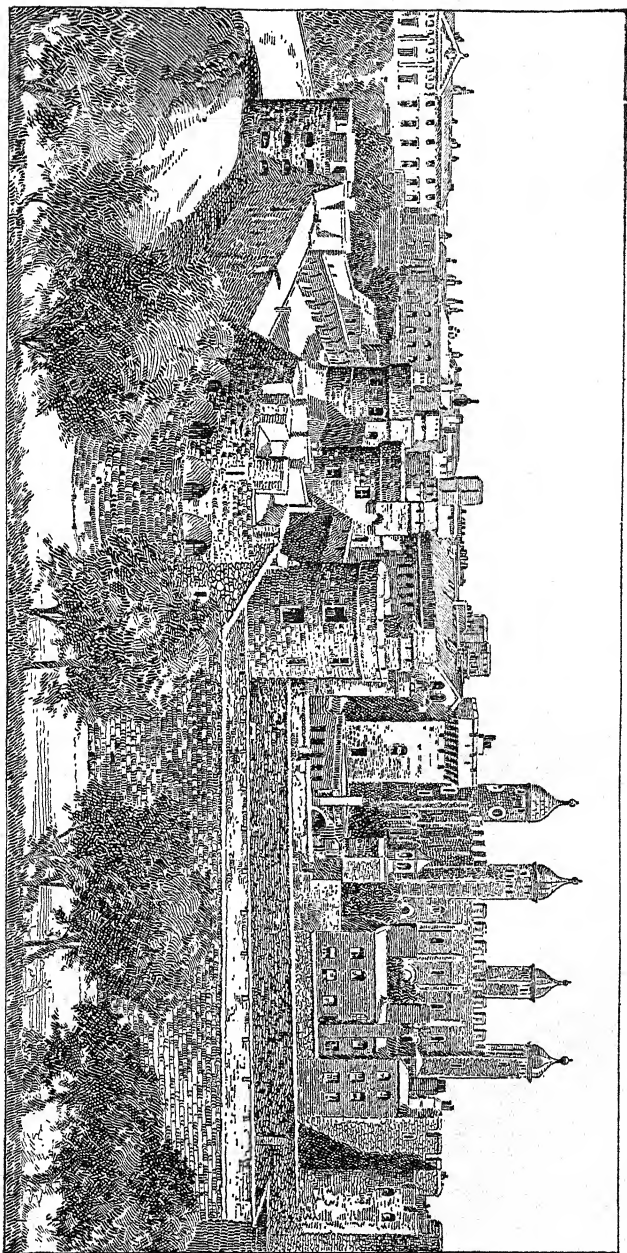


uses. The Great Fire of 1666, early in the reign of Charles II, continued three days and licked up thirteen thousand houses — practically all that remained of the medieval city. Since the middle of the nineteenth century London has been much improved by rebuilding, the laying out of new streets and parks, and the erection of monuments. It still lacks the spaciousness, the elegance and charm, of Paris, but in historic interest, at least for English-speaking peoples, even surpasses the French capital.

There are really three Londons. First comes the City proper, the commercial and financial heart of the metropolis. It stretches for about a mile along the north bank of the Thames and occupies the site of the Roman town. Beyond the City spreads Metropolitan London, which is a circle with a radius of approximately twelve miles from its center at Charing Cross. Lastly, comes "Greater London," reaching out into several English counties and containing, with the City and the metropolitan boroughs, more than seven million inhabitants.

The streets of London are innumerable. Straightened out and laid end to end, they would reach across the United States. The principal continuous thoroughfares, though each bears a succession of names, coincide with the main roads converging upon the capital from all parts of England. The Thames follows a devious course through London. Its sides are lined with embankments used as promenades. Fourteen road bridges cross the river, including famous London Bridge, which replaces a thirteenth-century structure.

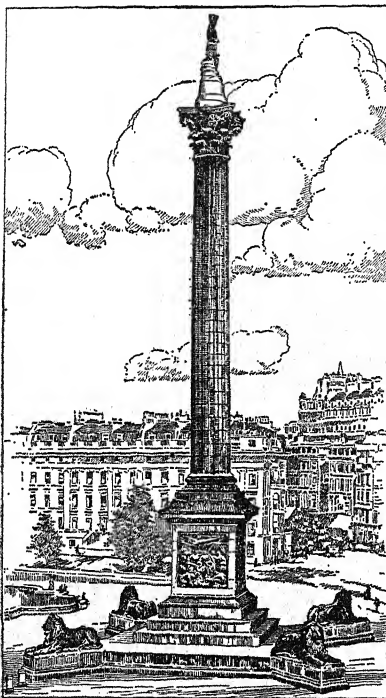
The parks are a notable feature in the topography of London. St. James's Park was laid out by Charles II. At its western end rises Buckingham Palace, the London residence of royalty. Green Park extends between the Mall and Piccadilly. Hyde Park, which Henry VIII took over on the dissolution of the monasteries, forms a resort of fashionable society and often also the scene of popular demonstrations. Kensington Gardens and Regent's Park are other open spaces.



THE TOWER OF LONDON

The principal places of interest to the tourist lie along the Thames from the Tower of London to Westminster Abbey.

The Tower of London Among secular buildings none is more venerable than the Tower, which stands at the eastern boundary of the City. William the Conqueror raised the



THE NELSON MONUMENT,
TRAFALGAR SQUARE

A granite Corinthian column, 145 feet high, surmounted by a statue of Nelson, 16 feet high. On the pedestal are bronze sculptures, cast with the metal of captured French cannon and representing scenes from Nelson's naval victories. Four colossal lions, modeled by Sir Edwin Landseer, crouch at the base of the monument.

great central keep or White Tower, so called because it was once whitewashed.¹ The inner wall, with its thirteen turrets, was added by William Rufus, the Conqueror's son, the moat by Richard I, and the outer wall by Henry III. The Tower has been a fortress, a palace, and a prison; it now serves as a government arsenal, historical museum, and repository for the crown jewels.

London's most prominent building, St. Paul's

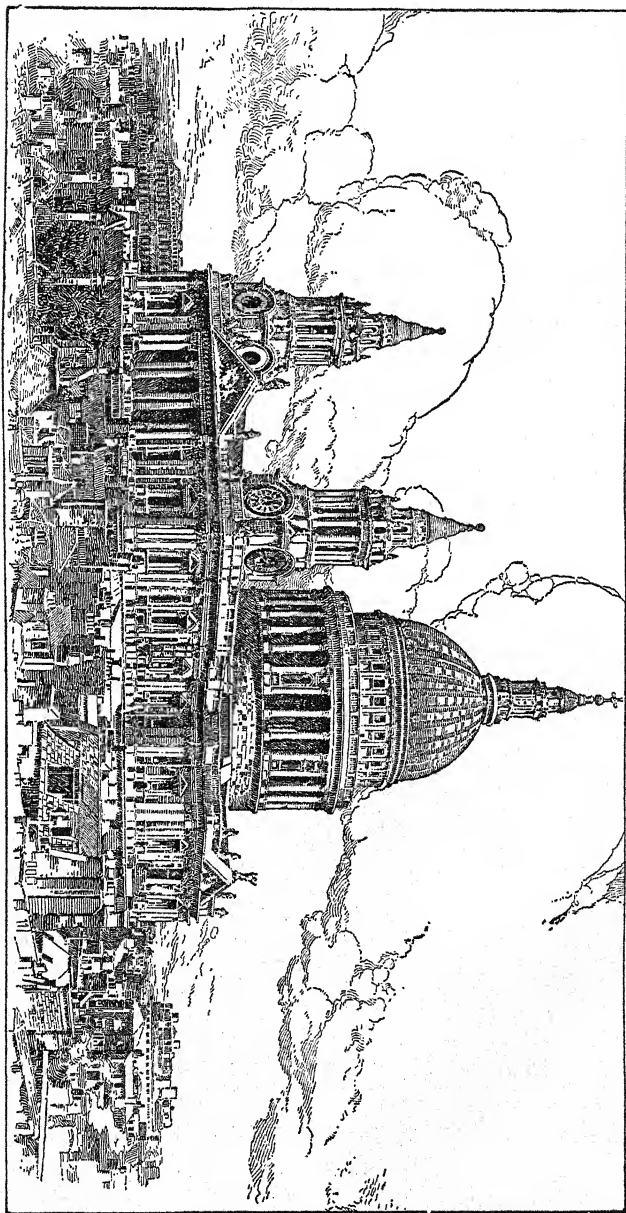
Cathedral stands in

the center of the City, upon a site dedicated to religion since Anglo-Saxon times. The present edifice, replacing the cathedral destroyed by the Great Fire, is the work of Sir Christopher Wren, who lies in the

crypt, together with the duke of Wellington, Lord Nelson, and

¹ See the illustration, page 194.

ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL



The principal places of interest to the tourist lie along the Thames from the Tower of London to Westminster Abbey.

The Tower of London

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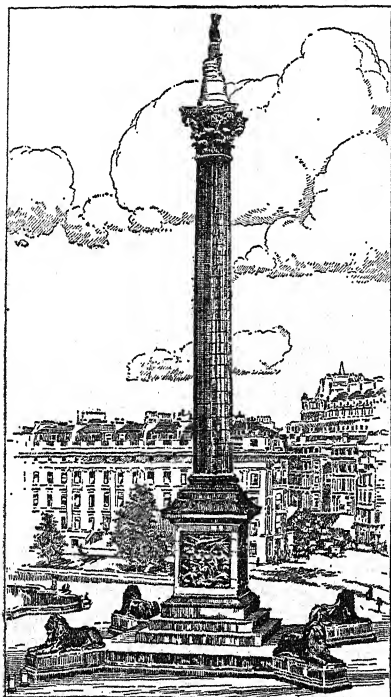
London's most prominent building, St. Paul's

St. Paul's Cathedral

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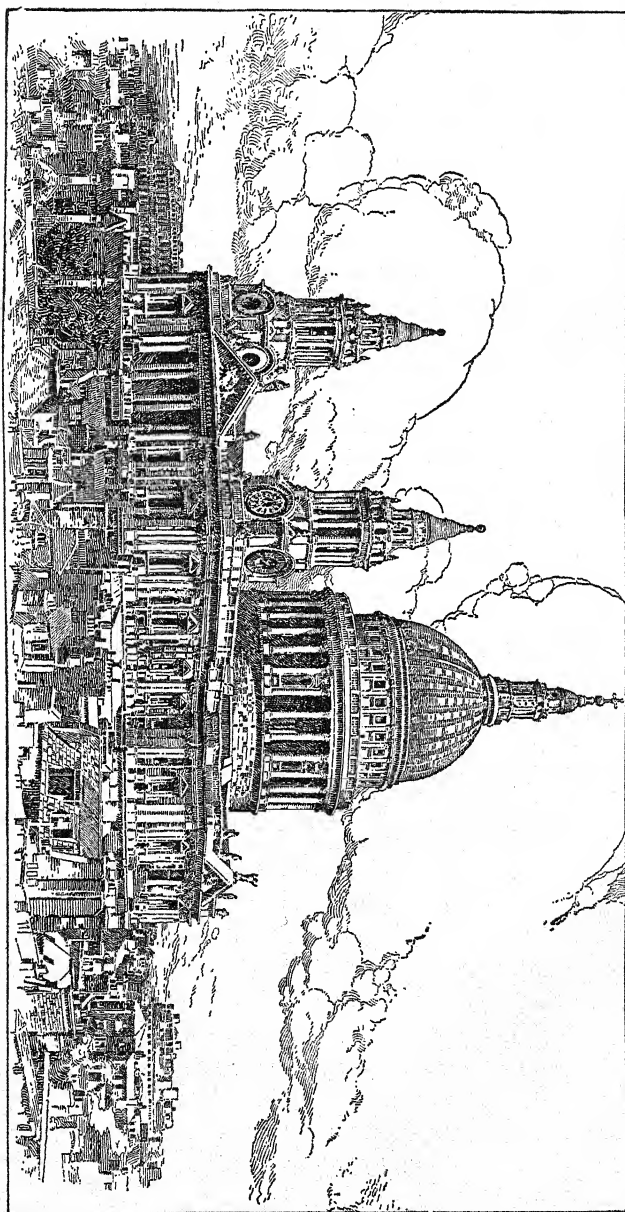
crypt, together with the duke of Wellington, Lord Nelson, and



**THE NELSON MONUMENT,
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A granite Corinthian column, 145 feet high, surmounted by a statue of Nelson, 16 feet high. On the pedestal are bronze sculptures, cast with the metal of captured French cannon and representing scenes from Nelson's naval victories. Four colossal lions, modeled by Sir Edwin Landseer, crouch at the base of the monument.

¹ See the illustration, page 194.



ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL

other famous Englishmen. In general appearance St. Paul's resembles St. Peter's at Rome, but it is much smaller. The style of architecture unites Gothic and classical features. The great dome, both from within and without, forms the most imposing feature of the cathedral.

From St. Paul's one may proceed along Fleet Street with its newspaper offices, and the Strand, with its hotels, shops, and theaters, to Trafalgar Square. The lofty monument in the center commemorates Nelson's victory over the combined fleets of France and Spain.

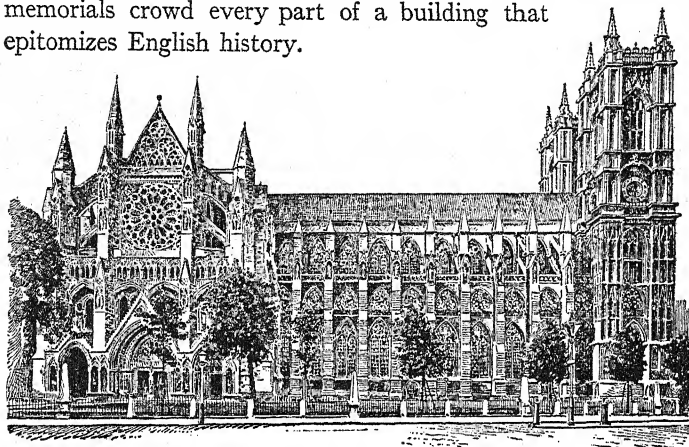
The National Gallery, containing magnificent art collections, is on the north side of Trafalgar Square. Some distance away is the British Museum, the most celebrated institution of its kind in the world. A single great building houses the collections of books, manuscripts, coins, and antiquities which have accumulated since the museum was founded in the eighteenth century.

The short street called Whitehall, containing the Admiralty, Treasury, and other government offices, leads from Trafalgar Square to the Houses of Parliament. These buildings, as beautiful and impressive outside as they are luxurious inside, were erected during the nineteenth century in the richest style of Tudor Gothic. They cover eight acres and include eleven hundred rooms. The east front opens directly upon the Thames. Historic Westminster Hall,¹ belonging to the former royal palace on the site, is incorporated in the Parliament buildings. There are three towers: the Clock Tower, with the famous bell Big Ben, whose resonant note may be heard over the greater part of London; the Central Tower, used as a ventilating shaft; and the Victoria Tower. When Parliament is in session a light is shown in the Clock Tower by night and a flag flies from the Victoria Tower by day.

The church formerly attached to the Benedictine abbey of St. Peter in Westminster was built in the thirteenth century upon the site of an earlier church raised by Edward the Con-

¹ See the illustration. page 386.

fessor. Since the Norman Conquest all but one of the English sovereigns have been crowned here, and until the time of George III it served as their last resting place. **Westminster Abbey** The abbey is now England's Hall of Fame, where many of her distinguished statesmen, warriors, poets, artists, and scientists are buried. Monuments, tombs, busts, and memorials crowd every part of a building that epitomizes English history.



WESTMINSTER ABBEY

Studies

1. Name and locate twelve of the leading cities of modern Europe and give reasons for their importance.
2. What is the "international mind"? The "international conscience"?
3. Look up in an encyclopedia accounts of (a) Volapük and Esperanto; (b) the kindergarten movement; and (c) the Rhodes Scholarships.
4. Present some of the arguments commonly advanced for and against woman suffrage.
5. Show that religious toleration and an established church may exist side by side.
6. What is meant by "a free Church in a free State"?
7. What is the work of the Rockefeller Foundation? Of the Carnegie Institution?
8. How many of the great European universities can you enumerate?
9. Explain the "germ theory" of disease.
10. How are the X-rays and radium used in surgery and medicine?
11. Distinguish between antiseptics and asepsis.
12. Why has Darwin been often called "the Newton of biology"?
13. Mention some of the most famous novels by Scott, Dickens and Thackeray.
14. Have you read any novels by Victor Hugo, Tolstoy, or Sienkiewicz?
15. Name six great lyric poets of Great Britain during the nineteenth century. Can you name any of France, Germany, and Italy?
16. Mention some of the great composers of the nineteenth century.
17. On the maps (pages 694 and 701) locate the principal monuments and public buildings of Paris and London.

CHAPTER XXVI

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, 1871-1914¹

244. National Rivalries and Antipathies

MODERN civilization, which on the one side creates an international current drawing the world's peoples together in art, literature, science, and industry, on the other side creates a national current tending to keep them apart. Internationalism or cosmopolitanism lays stress on our common humanity, on the brotherhood of man. Nationalism or patriotism emphasizes love of country and devotion to the "fatherland." National rivalries and antipathies were never stronger than in the nineteenth century, and in the twentieth century they brought forth the calamitous World War.

The national movement in Europe, we have learned, arose during the revolutionary and Napoleonic era, helped to produce the popular revolts between 1815 and 1830, and assumed special importance between 1848 and 1871, when both Italy and Germany won by the sword their long-desired unification. The creation of a united Italy, and especially of a united Germany, quite upset the delicate equilibrium of European politics as established at the Congress of Vienna. The old balance of power disappeared, for the German Empire from the hour of its birth took the first place on the Continent.

Bismarck's former policy of "blood and iron" had brought on the wars with Denmark, Austria, and France. Now that Germany was "satiated," as he declared, he became a man of peace. His policy, henceforth, hinged upon France. The catastrophe of 1870-1871 seemed to

¹ Webster, *Historical Source Book*, No. 28, "Peace Circular of Nicholas II, 1898"; No. 29, "Final Act of the First Hague Peace Conference, 1899."

remove that country from the ranks of the great powers, but she recovered rapidly under a republican government and soon paid off the indemnity imposed upon her by the Treaty of Frankfort. For Bismarck a France which would not be reconciled to the loss of Alsace-Lorraine was a potential enemy. The French in 1870-1871 had fought alone; should they secure the support of Austria-Hungary, Italy, or Russia, the issue of a second Franco-German War might be quite unlike that of the first. Accordingly, Bismarck did all he could to keep France friendless among the nations.

The "Iron Chancellor" turned first to Austria-Hungary. He had prepared the way for good relations by his moderation in arranging terms of peace with Francis Joseph I at the close of the "Seven Weeks' War." After 1871 the Hapsburgs began to seek compensation in the Balkans for the territory they had lost in Germany and Italy. Bismarck supported their pretensions at the Congress of Berlin in 1878. Here the "honest broker," as he called himself, successfully opposed the extension of Russian influence in the Balkan peninsula and agreed to an Austrian occupation of the Turkish provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina.¹ A year later Germany and Austria-Hungary made a secret alliance binding themselves to aid each other if either should be attacked by Russia or by another power which had the help of Russia.

Austro-
German
relations

Bismarck scored a further triumph in 1882, when he induced Italy to throw in her lot with Germany and Austria-Hungary, thus forming the Triple Alliance. Italy joined the Central Powers, chiefly because of resentment against France, which had just established a protectorate over Tunis.² This Turkish province, the region of ancient Carthage, contained a large Italian population, and Italy had hoped herself to snatch it from the Sultan's feeble hands. The Triple Alliance continued unbroken until after the opening of the World War.

The Triple
Alliance,
1882

Bismarck also did his best to convince Russia of Germany's

¹ See page 599.

² See page 606.

good will. During the 'eighties the two countries actually bound themselves to benevolent neutrality in case one or the other should be assailed. This "reinsurance compact" was secretly signed in 1884 and was renewed in 1887 for another period of three years.

The diplomacy of Bismarck, so successful in isolating France, did not satisfy his royal master, William II,¹ who mounted the throne in 1888 when not quite twenty-nine years of age. Friction between them led to Bismarck's forced retirement in 1890. The date marks a significant change in the international situation. Unlike Bismarck, William II



"DROPPING THE PILOT"

A cartoon by Sir John Tenniel which appeared in the English journal *Punch* for March 9, 1890.

believed that the Triple Alliance sufficiently guaranteed the security of Germany. He made no effort, therefore, to renew the "reinsurance compact" with the tsar, Alexander III. Russia and France now came together in the Dual Alliance, which was concluded in 1891 and announced publicly four years later. Both countries wanted it, not only because of their fear of Germany, but also on account of their antagonism to Great Britain.

Ever since the Crimean War Great Britain had kept aloof from Continental entanglements. She was no friend either of Russia or France, for the colonial aspirations of these powers, the one in

Asia and the other in Africa, clashed with her own. The British attitude toward Germany and the other two members of the Triple Alliance, on the contrary, was most amicable throughout the period of Bismarck's chancellorship. To avoid

¹ Son of Frederick III, who died in 1888 after a reign of ninety-nine days.

giving offence to Great Britain Bismarck scrupulously observed Belgian neutrality during the war of 1870-1871, and for the same reason he long opposed the acquisition of colonies by Germany. After Bismarck's retirement the two countries began to draw apart, especially when the kaiser declared that the future of Germany lay upon the sea and that she must have a great navy as well as a great army. The sympathetic attitude of the emperor and his associates toward the Boers during the South African War also disturbed the serenity of Anglo-German relations.

The early years of the twentieth century saw Great Britain emerge from her "splendid isolation" and seek new friendships on the Continent. The first step was reconciliation with France. The two nations found it possible to adjust their conflicting claims to African territory and to arrive at a "cordial understanding," or *entente cordiale*. This was not a formal alliance, but it paved the way for joint action in the future.

The
entente
cordiale,
1904

Three years later Great Britain and Russia, who for half a century had jealously watched each other's expansion in Asia, settled their differences.¹ The *entente cordiale* thus became transformed into a Triple Entente, for Russia was already an ally of France. Japan, a British ally since 1902,² also reached an agreement with Russia respecting their spheres of influence in the Far East.

The Triple
Entente,
1907

Such, in outline, was the tangled skein of European diplomacy for nearly forty years following the Franco-German War. The Triple Alliance under Bismarck's guidance had dominated Europe without a competitor, until the creation of the Dual Alliance. Something like a balance of power then replaced the earlier primacy of Germany. The old coalition, however, continued to be far stronger than the new, until Great Britain aligned herself with France and Russia. Germany, resentful at what she described as the "encirclement policy" of her enemies, at the "iron ring" which she professed to see being forged around her, now bent every effort to break

Balance of
power

¹ See page 613.

² See page 621.

up the Triple Entente by diplomatic action and by military threats. At the same time she tried to create a "Middle Europe" which, with its annexes in Asia, would effectually separate Great Britain and France from their Russian ally. These German projects raised new colonial problems and reopened the Eastern Question.

245. Colonial Problems and the Eastern Question

Something has been said in a previous chapter about the Greater Europe which arose during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. European expansion went on most rapidly after 1871, when one country after another endeavored to form an empire overseas. This new imperialism was especially fostered by the revival of national sentiment in Europe. Both Italy and Germany, having become powerful nations, wished to obtain colonial dependencies where their people could settle and maintain the language, customs, and traditions of the home land. France sought compensation for her "lost provinces" by acquiring African possessions. Russia, Japan, the United States, Spain, even little Portugal and Belgium, annexed additional territories. Great Britain, the leading colonial power in the world for more than a century, took renewed pride in her far-flung dominions and prepared to extend them as occasion offered. European peoples could not compete for markets, trading-posts, "spheres of influence," "protectorates," and colonies in every part of the world without becoming as bitter rivals abroad as they were at home. Imperialism, as well as nationalism, thus sowed the seeds of future conflict between them.

A late-comer in the family of nations, Germany found that the best regions for colonization in the temperate zone already belonged to other powers. The colonies which she acquired in Africa and Oceania did not attract settlers, provided no important markets, and imposed a heavy burden on the imperial treasury for maintenance. If Germany was to secure "a place in the sun,"¹ it

¹ The kaiser's phrase (1901).

could only be at the expense of other countries and by reliance upon "the good German sword."¹ William II made preparations for the partition of China, but the uprising of the Chinese under the "Boxers" led to the abandonment of this enterprise. He tried to get a foothold in South America by sending his fleet to demand from Venezuela the payment of German debts, only to be pulled up sharply by President Roosevelt, who invoked the Monroe Doctrine. Not more successful was the kaiser's policy in Morocco.

- Morocco at the beginning of the twentieth century was a Moslem state inhabited by half-civilized and very unruly tribes. The rich natural resources of the country and its proximity to Algeria made it an inviting field for French expansion. Germany also had some economic interests there. William II precipitated the first Moroccan crisis, at a time when Russia, the ally of France, was involved in war with Japan. He paid a visit to the native ruler, openly flouted the French claims, and asserted in vigorous language the independence of Morocco. France could not afford to accept the challenge thus flung in her face and agreed to submit the Moroccan question to an international conference, which met at Algeciras, Spain, in 1906. The assembled powers prohibited the annexation of Morocco, but left France free to continue her policy of "peaceful penetration." The outcome of the conference thus proved disappointing to the kaiser.

First
Moroccan
crisis,
1905-1906

Germany soon found another occasion to test the strength of the Anglo-French *entente*. Owing to the anarchy in Morocco, a French army had occupied the capital (Fez). The kaiser at once dispatched a warship to Agadir on the Moroccan coast as a notice to France to withdraw her troops. Feeling mounted high in both countries, and Europe for the moment seemed to be on the verge of the long-dreaded war. Great Britain, however, made common cause with France, for Agadir in German hands and converted into a naval base would have formed a palpable threat to

Second
Moroccan
crisis, 1911

¹ The crown prince's phrase (1913).

British trade routes in the Atlantic. Germany now decided to yield. She agreed to the establishment of a French protectorate over Morocco, accepting as compensation some territory in the French Congo. This "Agadir incident" further embittered international relations. The French regarded their Congo cession as so much blackmail levied by Germany; the Germans looked upon Great Britain's support of France as an unwarranted interference which had inflicted upon them a diplomatic defeat.

Bismarck had treated the whole Eastern Question with contempt, declaring it "not worth the bones of a single Pomeranian grenadier." Under William II, however, Germany and Turkey managed to supplant Great Britain as the protector of the Ottoman Empire against Russia. The kaiser twice visited the sultan,¹ a bloodthirsty despot whose massacres of Bulgarians and Armenians had aroused the horror of Christian Europe, and ostentatiously proclaimed himself the champion of all Moslems, the ally of Allah.

Germany now began the "peaceful penetration" of Asiatic Turkey. The fertile regions of Asia Minor and Mesopotamia, sparsely settled and undeveloped, offered many opportunities for the investment of German capital, markets for German goods, and homes for the superfluous population of Germany. Economic exploitation was to be followed by military and political control of the Ottoman Empire, with Germany in command of the Turkish armies and supreme throughout the wide area from the Black Sea to the Indian Ocean. All these dazzling possibilities were foreshadowed in the scheme for a railway intended to unite Constantinople with Bagdad and the head of the Persian Gulf. Nearly all the line as far as Bagdad had been completed by the opening of the World War. German capitalists also began to construct a branch line running from Aleppo in Syria to Medina and Mecca in Arabia. It is obvious that the Bagdad Railway, with its connections, menaced the position of Great Britain in India and British control of Egypt and the Suez Canal.

¹ Abdul Hamid II ("Abdul the Damned"), 1876-1909.



THE BERLIN TO BAGDAD RAILWAY

The practical annexation of Asiatic Turkey formed only a part of the kaiser's ambitious policy. European Turkey, the Balkan states, and Austria-Hungary were to unite "Middle Europe" with Germany into a huge combination for purposes of offense and defense. "Middle Europe" might ultimately draw within its embrace Holland, the Scandinavian states, and a projected Polish kingdom to include almost the entire manufacturing area of Russia. German commerce would exploit and German militarism would dominate every one of these countries.

The success of the "Middle Europe" project depended upon the attitude of the independent Christian states of the Balkans. It was essential that they should be amenable to German, or at least to Austro-Hungarian, influence and that the influence of Russia should be entirely eliminated from their councils. Dynastic relationships seemed to make this possible. Prince Ferdinand of Bulgaria was a German; King Charles of Rumania was the kaiser's kinsman; and the wife of the future King Constantine of Greece was the kaiser's sister. Even Serbia had a pro-Austrian ruler until 1903, when a revolution at Belgrade brought to the throne King Peter, who leaned toward Russia. The Balkan policy of the Central Powers consequently received a setback, for Serbia lay on the line of the railway from Berlin to Constantinople.

Events now moved rapidly in the Balkans. Taking advantage of the Young Turk Revolution,¹ Austria-Hungary in 1908 proceeded to annex Bosnia and Herzegovina. These two provinces had been freed from the direct control of the Turks by Serbia and Russia, but the Congress of Berlin had handed them over to Austria-Hungary to occupy and administer. Their annexation, violating the Berlin settlement, raised a storm of protest in Serbia. The people of Bosnia and Herzegovina are Slavs, and Serbia expected some day to incorporate them and the Montenegrins in a south Slavic state to stretch from the Danube to the Adriatic. Russia also seethed with indignation at what she considered an affront to the Slavic race by a Teutonic power. Russian troops now began to move toward the Austrian border. At this moment Germany ranged herself by the side of Austria-Hungary "in shining armor," as the kaiser afterwards expressed it, and dared Russia to attack her ally. Both France and Great Britain refused to join Russia in a general European war, and that country, not yet recovered from the struggle with Japan, thereupon gave way, withdrew her support from Serbia, and looked on in deep humiliation while the

Germany
and the
Balkan
states

First
Balkan
crisis,
1908

¹ See page 599.

Central Powers proceeded to reap the fruits of their diplomatic triumph.

The Balkan wars of 1912-1913 produced another international crisis. The Treaty of Bucharest¹ could not but be extremely distasteful to the Central Powers. It left Germany's vassal, Turkey, with only a footing in Europe; it humiliated Bulgaria, the friend of Austria-Hungary; and it planted a hostile Serbia squarely in Macedonia, where she blocked the "Middle Europe" scheme. Even before the treaty had been signed, Austria-Hungary made ready to attack Serbia, but held her hand when Italy refused to coöperate, on the ground that the terms of the Triple Alliance required its members to aid each other only in the case of a defensive war. Germany also seems to have dissuaded Austria-Hungary from undertaking her perilous adventure in 1913. The hour had not yet struck to precipitate a European conflict. Meanwhile, the Central Powers feverishly hastened military preparations, and the other countries, seeing the war clouds on the horizon, likewise took steps to increase their arms and armies.

Second
Balkan
crisis,
1912-1913

246. Militarism

Between 1871 and 1914 there were wars in the Balkans, in Asia, and in Africa. The nations of western Europe, however, did not draw the sword against one another for "Armed peace" more than forty years. Yet at no other period had there been such enormous expenditures for armaments, such huge standing armies, and such colossal navies. Western Europe enjoyed peace, but it was an "armed peace" based upon fear.

The improvements in weapons after 1871 made warfare a branch of applied science requiring expert technical knowledge both on the battle-field and in the munition factory. One needs only refer to the breech-loading rifle, machine gun, and smokeless powder, together with the continuous enlargement of cannon and the use of long-

New means
of des-
truction

¹ See page 601.

range, high-explosive projectiles. In deadly efficiency these new means of destruction exceeded all previous inventions.

The changed methods of fighting demanded the "nation in arms," rather than the old-fashioned armies. During the revolutionary era France had resorted to forced levies, allowing many exemptions. During the Napoleonic era Prussia adopted universal military service. All able-bodied



"THE BLESSINGS OF PEACE"

"Hans and Jacques (together): 'And I hear there's more to come!'"

A cartoon that appeared in *Punch*, February 26, 1913.

men were to receive several years' training in the army and then pass into the reserve, whence they could be called when needed. This Prussian system, having proved its worth in the

War of Liberation against Napoleon,¹ was extended by William I soon after his accession to the throne.² The speedy triumphs of Prussia in 1866 and 1870 led all the principal nations, except Great Britain, to adopt universal military service. Europe thus became an "armed camp," with five million men constantly under arms.

Great Britain found sufficient protection in her fleet, which it had long been the British policy to maintain at a strength at least equal to that of any two other powers. Her Navies widespread empire depends upon control of the seas, and being no longer self-supporting, she would face starvation in time of war were she blockaded by an enemy. Germany, however, would not acquiesce in British maritime supremacy, and under the inspiration of the kaiser, who declared that the "trident must be in our hands," started in 1898 to build a mighty navy. Helgoland,³ off the mouth of the Elbe, was converted into a naval base, a second Gibraltar. The Kiel Canal, originally completed in 1896, was enlarged in 1914 to allow the passage of the largest warships between the Baltic and the North Sea. Great Britain watched these preparations with unconcealed dismay. Her answer was the complete reorganization of the British fleet, the scrapping of nearly two hundred vessels as obsolete, and the laying-down of dreadnoughts and super-dreadnoughts. The naval rivalry threatened to become so enormously expensive that British statesmen twice proposed a "naval holiday," that is, an agreement to keep down the rate of increase. But Germany refused to enter into an arrangement which would have left Great Britain still mistress of the seas.

The crushing burden of standing armies and navies produced a popular agitation in many countries to abolish warfare. The movement against militarism took practical shape Peace conferences in 1899, when twenty-six sovereign states, upon invitation of the tsar, Nicholas II, met at The Hague, Holland, in the First Peace Conference. A Second Peace Conference of

¹ See page 536.

² See page 569.

³ Acquired by Great Britain in 1815 (see page 546) and ceded to Germany in 1890.

forty-four sovereign states assembled in 1907. Attempts were made at these gatherings to mitigate the horrors of future wars, but every proposal to reduce armaments encountered the strenuous opposition of Germany. The German government would not abandon those deep-laid schemes for conquest, first in Europe and ultimately throughout the world, which are summed up in one word — Pan-Germanism.

247. Pan-Germanism

The material development of Germany between 1871 and 1914 was perhaps unparalleled in European history. Her population increased from forty-one to sixty-five millions; **Kultur and nationalism** her foreign trade more than trebled; and she became an industrial state second in Europe only to Great Britain. Proud of their army, navy, and police, of their handsome, well-ordered cities, of their technical schools and universities, of their science, literature, music, and art, the Germans came to believe that they enjoyed a higher culture (*Kultur*) than any other people. They were "the salt of the earth," so their kaiser told them. The Russians, by comparison, were barbarians; the French and Italians, decadent; and the British and Americans, mere money-grabbers. Such ideas found a fertile soil in the exaggerated nationalism which had been fostered by the creation of the German Empire.

The ardent belief in the superiority of German *Kultur* seemed to impose the duty of extending it to alien and therefore inferior peoples. This was Germany's divine mission, according to her philosophers, historians, clergymen, and government officials. Even the kaiser could say in all seriousness that "God has called us to civilize the world; we are the missionaries of human progress."

Before the world could be remade upon the German model, it had to be first conquered. Both backward and "decadent" **Kultur and militarism** nations possessed their own standards of civilization, which they would not willingly abandon even for Germany's so-called beneficent *Kultur*. World-power, in fact, meant war. Accordingly, the leaders of German

society labored in press and school and pulpit to prove that war is a holy and righteous thing; that it corresponds in the life of nations to the "struggle for existence"¹ in animal life; and that by war the weaker, incompetent states are weeded out and room is made for those stronger, more efficient states which alone deserve to inherit the earth. At the same time the people were led to consider war inevitable because of the hostile attitude of Russia, the "Slavic peril"; because France wanted revenge for her "Lost Provinces"; and because Great Britain only waited a favorable opportunity to take the German navy and stifle German commerce. It was taught that Germany ought not to delay until her enemies were ready for a combined attack; she should attack first and reap the advantage of her military preparedness. This idea of an offensive-defensive war particularly appealed to a people who owed their national greatness to successful conflicts deliberately incurred by unscrupulous rulers.

The autocratic nature of the German government, vesting the control of foreign affairs so largely with the em-

The kaiser

peror,² made the kaiser's personality a very important factor in the international situation. In this last of the Hohenzollerns culminated all their absolutism, their contempt of popular government, their demand for implicit obedience, their glorification of conquest, and their essential cruelty.

The kaiser inherited the warlike traditions of the Great Elector, Frederick the Great, and William I, and even the shadowy claims to world-dominion put forth during the Middle Ages by the Holy Roman Emperors. One of his first utterances after mounting the throne had an ominous sound: "I solemnly vow always to be mindful of the fact that the eyes of



NICHOLAS II

¹ See page 687.

² See page 586.

my ancestors are looking down upon me from the other world, and that one day I shall have to render to them an account both of the glory and the honor of the army."

During the earlier years of his reign the kaiser seemed to find sufficient outlet for his restless energy in the development of

**The Pan-
German
League**

Germany. The task lost its novelty and interest after a time, and he turned his uneasy gaze outside the empire to the aggrandizement of Germany abroad. More and more he came to be in sympathy with the aggressive policies advocated by the German militaristic class. It included the army and navy officers, both active and retired; the large landowners (*Junkers*); the merchant princes, bankers, and manufacturers; the university professors, diplomats, and higher government officials — all, in short, who expected to profit from a greater and enormously more wealthy Germany. These men organized in 1890 the Pan-German League, which soon became the most powerful political organization in the empire.

The Pan-Germanists thought that they could conquer Europe, nation by nation. They expected to overwhelm France by a

**The Pan-
German
plot**

sudden blow, capture Paris, seize the former Franche Comté and what remained of French Lorraine,¹ together with the Channel ports, take the French colonies, and levy an indemnity large enough to pay the expenses of the war. Then they intended to turn against Russia and annex her Polish and Baltic provinces. Their Austrian ally, meanwhile, would overrun Serbia and open the German "corridor" to the Orient. Once mistress of the Continent, Germany might look forward confidently to the issue of a future struggle with Great Britain and the British Empire for the dominion of the world.

Every preparation was made, every precaution was taken, to ensure a prompt, decisive victory. By the summer of 1914 a special war tax, to be expended on fortifications and equipment, had been collected. The army had been much increased. Enormous stocks of munitions had been accumulated.

¹ Once part of the Holy Roman Empire. See page 403.

The Kiel Canal had been reconstructed. Strategic railways leading to the Belgian, French, and Russian frontiers had been laid down. All things were ready for "The Day."

Studies

1. Explain the following: (a) *entente cordiale*; (b) the "Lost Provinces"; (c) "Middle Europe"; (d) "Agadir incident"; and (e) "reinsurance compact."
2. "The Franco-German War of 1870-1871 was the starting point of a new era in European diplomacy." Comment on this statement.
3. How was Alsace-Lorraine the "open sore" of European politics after 1871?
4. "The history of Europe in recent years often has hinged upon such remote points as a railroad in Asia Minor, or a protectorate in northern Africa, or a harbor in China." Comment on this statement.
5. How would you define (a) militarism and (b) imperialism, as these terms have been used in the present chapter?
6. What are some of the arguments for and against compulsory military service?
7. "England's navy is a necessity; Germany's a luxury." Explain this statement.
8. Why has war been called the "national industry" of Prussia?
9. Point out on the map the European countries included in the Pan-German program.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE WORLD WAR, 1914-1918¹

248. Beginning of the War, 1914

"THE Day" soon dawned. On June 28, 1914, the archduke Francis Ferdinand, heir to the Hapsburg throne, and his wife

were assassinated at Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia.

The Sarajevo assassination The two murderers, who were Bosnians and therefore Austrian subjects, belonged to a Serbian secret society which aimed to separate Bosnia and Herzegovina from the Dual Monarchy and add them to Serbia. The Austrian government, after conducting an investigation, alleged that they had been aided by Serbian officials, with the connivance of the government of Serbia. This accusation has never been proved. No doubt exists, however, that the Sarajevo assassination was a political crime, the natural outcome of the propaganda among the South Slavs (Jugoslavs) for the expulsion of Austria from the Balkans as she had been expelled from Italy and Germany.

Nearly a month passed. Then on July 23 Austria-Hungary sent a note to Serbia, harsh, peremptory, and, except in name,

Ultimatum to Serbia an ultimatum. It demanded that Serbia suppress anti-Austrian publications and organizations, dismiss from the army or the civil service all those implicated in the anti-Austrian propaganda, eliminate anti-Austrian teachers and textbooks from the public schools, and consent to "the collaboration in Serbia of representatives of the Austro-Hungarian government for the suppression of the subversive move-

¹ Webster, *Readings in Medieval and Modern History*, chapter xxxv, "Diplomacy of the Great War." Webster, *Historical Source Book*, No. 31, "Wilson's Fourteen Points, 1918"; No. 32, "Declaration of Independence of the Czecho-Slovak Nation, 1918."

ment directed against the territorial integrity of the monarchy." Forty-eight hours only were granted for the unconditional acceptance or rejection of the ultimatum.

Serbia replied on July 25. She agreed to all the Austrian demands except those which required the presence on Serbian soil of representatives of the Dual Monarchy. ^{Serbia's} Such an arrangement, Serbia pointed out, would ^{reply} violate her rights as a sovereign state — would make her, in fact, an Austrian vassal. She concluded by offering to submit the entire dispute to arbitration by the international tribunal at The Hague or to the mediation of the great powers. Austria-Hungary rejected the Serbian reply as unsatisfactory and on July 28 declared war upon her little neighbor.

Russia, the protector of the Slavs of the Balkans, could not look on without concern while a great Teutonic power destroyed the independence of a Slav state. But if Russia intervened to aid Serbia, by making war on Austria-^{Ineffective} Hungary, then Germany, as the latter's ally, would ^{peace} surely attack Russia; and France, bound to Russia in firm alliance, would be obliged to attack Germany. ^{proposals} Efforts to preserve the peace of Europe began at once. The Triple Entente first asked Austria-Hungary to extend the time limit for the answer from Serbia. Austria-Hungary declined to do so. Great Britain and France then urged Serbia to make her answer to the ultimatum as conciliatory as possible. After the Serbian reply had been delivered, Great Britain, through Sir Edward Grey, Minister for Foreign Affairs, suggested that the four great powers not directly involved should hold a conference in London to adjust the Austro-Serbian difficulty. France, Italy, and Russia accepted the suggestion. Germany rejected it, saying that she could have nothing to do with bringing her ally before a European tribunal. Finally, Great Britain invited Germany herself to propose some method of mediation, but the German government declared that the whole dispute concerned only Austria-Hungary and Serbia and that Russia should not interfere in it. If Russia did interfere, Germany would back her ally.

We know now why these and other peace proposals during that last fateful week of July, 1914, were ineffective. Austria-Hungary and Germany had already decided upon aggressive action against Serbia. Their reason was the situation in the Balkans. The First and Second Balkan Wars had brought an enormous accession of strength to Serbia and Montenegro, whose people now looked forward with increasing assurance to the liberation of their brothers in the Yugoslav provinces of the Austrian Empire. This situation, threatening the integrity of the Empire, threw the Viennese diplomats into a state of panic so great that they actually drafted and presented a memorandum to Berlin, on the necessity of crushing Serbia, *before* the assassination of the archduke. The assassination only supplied a convenient pretext for the punitive measures which had already been decided upon by Austria. The German government sanctioned these measures in advance, without, apparently, being aware of their exact nature. The kaiser and his advisers thus gave Austria a "blank check" to be filled in as Austria pleased.

How it was filled in we also know now. The present republican government of Austria published in the latter part of 1919 an official volume¹ of documents found in the archives of the former imperial government, from which it appears that a ministerial meeting held in Vienna, July 7, 1914, took the momentous decision to force war on Serbia. This was to be done by sending a note with such impossible demands that the Serbian government would be compelled to reject them. An Austro-Hungarian declaration of war would then follow in due course. The Foreign Minister, Count Berchtold, who presided at the meeting and afterward signed the note to Serbia, declared to the ministers that the kaiser had "emphatically" assured him of the "unconditional support of Germany in case of a warlike complication with Serbia." Germany was thus prepared to support Austria-Hungary to the uttermost.

¹ *Diplomatic Documents on the Antecedents of the War of 1914*, Part I, Vienna, 1919. State Printing Office.

Russia had yielded to the Central Powers in the Balkan crises of 1908 and 1912-1913. Would she yield once more in 1914? The Central Powers apparently believed that she would do so, when confronted with the grim prospect of war. The tsar's government, however, disappointed their calculations of an easy diplomatic victory. As soon as news came that the Austrians were attacking Serbia, Russia started a partial mobilization of her armies along the Austrian frontier. This was soon extended into a general mobilization upon the entire western border of the Russian Empire. Russia thus served notice on the Central Powers that she would fight rather than look on supinely while they deprived Serbia of independence. War, if it broke out, was not to be "localized" in the Balkans.

Russian mobilization provided the leaders of the German war party with the pretext that was essential to them. They must not allow Russia to gain while peace continued an advantage that might prove disastrous to Germany after hostilities began. If Germany were to take up arms, she must reap the full advantage of her military preparedness; she could not afford to wait until her slower-moving antagonist had brought gigantic forces into the field. The kaiser's government, accordingly, sent an ultimatum to Russia ordering that country to start demobilization within twelve hours or accept the consequences (July 31). Russia did not reply to this peremptory demand. The kaiser, exercising his right to make "defensive warfare," immediately signed the document declaring that a state of hostilities existed between Germany and Russia (August 1).

Asked by Germany what was to be her attitude in the coming struggle, France replied that she "would do that which her interests dictated," and began to mobilize. Germany then declared war on France (August 3). It is now known¹ that had France decided to remain neutral, repudiating her treaty with Russia, the Ger-

¹ Revelations of M. Pinchon, Minister for Foreign Affairs, at the Sorbonne, Paris, March 1, 1918.

man government intended to demand the surrender of the fortresses of Toul and Verdun as a pledge of French neutrality until the close of the war. Germany was so anxious to embroil France in the conflict that she made demands which that country could not and was not expected to accept.

Germany also tried to learn the attitude of Great Britain. The German Chancellor, Bethmann-Hollweg, promised that if Great Britain would stand aloof, Germany would agree not to take any European territory from France, but he refused to give assurances as to the French colonies. Sir Edward Grey retorted that Great Britain could never conclude such a disgraceful bargain with Germany at the expense of France. The British Foreign Minister, how-

Attitude
of Great
Britain

ever, made it clear that Great Britain would not be drawn into a Franco-German War unless France and Russia rejected "any reasonable proposal" for peace put forward by the Central Powers. After the German declaration of war on Russia and the German invasion of neutral Luxemburg,¹ Great Britain promised France the help of the British fleet in case the German fleet operated against the unprotected western coast of France. The British government felt that it could not do less, for, in accordance with the Anglo-



WILLIAM II

French *entente*, France since 1912 had concentrated her fleet in the Mediterranean so that the British fleet might be concentrated in the North Sea against the possibly hostile German navy.

¹ Luxemburg originally formed part of the Holy Roman Empire. The Congress of Vienna made it a grand-duchy under the king of the Netherlands. In 1890 it became independent. The perpetual neutrality of Luxemburg was guaranteed by the European powers, including Prussia, in 1867.

The neutrality of Belgium was guaranteed by the European powers, including France and Prussia, both in 1831 and 1839;¹ furthermore, the Second Peace Conference in 1907, with Germany consenting, expressly declared the territory of neutral states to be inviolable. The French government on August 1 announced its intention to respect Belgian neutrality. The next day, however, Germany addressed a note to Belgium demanding permission to move troops across the country into France and threatening, in case of a refusal, to leave Belgium's fate to the "decision of arms." The Belgian government, under King Albert, declined to "sacrifice the honor of the nation and betray its duty toward Europe." On August 4 the German army invaded Belgium. Bethmann-Hollweg frankly admitted before the Reichstag, the same day, that the invasion was "a breach of international law," — "necessity knows no law," said Bethmann-Hollweg — and the kaiser, in a cable message to President Wilson,² acknowledged that Belgian neutrality "had to be violated by Germany on strategical grounds."

An invasion of Belgium was, in fact, vital to the success of the German plan of campaign, which involved a swift, crushing blow at the French before Russian mobilization could be completed. No rapid movement against France was possible from the east, first, because the high bluffs and narrow river valleys in this part of the country made defense easy; and, second, because the eastern frontier had been protected, since the Franco-German War, by fortresses all the way from Verdun to Belfort. An attack from the northeast presented fewer difficulties, for a comparatively level plain, well provided with roads and railways, stretches from Germany through Belgium and France to the environs of Paris. Furthermore, France had not strongly fortified her frontier on the side of Belgium, having trusted to the neutrality of that country for protection.

The neutrality of Belgium has been a cardinal point in British foreign policy since the Middle Ages. It seems essential

¹ See page 553.

² Sent August 10, 1914.

to Great Britain that the Belgian coast shall not be occupied by a strong military power, thus menacing British control of the Channel. Over this question she fought with Philip II of Spain in the sixteenth century and later with Louis XIV and Napoleon. Great Britain, moreover, had her explicit treaty obligations to Belgium, obligations which no honorable nation could fail to respect. When, therefore, news came that German troops were entering Belgium, the British government, at this time controlled by the Liberals under Mr. Asquith, sent an ultimatum to Germany, requiring assurances by midnight, August 4, that Belgian neutrality would be respected. Germany refused, and Bethmann-Hollweg, in his final interview with the British ambassador at Berlin, complained that Great Britain was about



HERBERT H. ASQUITH

to fight a kindred nation just for "a scrap of paper." About midnight Great Britain declared war on Germany.

The primary responsibility for kindling the great conflagration must be shouldered by the former governments of Austria-Hungary and Germany. The one government, by its ultimatum to Serbia, precipitated a grave international crisis. The other government, by its unconditional

support of its ally, nullified every effort to avert a conflict put forth by Great Britain, France, and Italy, and even by Russia. After 1871 the opposing interests of the European powers had again and again threatened to result in war. Peace, nevertheless, remained unbroken, because there was a mutual desire to keep it. In 1914 two of the powers refused to tread further the path of peace. They flung a flaming torch into the powder magazine of Europe.

249. The Western Front

The war quickly converted the Triple Entente into a Triple Alliance. Great Britain, France, and Russia engaged not to make peace separately and to accept a general **The Allies**, peace only on terms agreeable to all of them. The **1914** instinct of self-preservation, which had united Europe against France under Louis XIV and Napoleon, was now aroused against the military domination of Germany under the kaiser. As on previous occasions, Great Britain, with her fleet, her money, and eventually her army, formed the keystone of the coalition.

Germany and Austria-Hungary, though less populous and wealthy than their antagonists, held a better geographical position, and at the outset they possessed a su- **The Central Powers, 1914** periority both in the number of trained soldiers and in guns, munitions, and equipment. Above all, they were prepared. Austria-Hungary had already massed part of her army against Serbia, while Germany, by means of her strategic railroads, could move and concentrate troops on her eastern or western frontier with greater speed than either Russia or France. Should it prove to be a short war, the Central Powers seemed likely to win an overwhelming victory.

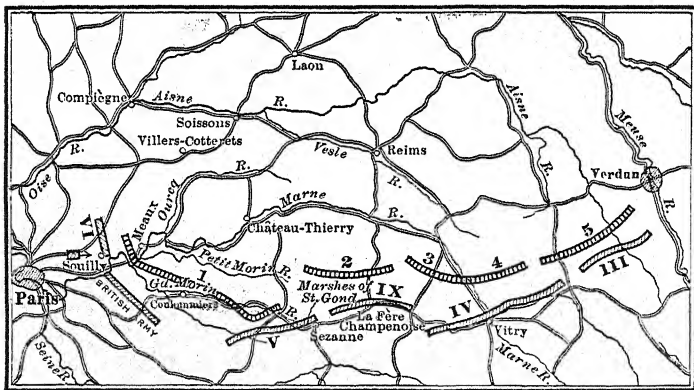
Hostilities began on the western front with the converging advance of the Germans through Luxemburg and Belgium. They occupied the tiny grand duchy without **The German advance** resistance and then threw themselves upon the Belgians. The fortresses of Liège and Namur, supposedly impregnable, were smashed to pieces by the huge German siege guns, and Brussels itself was captured. Nevertheless, the Belgian resistance — heroic, unexpected — delayed by at least twelve days the arrival of the Germans on the frontiers of France. The French gained time to complete mobilization and the British to send an expeditionary force of one hundred thousand men. After the first clash at Mons, the Anglo-French armies retired southward, fighting delaying actions all the way. The invaders soon crossed the Marne and at one point came within fifteen miles of Paris. The opposing forces were now

extended in an immense semi-circle, one hundred and fifty miles in length, from the vicinity of the French capital to below Verdun.

The retreat of the Allied armies stopped at the Marne. "The hour has come," said General Joffre in a stirring message to his soldiers, "to advance at all costs, and to die where you stand rather than give way." The battle of the Marne, lasting an entire week, was not a single conflict, but a whole series of conflicts, in which

Battle of the
Marne, Sep-
tember 6-12,
1914

2,500,000 men participated. On the extreme west of the line the French and British attacked the invaders near Paris; on the extreme east the French repulsed them from the fortresses between Verdun and Belfort. At the same time General Foch's magnificent assault drove in the German center on both sides of the marshes of St.-Gond. The weight of the combined movement hurled the enemy back in confusion, and with heavy



PLAN OF THE BATTLE OF THE MARNE

British army (Field-Marshal French).

VI. French army (Manoury).

V. " " (Franchet d'Esperey).

IX. " " (Foch).

IV. " " (Langle de Cary).

III. " " (Sarrail).

1. German army (Von Kluck).

2. " " (Von Bulow).

3. " " (Von Hausen).

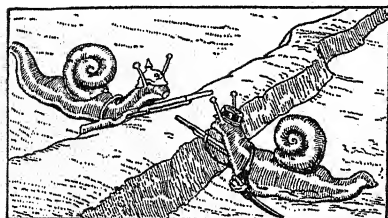
4. " " (Duke of Württemberg).

5. " " (Crown Prince of Prussia).

losses of men and material, across the Aisne River. The Germans had been out-generaled and out-fought; German plans for a speedy triumph had been upset; and Paris had been saved.

Both sides now bent every effort to extend their lines northward to the sea. The Germans hoped to seize Dunkirk and Calais, two important Channel ports, and thus to interrupt the direct line of communication between Great Britain and France; but the Allies reached the Channel first and further north at Nieuport. Then followed in October and November, 1914, the first battle of Ypres, when the Germans, by massed attacks, tried vainly to break through the British lines. Near the coast the Belgians cut the dikes of the river Yser, flooding the lowlands and stopping any further advance in this direction. Trench warfare now began to replace open fighting all along the western front from the North Sea to the Swiss frontier, a distance of six hundred miles.

Repeated efforts to break the deadlock on the western front marked the year 1915. Both French and British made some progress in clearing enemy trenches by means of concentrated shell-fire, but as yet the production of



"THE ADVANCE ON PARIS AND BERLIN"

high-explosive shells was insufficient for prolonged "blasting operations." The Germans, on their part, employed poison gas in the second battle of Ypres, during April and May. The situation was critical for a time, until the French and British manufactured gas masks to overcome the choking fumes. The Allies were eventually obliged themselves to use this hideous device against the enemy.

The first half of 1916 was marked by the German assault upon Verdun, the most important French stronghold on the eastern frontier. The siege of the city lasted nearly five months and cost the lives of at least half a million men on both

sides. The Germans, led by the crown prince, Frederick William, were determined to take the place at any cost. The French, commanded by General Pétain, were equally determined to keep it at any cost. "They shall not pass!" became the battle-cry of all France. They did not pass. More than that, in the fall of 1916 the French resumed the offensive and within seven hours drove the Germans back almost to their original lines. Ruined Verdun, like ruined Ypres, thus remained in Allied hands.

Siege of
Verdun,
February-
July, 1916

What more than anything else relieved the pressure on Verdun was the Anglo-French attack against the German lines along the river Somme. Great Britain by this time

Battle of the
Somme, July-
November,
1916

had adopted conscription and had built up a magnificent army commanded by Sir Douglas Haig. The Allies now possessed more heavy guns and munitions than the Germans, and in the "tanks" a weapon destined to prove its value in breaking the trench deadlock. The Allied advance took place on a front of twenty miles to a maximum depth of about nine miles. It was finally checked by German counter-attacks and by bad weather, which turned the battle-field into a sea of mud.

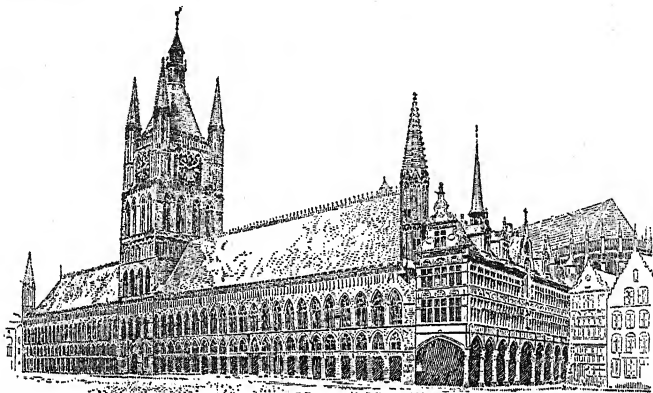
To forestall another attack, the Germans in the spring of 1917 retired on a wide front to the shorter and more defensible Hindenburg Line. The territory evacuated by them was laid completely waste, every building being destroyed, vineyards uprooted, and orchards

The
Hindenburg
Line



BRITISH RECRUITING POSTER

cut down. The Allies advanced over this wilderness and from April to December conducted a steady offensive, which brought them appreciable gains. The Hindenburg Line still held, however, when the approach of winter put an end to active operations.



GUILD HALL, YPRES

The Guild Hall of the Cloth Merchants (begun 1201, completed 1304) was the chief edifice of the sort in Belgium and one of the finest examples of secular Gothic architecture in Europe. The façade measured 460 feet and had two ranges of painted windows. At each end rose a turret and in the middle the massive belfry.

The military treatment of Belgium and northern France aroused the horror of the civilized world. Deliberate, systematic massacres of the civil population to prevent or punish resistance, the looting and burning of entire villages, the destruction of Louvain with its famous university, the shelling of the Guild Hall of Ypres and the cathedral of Reims, the imposition of excessive taxes and heavy fines on Belgian and French cities, the robbing of Belgium and northern France of coal, metals, machinery, and raw materials, finally, the forcible deportation of tens of thousands of civilians, both men and women, for forced labor in Germany — these were some of the atrocities and outrages which characterized military treatment of the conquered territory. The inhabitants would have perished had it not been for the efficient system of relief organized by an American, Mr. Herbert C. Hoover,

**Military
wartime
practices**

who enlisted the help of the Allies and of the United States in providing food, clothing, and other necessities of life for the invaded districts.

250. The Eastern Front

There was no deadlock on the eastern front. The Russians mobilized more rapidly than had been expected and put large forces in the field, under the general command of the

grand duke Nicholas, an uncle of the tsar. Their plan of campaign involved a simultaneous advance against the Germans in East Prussia and the Austrians in Galicia. The Russian armies which entered East Prussia, a difficult country of lakes, marshes, and rivers, were surprised and well-nigh annihilated by Hindenburg at the battle of Tannenberg (August,

1914). The following January, when the Russians again ventured into this part of Germany, Hindenburg won another overwhelming victory at the battle of the Mazurian Lakes.

The Russians met better luck in Galicia. They overran all this Austrian province and by the spring of 1915 began to penetrate the Carpathian passes into Hungary. These successes had the further result of causing the withdrawal of German troops from the western front, with a consequent weakening of Germany's offensive power against the French and British.

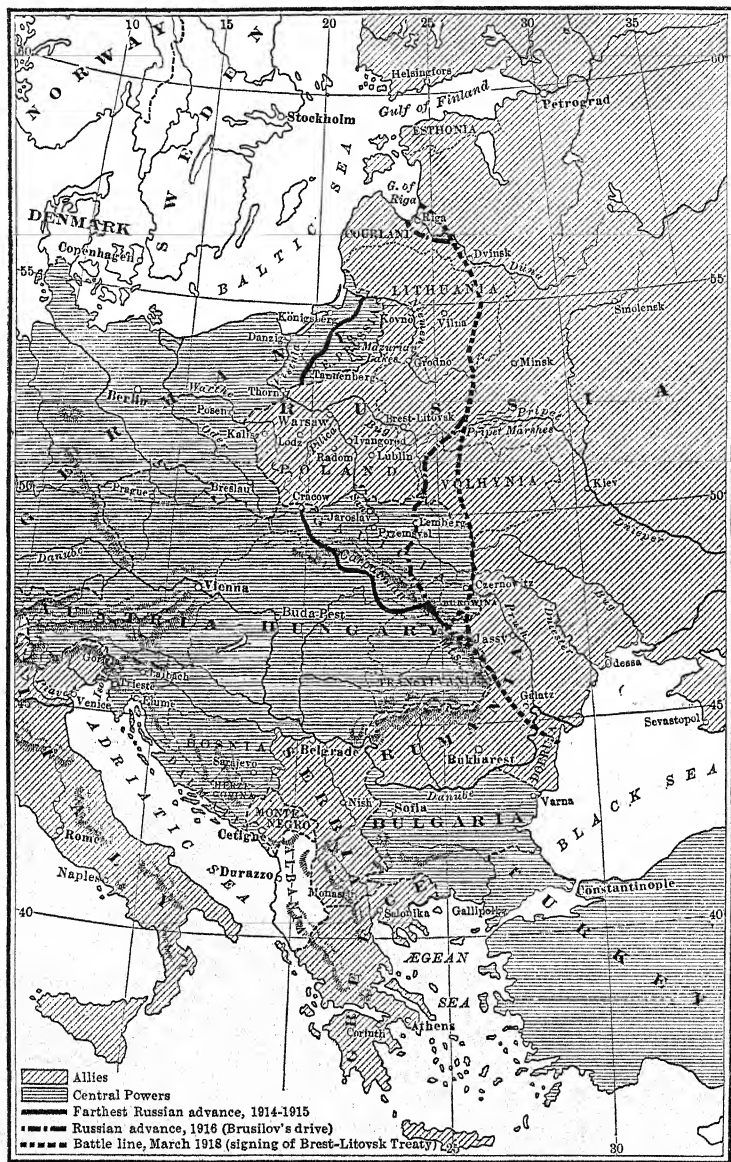
The summer of 1915 saw some of the most tremendous engagements of the entire war. Hindenburg now assumed com-



THE GRAND DUKE NICHOLAS

The Russians
in East
Prussia, 1914-
1915

The Russians
in Galicia,
1914-1915



THE EASTERN FRONT

mand of the eastern armies of both the Central Powers and started a terrific "drive" in Poland and Galicia. The Germans made full use of poison gas and a smothering fire of high-explosive shells, while the Russians were hampered by lack of guns and ammunition. The result of the fighting is best traced on the accompanying map, which shows the enormous territory reoccupied or newly acquired by the Central Powers. At the end of 1915 the battle-line on the eastern front stretched from the Gulf of Riga to the Rumanian frontier.



HINDENBURG

Russia's recuperative power was strikingly exhibited the following year. General Brusilov attacked the Austro-German armies on a wide front between the Pripet Marshes and Bukowina, pushing them back from twenty to fifty miles and making huge captures of men and supplies. The outbreak of the Russian Revolution, early in 1917, made it impossible to continue the offensive. From this time there was little more fighting on the eastern front. Nevertheless, Russia's part in the World War should not be minimized. The sacrifices which she made without stint during the first three years of the struggle were essential to the ultimate victory of the Allies.

251. The Balkan and Italian Fronts

As soon as the war broke out, Montenegro made common cause with Serbia. The three other Christian states of the Balkans at first did not declare themselves. Bulgaria had no love for Austria-Hungary, but she cordially hated Serbia, her most successful foe in the Second Balkan War. Rumania was friendly neither to Austria-Hungary nor to Russia, for both possessed provinces which she wished to

Neutrality of
the Balkans

"redeem" from alien rule.¹ Public opinion in Greece, as voiced by Venizelos, the prime minister, favored the Allies. The pro-German King Constantine and the court party managed, however, to preserve a nominal neutrality.



THE VICTORIA
CROSS

Established in 1856 for acts of bravery in battle. It is a bronze Maltese cross with the royal crest (lion and crown) in the center and below it a scroll inscribed "For Valour."

Turkey, largely controlled by Germany and fearful of Russia's designs on Constantinople, soon espoused the cause of the Central Powers. Her entrance did not at first appreciably affect the situation, for she was still cut off from her associates by a neutral Bulgaria and a hostile Serbia. The sultan proclaimed a holy war of extermination against the "enemies of Islam." Contrary to German hopes, the Moslems of North Africa, Egypt, and India, instead of revolting, loyally supported France and Great Britain. An Anglo-French fleet in 1915 tried without success to force the Dardanelles and thus to open the way to Constantinople. No greater success

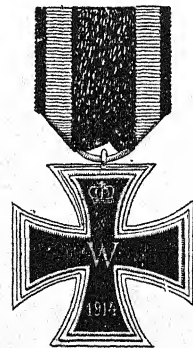
attended the heroic efforts of the "Anzacs" (Australians and New Zealanders) to secure a footing on the peninsula of Gallipoli, and the troops were finally withdrawn from this graveyard of Allied hopes.

Bulgaria, after long hesitation, also threw in her lot with the Central Powers. The situation

Bulgaria joins
the Central
Powers,
October, 1915

in the Balkans now changed over night. Brave little Serbia, who earlier in the war had twice expelled the Austrians, quickly collapsed under the double attack of Austro-Germans from the north and Bulgarians from the east. Montenegro, Serbia's ally, was likewise conquered, together with northern Albania.

The triumph



THE IRON CROSS

¹ Transylvania, Bukowina, and Bessarabia.

of the Central Powers had the important result of opening up railway communication between Berlin and Constantinople.

Military operations in the Balkans were not yet over.

Influenced by the success of Brusilov's "drive" on

Rumania joins the Allies, August, 1916

the eastern front and the Anglo-French victories at Verdun and on the Somme in the West, Rumania decided to join the Allies. Her armies promptly invaded Transylvania. A German-Austrian-Bulgarian counter-stroke drove them out and led to the speedy conquest of two-thirds of their own territory. The



ELEUTHERIOS VENIZELOS

Rumanian collapse brought enormous advantages to the Central Powers, who now had access to the grain fields and oil wells of Rumania. It also shortened their battle-front by five hundred miles and facilitated their communications with Bulgaria and Turkey.

After the failure of the Dardanelles campaign a large Anglo-French force had been gathered behind the defenses of Salonika in Greece, partly as a threat to Turkey and Bulgaria and partly to prevent King Constantine from bringing Greece into the war on the side of the Central Powers. He was finally deposed by the Allies, who placed his second son, Alexander, on the throne. Venizelos, whom Constantine had dismissed from office, became prime minister once more and immediately took steps to insure the coöperation of his country with the Allies. The Balkan front henceforth extended westward from the Ægean to the Adriatic.

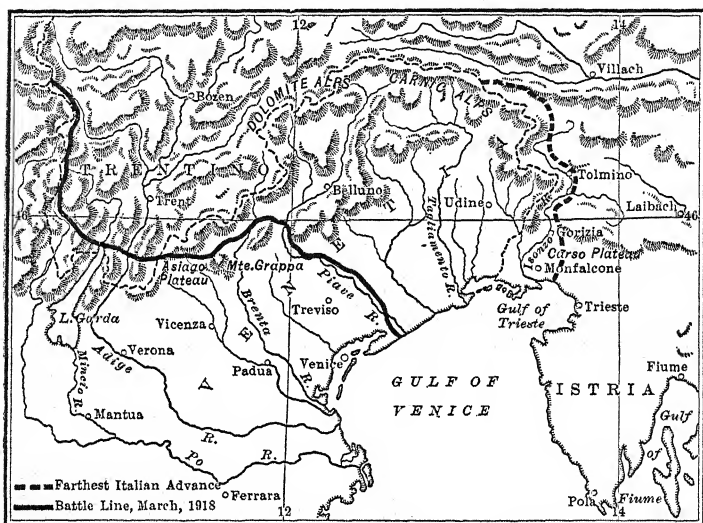
Greece joins the Allies, June, 1917

Italy declared neutrality in 1914, giving the same reason which she had given in 1913, namely, that the terms of the

Triple Alliance did not bind her to assist the Central Powers in an offensive war.¹ But Italy was unable to remain neutral. Union

Italy joins
the Allies,
May, 1915

with the Allies meant an opportunity to secure *Italia Irredenta*, those regions around Trent and Trieste still "unredeemed" from the grasp of Austria-Hungary. There were other glittering prospects. Great Britain, France, and Russia, in order to secure her aid, promised



THE ITALIAN FRONT

by a secret treaty that she should be allowed to annex part of the Dalmatian coast, besides a share of Turkish territory, if the Ottoman Empire were partitioned as a result of the war. The pressure of national interests thus helped to range Italy with the Allies, but even more compelling, perhaps, was the conviction on the part of the Italian people that the Allies were fighting in a just cause for everything that mankind holds dear. Italy, an ancient home of civilization, would aid her Latin sister France in defending civilization against what seemed a fresh inroad of the Teutonic barbarians.

¹ See page 717.

The entrance of Italy added another front and almost completed the encirclement of the Central Powers. Italian armies marched against Trieste and the Trentino, but **Italian campaigns** for a long time made slow progress. The Austrians held the crest of the mountains and the passes, and the Italians had to force their way upward in the face of the enemy. During the summer of 1916 they finally crossed the Isonzo River and occupied Gorizia on the way to Trieste. The break-up of Russia after the revolution freed large forces of the Central Powers for service against Italy. An Austro-German attack, late in 1917, undid all that the Italians had accomplished in more than two years of hard fighting and forced them back as far as the Piave River. There, with some aid from French and British troops, the Italians checked their foes.

The military situation in Europe at the end of 1917 clearly favored the Central Powers. On the western front they held Luxemburg, nearly all of Belgium, and a broad strip of northern France containing valuable coal and iron mines. On the eastern front they held **The Allies and the Central Powers, 1917** Poland, Lithuania, and Courland, the richest industrial districts of the Russian Empire. They had overrun Serbia, Montenegro, northern Albania, and a large part of Rumania. They had taken most of Venetia from the Italians. Their only territorial losses to the Allies were in southern Alsace and eastern Galicia. A different picture, however, was presented outside of Europe and on the sea.

252. The War outside of Europe and on the Sea, 1914-1917

The sea-power of the Allies enabled them to capture Germany's colonial possessions. The British and French seized Togo and the Cameroons in West Africa. British troops from the Union of South Africa, assisted by **Capture of the German colonies** loyal Boers, took German Southwest Africa, and in coöperation with Belgian forces took German East Africa. The German possessions in the Pacific, south of the equator,

were conquered by the Austrians and New Zealanders, and those north of the equator by the Japanese.

Japan promptly entered the war on the side of the Allies. She had not forgotten the kaiser's slighting references to the

Capture of
Kiauchau,
1914

"Yellow Peril" nor the fact that Germany had been chiefly instrumental in depriving her of Port Arthur and Liaotung Peninsula, after the Chino-Japanese

War in 1895.¹ Moreover, Japan had entered into an alliance with Great Britain providing for mutual support were the territorial rights or special interests of either power in the Far East threatened by another power.² Japan's special contribution to the Allied cause was the capture of Kiauchau, the German naval base and stronghold in the Far East.

Germany's ally, Turkey, suffered the loss of her outlying possessions. Great Britain proclaimed a protectorate over

Freeing of
Egypt and
Arabia

Egypt and set up a new ruler, or sultan, who was to be quite independent of the sultan at Constantinople. The British also encouraged a revolt of the Arabs against Turkey. Arab troops secured Mecca and Medina, the sacred places of Arabia, and established the kingdom of Hejaz, which extends along the eastern coast of the Red Sea.

Two other countries, long under the heel of the Turk, owed their liberation to Great Britain. An expeditionary force,

Freeing of
Mesopotamia
and Palestine

largely composed of Indian contingents, invaded Mesopotamia by way of the Tigris River and entered Bagdad in triumph (March, 1917). An-

other British army, starting from Egypt, invaded Palestine and took possession of Jerusalem (December, 1917). The Holy City, after nearly seven centuries, was again in Christian hands.

The fleets of the Allies quickly swept the merchantmen of the Central Powers from the ocean and compelled their war-

Allied control
of the sea

ships to keep the shelter of home ports. The few German raiders which remained at large after hostilities began were either captured or sunk. Once only did the German "High Seas Fleet" slip out of Kiel Harbor, to be met by the British battle cruisers off the coast of Jutland (May 31,

¹ See page 616.

² See page 621.

1916). Both sides suffered heavy losses in the engagement which followed. With the approach of darkness, however, the German ships returned to their safe anchorage and did not emerge again during the remainder of the war.

Allied control of the sea led to an immediate blockade of Germany and Austria-Hungary. Three results followed. The Allies were able freely to import food and raw materials from their colonies and neutral states. The blockade

They kept the ocean lanes safe for the transportation of troops from Africa, India, Australia, and Canada, meanwhile preventing the return of Austro-German reservists from the United States and other countries. Finally, the Allies extinguished the commerce of the Central Powers, who were henceforth hard pressed to find the necessary sinews of war for their armies and food for their civilian population.

The Allied blockade became more and more stringent. At first, it prevented the importation into Germany only of munitions and other materials used for military purposes. In February, 1915, Great Britain also de- Extension of
the blockadeclared foodstuffs contraband, and as such liable to seizure if carried from neutral countries in neutral ships to Germany. The British justified their action on the ground that the German government had already commandeered the stocks of grain in private hands to insure the feeding of its armies, in other words, had itself treated foodstuffs as practically indispensable to the conduct of the war.

The Central Powers relied on submarines (U-boats) to break the blockade. During the first months of the war the submarines attacked only enemy warships, but before Submarine
warfare long they began to destroy without warning enemy merchantmen. This was in flagrant defiance of international law, which requires that a cargo or a passenger ship, under either an enemy or a neutral flag, shall be warned before being attacked and every effort made to safeguard human lives. After the British action in making food contraband, Germany went so far as to declare the waters around the British Isles a "war zone," where all enemy merchantmen would be sunk,

whether or not passengers and crews could be rescued. Neutral vessels were also warned against trespassing within the zone. It goes without saying that this declaration constituted only a "paper blockade," of the sort that had been already prohibited by international law. The attempt to enforce the blockade by piratical means brought about the entrance of the United States into the World War.



GERMAN BARRED ZONE (FEBRUARY 1, 1917)

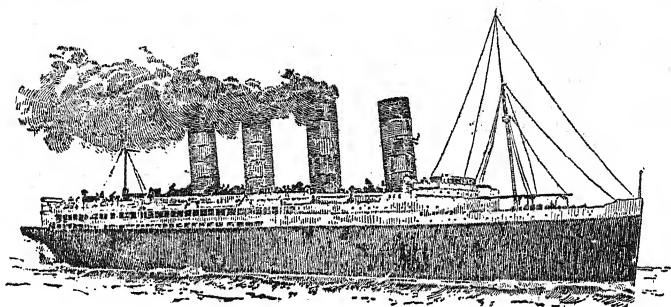
253. Intervention of the United States

President Wilson announced the neutrality of the United States immediately upon the outbreak of hostilities. No

The United States as a neutral

other course seemed possible, in view of our traditional policy of non-interference in European affairs and our peaceful temper. The President also asked for neutrality of sentiment on the part of the American people, so that the United States, as the one great nation at

peace, might in time be able to mediate between the warring countries. While the government did remain neutral, American citizens could not avoid taking sides. The Central Powers had many active sympathizers, especially among those of German birth or parentage. Public opinion, however, favored the Allies; above all, France, who had helped us so much in the Revolutionary War, and Belgium, so innocent and so cruelly wronged. But as yet there was little thought of our active participation in the war.



THE "LUSITANIA"

The United States, before long, was drawn into diplomatic controversies with the belligerents. President Wilson made repeated and vigorous protests to Great Britain regarding alleged infringements by that country of our neutral rights at sea, especially the detention of American ships in British ports to determine whether or not the ships carried contraband goods. But Germany's proclamation of a "war zone" raised a much more serious issue. President Wilson protested at once, declaring that the United States would hold the German government to a "strict accountability" for American ships destroyed or American citizens killed. Germany disclaimed all responsibility for "accidents" which might occur. U-boats proceeded to torpedo the great British liner *Lusitania* with the loss of over one hundred American men, women, and children (May 7, 1915),¹ and also attacked American ships and those of other neutral nations. A "war of notes" between the

¹ In all, 1195 persons were drowned.

United States and Germany finally extorted a German pledge not to sink merchant vessels without warning, unless they attempted to escape or offered resistance (May, 1916). Germany never intended to keep her pledge any longer than convenient, as the frank Bethmann-Hollweg afterwards admitted in a public statement.



THE GERMAN "LUSITANIA"
MEDAL

The obverse, shown here, bears under the legend *Keine Banmware* ("No Contraband") a representation of the sinking ship. The designer of the medal has added guns and airplanes, which, however, the *Lusitania* did not carry.

At the end of January, 1917, she notified the American government of her purpose to sink at sight all ships, both enemy and neutral, found within certain areas adjoining the British Isles, France, and Italy, and in the Mediterranean. Only narrow "safety lanes" to one British port and to Greek waters were left open for a limited amount of neutral traffic inside the barred zone. Germany thus proposed to violate every right to the freedom of the seas for which the United States had ever contended.

President Wilson then severed diplomatic relations with the German government. This act did not necessarily mean war, but it prepared the way for war.

Submarine atrocities combined with Austro-German intrigues and conspiracies throughout the United States to arouse the intrigues and warlike temper of the American people. Official and non-official representatives of the Central Powers had done all they could to destroy munition plants and steel factories supplying the Allies. Funds were sent to the German ambassador for use in bribing Congress to declare an embargo on the traffic in munitions. Spies were multiplied throughout the country. Efforts were made to foment ill feeling in the United States against Japan and in Mexico against the United States. When Germany was about to proclaim unrestricted submarine warfare and believed the intervention of the United States would follow, she even invited Mexico to

enter an alliance with her, promising aid in helping that country recover the American Southwest. Such actions convinced the American people that Germany and her satellites were running amuck under irresponsible rulers and that national safety, no less than national honor, required us to take the side of the Allies.

American intervention soon became an accomplished fact. The President, in an address before a special session of Congress, urged that since Germany had repeatedly committed hostile acts against the United States, we should formally accept the status of belligerent thus thrust upon us. Congress responded by declaring war on Germany (April 6, 1917). Similar action was taken as to Austria-Hungary in December of the same year. Diplomatic relations with Turkey and Bulgaria were also broken.

The United States as a belligerent

The people of the United States, the President said, had no quarrel with the people of the Central Powers, who had been led blindly into the war by their autocratic governments. Our quarrel was with these governments alone. The United States, in consequence, asked nothing for herself — neither annexations nor indemnities. She fought to uphold the freedom of the seas, to defend the rights of small nations and oppressed nationalities, to put down divine-right monarchy, secret diplomacy, and militarism, to promote among mankind that ordered liberty under law which she had long enjoyed, and to make the world "safe for democracy." In such a cause American citizens were privileged to spend their lives and their fortunes.

A world "safe for democracy"

The United States prepared on a colossal scale for the war. Part of the navy was immediately sent to Europe, including a number of torpedo boats and destroyers to fight the German submarines. The American navy, with some assistance from that of Great Britain, also planted more than 70,000 mines in the North Sea for a distance of 240 miles from the Orkney Islands to the coast of Norway. This deadly marine barrage was laid down in 1918. It effectually shut out German submarines from ingress into the Atlantic,

War preparations in the United States

S. J. Res. I. (PUBLIC RESOLUTION.....NO. 1-.....65th CONGRESS.)

Sixty-fifth Congress of the United States of America;

At the First Session,

Began and held at the City of Washington on Monday, the second day of April,
one thousand nine hundred and seventeen.

JOINT RESOLUTION

Declaring that a state of war exists between the Imperial German Government
and the Government and the people of the United States and making
provision to prosecute the same.

Whereas the Imperial German Government has committed repeated acts of
war against the Government and the people of the United States of
America: Therefore be it

*Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States
of America in Congress assembled, That the state of war between the United
States and the Imperial German Government which has thus been thrust upon
the United States is hereby formally declared; and that the President be, and
he is hereby, authorized and directed to employ the entire naval and military
forces of the United States and the resources of the Government to carry on war
against the Imperial German Government; and to bring the conflict to a
successful termination all of the resources of the country are hereby pledged by
the Congress of the United States.*

E. Champ Clark,

Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Jos. R. Marshall

Vice President of the United States and

President of the Senate.

Approved 6 April, 1917

Woodrow Wilson

THE UNITED STATES DECLARATION OF WAR



NORTH SEA MINE FIELDS

for the narrow strait of Dover had already been closed by mines and nets. The government adopted conscription as the most rapid and democratic method of raising an army, and two months after the declaration of war over ten million young men were registered for service. Officers' training camps were established, and thirty-two cantonments — virtual cities, each housing forty thousand men — were set up within ninety days to accommodate the private soldiers under training. Congress made huge appropriations for the construction of airplanes, for building cargo ships to replace those sunk by the enemy, for loans to the Allies, and for the purchase of immense quantities of food,

clothing, rifles, machine guns, artillery, munitions, and all the other equipment of a modern fighting force. The money was raised partly by increased taxation, partly by borrowing (the Liberty Loans). Other features of the American war program included fuel control, food control, under the efficient direction of Mr. Herbert C. Hoover, and government operation of railroads, express companies, and telegraph and telephone lines. American engineers in France also constructed docks, barracks, storehouses, and even entire railways for the reception of America's armies.

Public opinion in Latin America very generally approved of the action of the United States in entering the conflict against Germany. During 1917 Brazil, Cuba, and Panama ranged themselves by the side of the United States; during 1918 Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Haiti followed the same course. Five countries — Santo Domingo, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, and Uruguay — broke off diplomatic relations with Germany. The seven remaining countries — Mexico, Salvador,¹ Venezuela, Colombia, Chile, Argentina, and Paraguay — continued their formal neutrality. The Mexican government showed itself pro-German throughout the war. Chile and Argentina kept neutral largely as the result of clever German propaganda. Brazil was thus the only one of the larger Latin-American republics to aid the Allies. She took this step because of her traditional friendship for the United States, and also because she wished to give to her foreign policy, at a critical moment of the world's history, a practical form of "continental solidarity."

254. The Russian Revolution

The Russian Revolution, beginning on the eve of American intervention, revealed the war more clearly than ever as no mere conflict for the preservation of power in Europe, but as a world-wide struggle between democracy and autocracy. Popular uprisings in Russia between 1905 and 1906 had compelled the tsar to grant

"Dark
forces" in
Russia

¹ Salvador declared a benevolent neutrality toward the United States.

a national legislature (Duma), without, however, seriously weakening the position of the government.¹ The war disclosed how inefficient, weak, and even corrupt that government was. Late in 1916 the pro-German party at the court secretly began negotiations with the Central Powers for a separate peace. Patriotic Russians in the Duma passed a resolution that "dark forces" in high places were betraying the nation's interest. Nevertheless, the intrigue went on, and the demoralization of Russia proceeded apace.

A severe shortage of food in Petrograd brought matters to a crisis. Rioting broke out, and the troops were ordered to suppress it with bullet and bayonet in the usual pitiless fashion. But the old army, so long the prop of autocracy, languished in German prison camps or lay underground. The new army, mostly recruited from peasants and workingmen since the war, refused to fire on the people. Autocracy found itself helpless. The Duma then induced the tsar to sign the penciled memorandum which ended the Romanov dynasty after three hundred and four years of absolute power.

Abdication of
the tsar,
March 15,
1917

The revolutionists set up a provisional government, headed by the executive committee of the Duma. Nearly all the members belonged to the party of Constitutional Democrats, representing the middle class, or *bourgeoisie*. Many liberal reforms were announced: liberty of speech and of the press; the right of suffrage for both men and women; a general amnesty for all political offenders and Siberian exiles; and a constituent assembly to draw up a constitution for Russia. The United States and the western Allies promptly recognized the new government.

Rule of the
Constitutional
Democrats

Socialists did not rest satisfied with these measures. They planned to give the revolution an economic rather than merely a political character. Throughout Russia they organized *soviets*, or councils representing workingmen and soldiers. The most important of these bodies was the Petrograd Council of Workingmen's and Soldiers' Delegates.

Soviets

¹ See page 594.

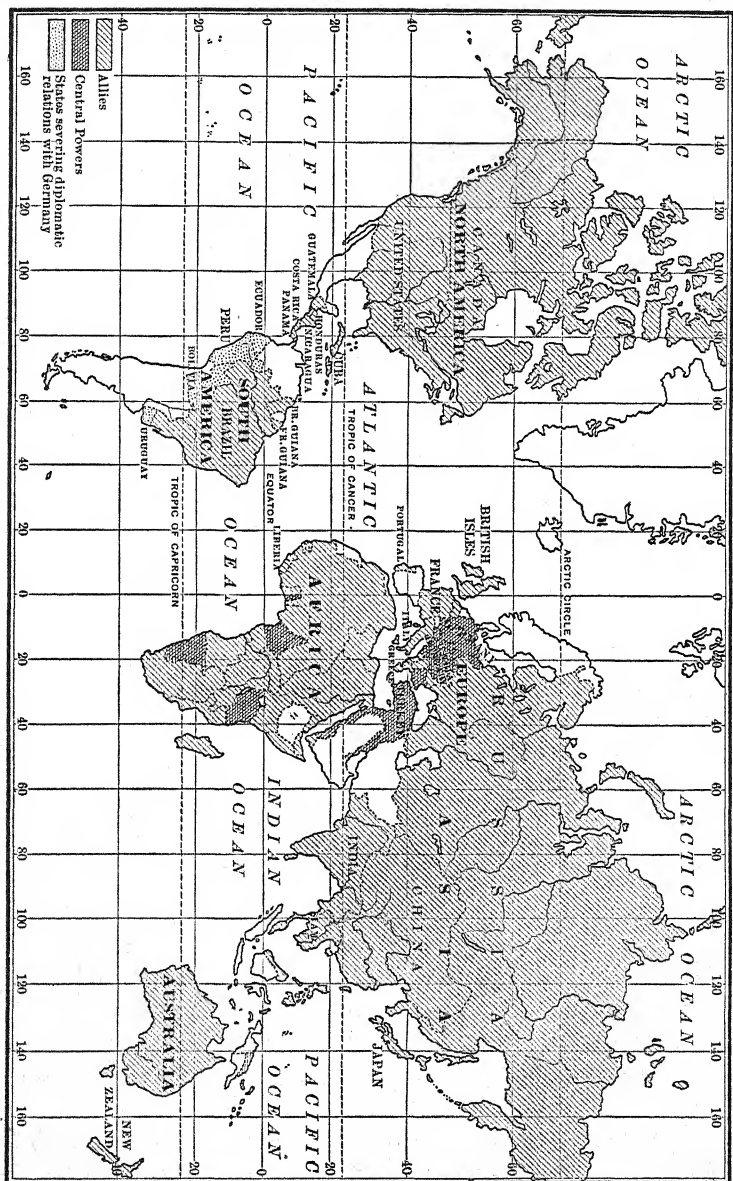
The socialistic propaganda for a general peace on the basis of "no annexations and no indemnities" also made rapid headway with the army at the front. The troops began to elect their own officers, to fraternize with the enemy, and to desert in large numbers. The Petrograd *soviet*, having won the support of the army, then abolished the Duma as a stronghold of the *bourgeoisie* and replaced the Constitutional Democrats in the provisional government with socialists.

The socialist leader was a young lawyer named Alexander Kerensky. His impassioned oratory gave him great influence, and by July, 1917, he had become practical dictator. But Kerensky turned out to be neither a Cromwell nor a Napoleon, at a time when Russia required a combination of both for her salvation. A moderate socialist, he did not please the Constitutional Democrats, and he pleased the radical socialists still less. In November, 1917, a second revolution in Petrograd overthrew him and the provisional government which he headed.

The two men at the head of the revolutionary movement were Nicholas Lenin and Leo Trotsky. They belonged to the Bolsheviks,¹ an organization of radical socialists. Lenin was born of Russian parents and was brought up in the Orthodox faith. He received an education in economics and law at the university of Petrograd. His socialistic activities soon resulted in a three years' exile to Siberia. After his release he went abroad and became prominent in the revolutionary circles of many European capitals. Trotsky, a Russian Jew, also suffered exile to Siberia as an undesirable agitator, the first time for four years, the second time for life. Having managed to escape, Trotsky went to western Europe and later to the United States. After the Russian Revolution both men returned to their native country and engaged in socialistic propaganda, with the results that have been seen. Lenin became premier and Trotsky foreign minister (subsequently minister of war) in the new government.

The Bolsheviks now made peace with the Central Powers.

¹ A Russian word meaning "majority men."



THE WORLD WAR IN 1918 A.D.

They agreed to recognize the independence, under German auspices, of both Finland and the Ukraine. Poland, Lithuania, and Courland, conquered by Germany in 1915, **Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, March 3, 1918** were surrendered to that country, together with Livonia and Esthonia. This humiliating treaty deprived Russia of about a third of her population and a third of her territory, including the richest agricultural lands, the chief industrial districts, most of the iron mines and coal mines, and many of the principal railways of the former empire. Had the Brest-Litovsk Treaty endured, Germany would have been the real winner of the World War, whatever might have been the outcome of the conflict elsewhere in Europe.

255. War Aims of the Allies

The issues at stake in the World War became clearer as the struggle proceeded. When, on August 1, 1917, Pope Benedict **Peace proposals** XV proposed that the belligerent nations negotiate with one another on the basis of conditions existing before 1914, President Wilson answered, for both the United States and the Allies, that no enduring peace could be arranged with the autocratic and irresponsible German government. On December 2, 1917, the Bolshevik envoys at Brest-Litovsk brought forward their own proposals for ending the war through a congress of delegates chosen by the parliament of each country. Then on January 5, 1918, Mr. Lloyd George, in a speech before the Trade Union Conference at London, set forth more specifically than ever before the purposes of the Allies. Permanent peace could not come, the British premier declared, until three conditions were fulfilled: first, the sanctity of treaties must be reestablished; second, territorial settlements must be based on the right of self-determination of nationalities, or the consent of the governed; and third, some international organization must be created to limit the burden of armaments and diminish the probability of future conflicts.

This speech was followed on January 8, 1918, by President Wilson's address to Congress, setting forth a program for a just and lasting settlement. While the President spoke only for the

United States, his "Fourteen Points" met general acceptance in Great Britain, France, and Italy as embodying the war aims of the Allies. The "Fourteen Points" included: abolition of secret diplomacy; freedom of the seas; removal of economic barriers between the nations; reduction of armaments; impartial adjustment of colonial claims, evacuation by Germany of all conquered territory and the restoration of Belgium and Alsace-Lorraine; readjustment of Italian frontiers along the lines of nationality; an independent Poland; self-government for the different peoples of Austria-Hungary and the Ottoman Empire; and, finally, the formation of a general association of nations.

The
"Fourteen
Points"

256. End of the War, 1918

The satisfaction with which the western Allies greeted the overthrow of autocracy in Russia turned to dismay when that country, within a year, embraced radical socialism and withdrew from the war. The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk gave the Central Powers a free hand in the West. Great Britain, France, and Italy recognized this fact and prepared to remain on the defensive until the United States should be able to throw the full weight of its resources into the struggle. The Allies, now under the resolute leadership of Lloyd

Situation at
the beginning
of 1918

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"VON POT UND VON KETTLE"

After a cartoon in *Punch*. The German general and the German admiral are blaming each other for the failure to stop the Americans either by sea or on the land.

George in Great Britain, Clemenceau in France, and Orlando in Italy, could afford to wait. To the Central Powers a prolongation of the war spelled ruin. "Frightfulness" on the ocean had not broken the blockade or starved Great Britain or interrupted the stream of transports carrying American troops in ever larger numbers to Europe. Germany realized that her supreme effort for world dominion must be made in 1918, or never. "If the enemy does not want peace," declared the kaiser, "then we must bring peace to the world by battering in with the iron fist and shining sword the doors of those who will not have peace."¹



ERIC VON LUDENDORFF

Having gathered every available man and gun, German Field Marshal "drives," Marshal Hindenburg and his associate, General Ludendorff, on March 21, 1918, started a "drive" along the line from Arras to La Fère. Their plan was obvious: to split the Anglo-French forces at the point of juncture on the Oise River; to roll each army back, the British upon the Channel, the French

upon Paris; and then to destroy each army separately. The battle which followed surpassed in intensity every previous engagement on the western front. By terrific massed attacks, the Germans regained in a few days all the ground so slowly and painfully won by the Allied offensives in 1916 and 1917. The British were pushed back twenty-five miles, bringing the enemy within artillery range of Amiens and its important railway connections. The critical condition of affairs led the Allies to establish unity of military action by putting all their forces

¹ Address to the Second German Army in France, December 22, 1917.

under the command of General Foch, an admirable strategist, who shared with Joffre the glory of the Marne battle. Before this step was taken, General Pershing had already offered the entire American army to be used wherever needed by the Allies. The Germans in April launched another "drive" to the north, between Arras and Ypres, against the British guarding the road to the Channel ports. The enemy again drove a deep wedge into the British line. It was at this dark hour of the struggle that Sir Douglas Haig issued his historic order: "With our backs to the wall, and believing in the justice of our cause, each one of us must fight to the end. The safety of our homes and the freedom of mankind depend alike upon the conduct of each one of us at the critical moment." French reinforcements arrived on the scene in time to check the German advance. A third "drive" at the end of May, between Soissons and Reims, brought the Germans back once more to the Marne at Château-Thierry, only forty-three miles from Paris, but French and American troops again halted the advance. Renewed German efforts in June and July to pierce the Allied line and reach Paris were fruitless. And now the tide turned.

General Foch, always an advocate of the offensive in warfare, found himself by midsummer able to put his theories into practice. He now possessed the reinforcements sent by both Great Britain and Italy to help hold the long line from the sea to Switzerland, together with more than a million American soldiers — "Pershing's crusaders" — whose mettle had been already tested and not found wanting in engagements at Cantigny, in the Belleau Woods, and at Château-Thierry. July 18, 1918, is a memorable date, for on that day the Allies began the series of rapid counter-strokes, perfectly coördinated, which four months later brought the war on the western front to a victorious conclusion. How the French and Americans pinched the Germans out of the Marne salient; how the Americans, in their first independent operation, swept the enemy from the St.-Mihiel salient, south of Verdun, thus getting within range of the great fortress of Metz, and started an

advance east of the Argonne Forest which carried them to Sedan; how the British, with French and American assistance, broke the "Hindenburg Line"; how the Belgians, British, and French liberated Flanders—these are only the outstanding events of a period unsurpassed in interest and importance since the dawn of history.

With disaster impending on the western front, Germany could no longer support her confederates in the other theaters of the war. Bulgaria was the first of the Central Powers to collapse. A vigorous offensive, begun during September 29, September by British, Greek, Serbian, French, and 1918 Italian troops in the Balkans, split the Bulgarian armies apart, thus opening the way for an immediate advance upon Sofia. Bulgaria then surrendered unconditionally. Tsar Ferdinand abdicated shortly afterward.

Turkey, now isolated from Germany and Austria-Hungary, was the second of the Central Powers to collapse. The campaign against the Turks during September and October formed an unbroken succession of victories. British forces, keeping close touch with their Arab allies, advanced northward from the neighborhood of Jerusalem. They took Damascus, the capital of Syria, and soon entered Aleppo, close to the railway between Constantinople and Bagdad.¹ The British at the same time captured the Turkish army on the Tigris. Nothing remained for Turkey but to sign an armistice which demobilized her troops and opened the road to Constantinople for the Allies.

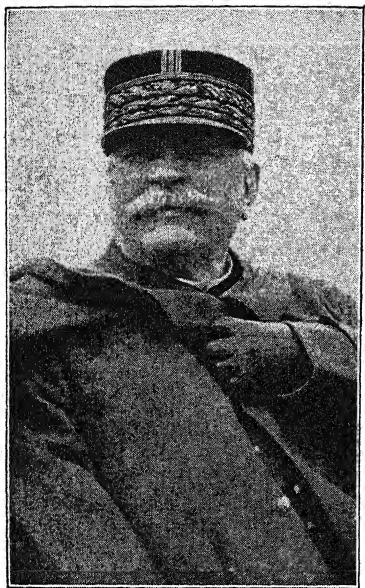
Simultaneously, Austria-Hungary collapsed. What Italians call the battle of Vittorio Veneto began at the end of October, when General Diaz, the Italian commander, struck a sudden blow at the Austrian armies and hurled them back along the whole front from the Alps to the sea. The battle soon assumed the proportions of a disaster perhaps unequaled in the annals of war. The Italians chased the Austrians out of northern Italy, occupied

Armistice
with Bulgaria,
September 29,
1918

Armistice
with Turkey,
October 30,
1918

Armistice
with Austria-
Hungary,
November 3,
1918

¹ See the map on page 715.



MARSHAL JOFFRE



MARSHAL FOCH

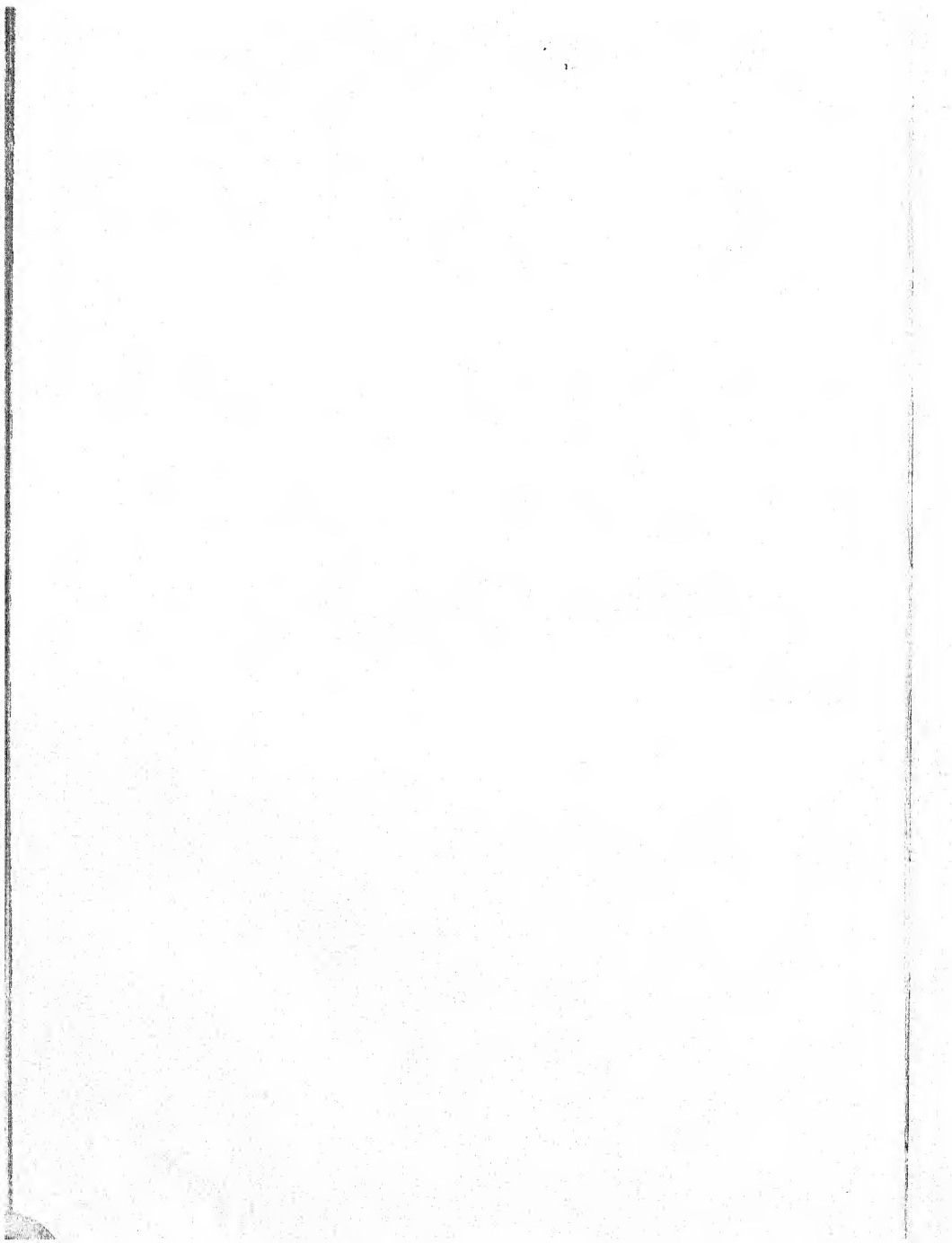


GENERAL PERSHING



SIR DOUGLAS HAIG

Portraits © Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.



Trent and Trieste, and captured six hundred thousand prisoners and seven thousand guns. Austria-Hungary then signed an armistice which, as in the cases of Bulgaria and Turkey, amounted to an unconditional surrender.

The military overthrow of the Dual Monarchy quickly led to its disintegration. Separate states arose, representing the various nationalities formerly subject to the Hapsburgs. Emperor Charles I bowed to the inevitable and laid down the imperial crown which he had assumed in 1916 upon the death of Francis Joseph I. Such was the end of the Hapsburg dynasty, rulers of Austria since the latter part of the thirteenth century.

Revolution
in Austria-
Hungary

The Hohenzollerns also disappeared from the scene. As Germany during that fateful summer and autumn of 1918 began to taste the bitterness of defeat, the popular demand for peace and democratic government became an open summons to the kaiser to abdicate. He long resisted, vainly making one concession after another, until the red flag had been hoisted over the German fleet at Kiel, and Berlin and other cities were in the hands of revolutionists. Then he abdicated and fled to Holland. The other German crowns quickly fell, like overripe fruit. Germany soon became a socialist republic, controlled by the Social Democrats.¹

Revolution
in Germany

The armistice, which practically ended the war, was concluded by the Allies and the United States with the new German government. It formed a long document of thirty-five clauses, covering every aspect of the military situation and making it impossible for Germany to renew hostilities before the peace settlement. Germany agreed to return all prisoners of war; to surrender her submarines, the best part of her fleet, and immense numbers of cannon, machine guns, and airplanes; to evacuate Belgium, Luxemburg, France, and Alsace-Lorraine; and to allow the joint occupation by Allied and American troops of the Rhinlands, together with the principal crossings of the Rhine (Mainz, Coblenz, and Cologne) and bridgeheads at these points on the

Armistice
with
Germany,
November
11, 1918

¹ See page 670.

right bank of the river. A neutral zone was reserved between the occupied territory and the rest of Germany.¹ The German government signed the armistice on the understanding that the final peace settlement would accord with President Wilson's "Fourteen Points," which had been accepted by the Allies as a summary of their war aims.

The sudden termination of hostilities found the greater part of Europe in confusion. The former empires of the Romanovs, Hapsburgs, and Hohenzollerns promised to break up into a large number of independent states, with new governments and a new distribution of population. The problems for solution by the peace conference included, therefore, not only the necessary arrangements for indemnities in money and territory to be paid by the Central Powers and the disposition of Germany's colonial possessions, but also the creation of a number of new sovereign countries with boundaries satisfying all legitimate national aspirations. The World War was to be followed by a World Settlement.

Situation at
the end of
1918

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Studies

1. Summarize in essay form (about five hundred words) what seem to you to have been the fundamental causes of the World War.
2. Define the following: ultimatum, mobilization, reservists, blockade, contraband of war, and salient.
3. Enumerate the more important countries that remained entirely neutral during the World War.
4. Compare the World War, as to its epoch-making character, with (a) the Thirty Years' War; (b) the Seven Years' War; and (c) the revolutionary and Napoleonic wars.
5. Show that the assassination of the Austrian crown prince furnished an excuse rather than a reason for war.
6. What were the "strategical grounds" for the German invasion of Belgium?
7. Is it likely that Great Britain would have become a belligerent if Belgian neutrality had not been violated?
8. What made the capture of Paris seem so vitally important to the Germans at the outset of the war?
9. The battle of the Marne has been called "one more decisive battle of the world." Comment on this statement.
10. How did the Austro-German victories on the eastern and Balkan fronts contribute to the realization of "Middle Europe"?
11. Did Japan have sufficient reason for declaring war against Germany?
12. On what grounds did President Wilson adopt a policy of neutrality?
13. Show that the United States, as a neutral, could not properly place an embargo on the exports of arms and munitions to the Allies.
14. Compare the German policy of unrestricted submarine warfare with Napoleon's Continental System.
15. Enumerate the principal reasons for the entrance of the United States in the

¹ See the map, page 733.

war against Germany and Austria-Hungary. 16. Why did not the United States declare war on Bulgaria and Turkey? 17. How did the revolution in Russia lead to the disintegration of the country? Contrast its results in this respect with the French Revolution. 18. What gave special significance to President Wilson's "Fourteen Points" as a statement of Allied war aims? 19. On an outline map indicate the territory surrendered by Russia according to the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. 20. Account for the rapid collapse of the Central Powers in the latter part of 1918. 21. On the basis of the statements in the text, give some account of the origin, character, and extinction of the Hapsburg, Hohenzollern, and Romanov dynasties.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE WORLD SETTLEMENT, 1919-1920

257. The Peace Conference

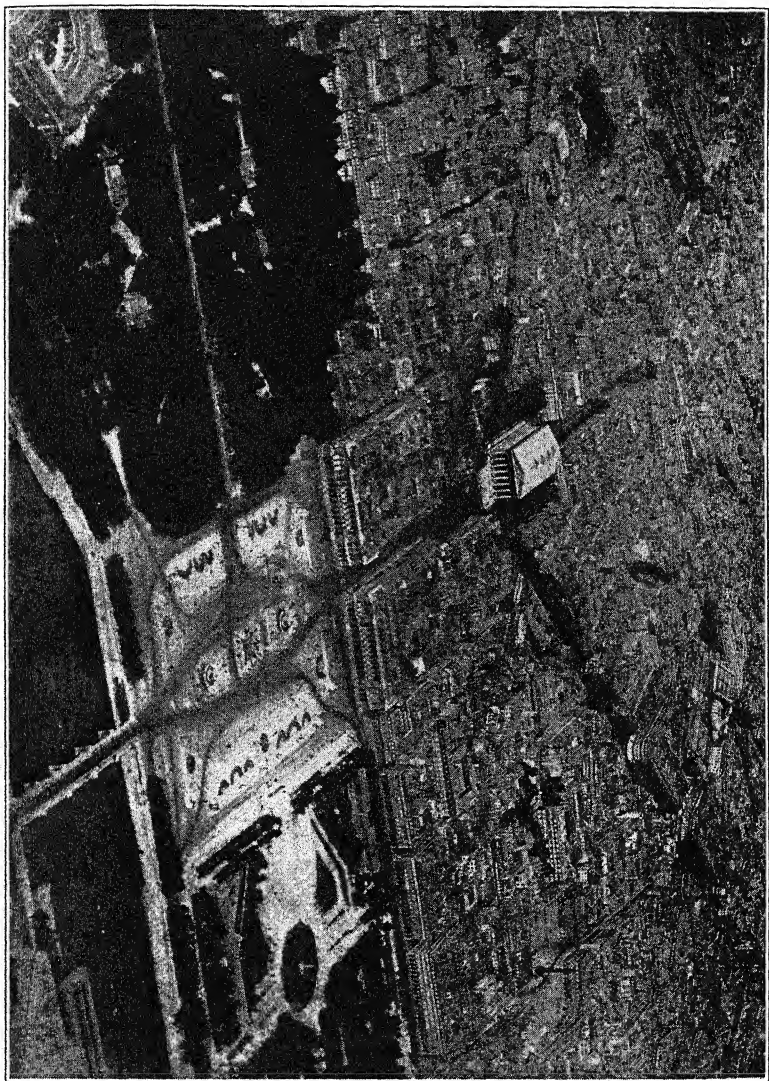
ON January 18, 1919, forty-eight years to a day from the proclamation of the German Empire in the palace of Louis XIV at Versailles, the Peace Conference assembled at Paris. It was a gathering which dwarfed into insignificance the Congress at Vienna or those still earlier congresses of Utrecht and Westphalia. They met to settle the affairs of Europe; this one met to settle the affairs of the world.



RAYMOND POINCARÉ

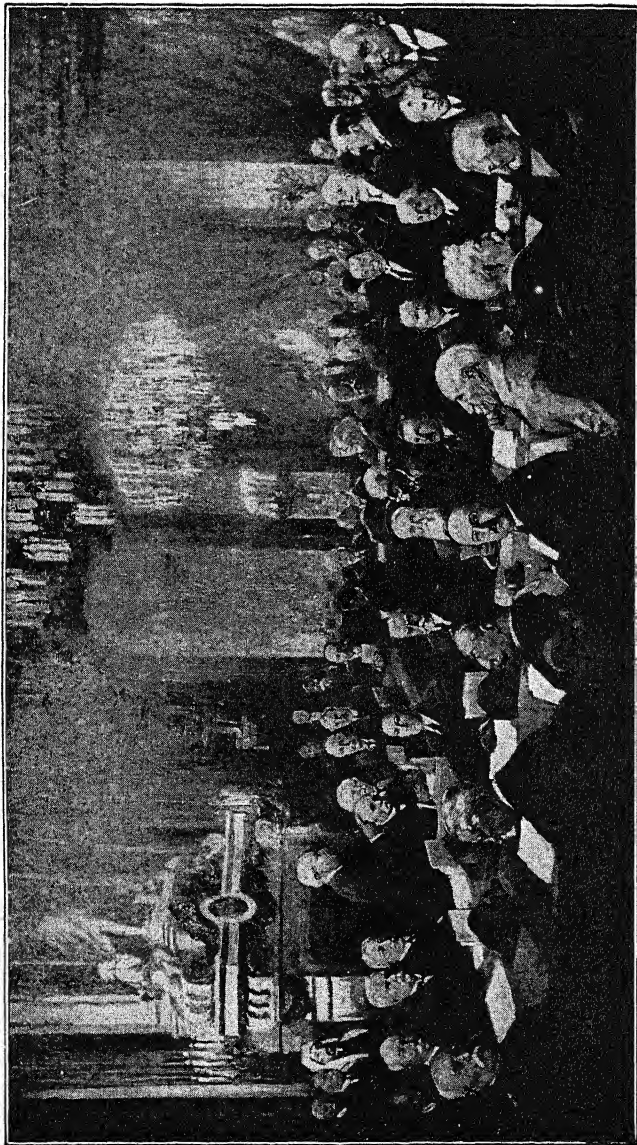
The seventy official delegates to the conference represented all the Allied and Associated countries (except San Marino, Montenegro, Costa Rica, and Russia) and those which had severed diplomatic relations with the Central Powers (except Santo Domingo). Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hejaz, three states which had been formed during the war and had been

recognized by the Allies, also sent delegates to Versailles. Neutral states were admitted to the conference only when matters affecting their particular interests came up for discussion. Enemy states were altogether excluded. Premier Clemenceau of France was unanimously chosen chairman of the conference.



VIEW OF PARIS FROM AN AIRPLANE

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THE PEACE CONFERENCE

After a painting by Jacquelin, the official artist. The Peace Conference took place at the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the Quai d'Orsay, overlooking the Seine. The sessions were held in the handsome chamber known as the Salle de l'Horloge (Hall of the Clock).

The direction of affairs naturally fell to the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan. The two ranking delegates from each of these five powers constituted a Supreme Council to discuss and formulate the business of the conference. As time went on, the difficulty of reconciling the many diverse interests and of reaching a settlement satisfactory to all made it necessary to reduce the original council of ten members to one of five. Finally, both Japan and Italy dropped from the inner circle, and the "Big Three," namely, premiers Clemenceau and Lloyd George, and President Wilson, decided among themselves the most important questions.

The drafting of the peace treaty with Germany proceeded steadily.

Early in May it was delivered to the German delegates, who had been summoned to Versailles for the occasion. They tried to secure radical modification of its terms, but the Supreme Council refused

to make any important concessions. Germany was given the choice between immediate acceptance of the treaty without reservations and renewal of the war. Germany chose to accept it, and her decision brought a relief to tense nerves everywhere. The historic ceremony of signing occurred on June 28 in the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles.

The last article of the treaty provided that it should become effective when ratified by Germany on the one hand and by three of the principal Allied and Associated powers on the other hand. Germany ratified it early in July, and similar action was taken during the following months of 1919 by Great Britain, France,

The Supreme
Council

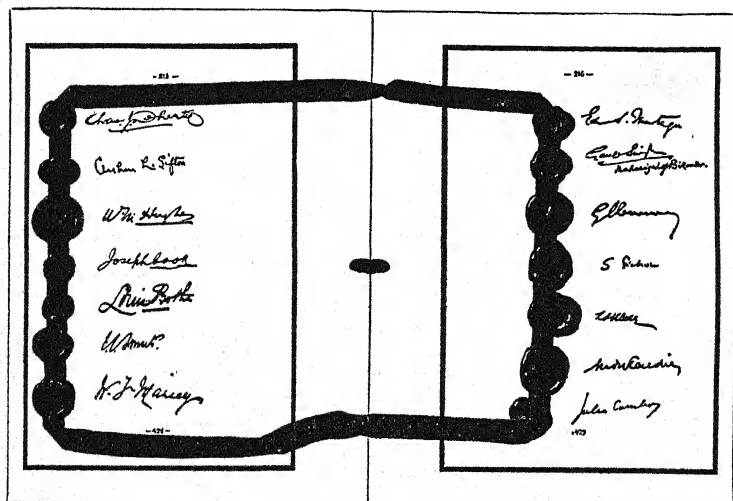
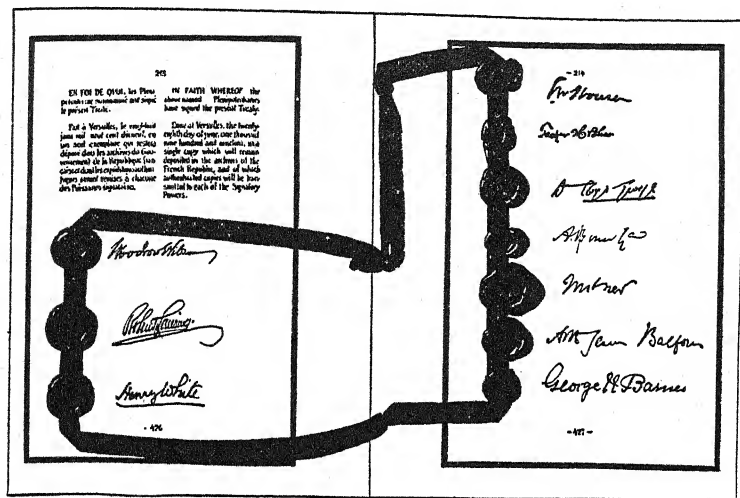


GEORGES CLEMENCEAU

Exchange of
ratifications,
January 10,
1920

and Italy. The exchange of ratifications took place on January 10, 1920, in the Clock Hall of the French Foreign Ministry at Paris. From this day, therefore, the Allied powers and Germany were once more at peace.

An Associated power still remained technically at war with Germany. The United States had not ratified the treaty owing to opposition in the Senate, which, according to the Constitution, must concur by a two-thirds vote in all treaties made by the President. Senatorial criticism was especially directed against certain features of the League of Nations, as inserted in the treaty. The chief stumbling-block was Article X of the covenant, which reads as follows: "The members of the league undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the league. In case of any such aggression, or in case of any threat or danger of such aggression, the Council shall advise upon the means by which this obligation shall be fulfilled." Many senators believed that this article, by putting the military and naval forces of the United States at the disposal of the league, impaired the constitutional right of Congress to declare war, and might also result in foreign entanglements which it has always been the American policy to avoid. Attempts were made to amend the treaty by writing into it various reservations indicative of the precise obligations which the United States was willing to accept under it. On both occasions (November, 1919, and March, 1920) when the amended treaty came to a vote in the Senate, it failed to pass by the necessary two-thirds majority. The rejection of the treaty made the League of Nations in its existing form the chief issue in the presidential campaign of 1920. The Republicans opposed the league and the Democrats upheld it. The Republican victory, resulting in the election of Senator Harding, was followed in the summer of 1921 by the passage of a congressional resolution which declared the war of the United States with Germany at an end. This resolution was promptly signed by the President. Treaties of peace negotiated by the administration, not only with Germany, but also with



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SIGNATURES ON THE PEACE TREATY WITH GERMANY

Austria and Hungary, were subsequently ratified by the Senate.

258. Peace with Germany

The Versailles treaty made the following modifications of Germany's western frontier. First of all, she gave back Alsace and Lorraine to France. German misgovernment of these two provinces since 1871 and the evident desire of most of their people to be reunited to France furnish sufficient justification for the action of the Peace Conference. The possession of Alsace-Lorraine, practically uninjured by the ravages of war, helps to compensate France for the destruction wrought in her northern provinces. It also restores the Rhine, to a great extent, as the frontier-line between France and Germany. Second, Germany ceded to France absolutely the coal mines in the Saar Basin (north of Lorraine).¹ This area, which was taken from France in 1815, is to be governed by the League of Nations until a plebiscite is held at the end of fifteen years to determine whether the inhabitants prefer French or German sovereignty. Third, Germany agreed that northern Schleswig should return to Denmark in case a majority of the inhabitants voted for the change.² By this action the Allies sought to repair the injury done by Prussia to Denmark in 1864. Fourth, Germany relinquished certain small districts on her western frontier to Belgium.

The restoration of Poland to a place among the nations necessitated sweeping changes in the eastern frontier of Germany. She gave up the Polish districts in Prussia, namely, Posen, most of West Prussia, and a part of Upper, or Southern, Silesia. She renounced all rights over Danzig, which, with its environs, became a free city under the protection of the League of Nations. Poland enjoys special commercial rights in Danzig and thus secures uninterrupted access to the Baltic down the valley of the Vistula River.

¹ See the map on page 574.

² The results of the two plebiscites taken in the spring of 1920 gave a large part of northern Schleswig to Denmark.

The narrow strip of territory, or "corridor," which connects Danzig with Poland, also serves to separate East Prussia from the rest of Germany. Finally, Germany lost Memel in East Prussia, an important outlet on the Baltic that was subsequently acquired by Lithuania. These territorial losses in the east were borne by the Prussian kingdom, which, in consequence, will no longer so completely overshadow the other German states. The Peace Conference thus undid much of Frederick the Great's work for the exaltation of Prussia.

Germany's name on a far-flung empire was blotted from the map. All her possessions overseas were taken from her. German East Africa went to Great Britain. German Southwest Africa went to the Union of South Africa. ^{The German colonies} Togo and the Cameroons were divided between France and Great Britain. These territories are to be administered under mandates from the League of Nations. The mandate for the German Pacific islands north of the equator¹ is held by Japan, and that for the islands south of the equator,² by Australia. New Zealand, however, received the mandate for German Samoa. Germany also renounced, in favor of Japan, all her rights in Kiauchau and the Chinese province of Shantung.

Responsibility for all damages done to Allied civilians, both on the land and at sea, was assumed by Germany and her associates in the war. Germany therefore agreed to make good in money and in materials and in labor the ^{Reparation} injuries done by her armies in the countries overrun by them. She undertook to replace ton by ton the merchant vessels lost or damaged by her cruisers and submarines. She promised, furthermore, to bear the cost of the Allied armies of occupation in the Rhinelands.

The amount of reparation to be collected in money and commodities was not fixed at first, owing to the difficulty of reckoning the claims against Germany and also ^{Amount of reparation} because of disturbed financial conditions in that country. The Allies set up a Reparation Commission, with

¹ Pelew, Caroline, Ladrone, and Marshall Islands.

² German New Guinea, Bismarck Archipelago, and northern Solomon Islands.

power to inquire into Germany's resources and to fix the time and manner of her contributions. The German government in 1921 agreed to pay over a series of years the equivalent of 132,000,000,000 gold marks (about \$33,000,000,000), plus the amount of the Belgian debt to the Allies, but less sums already paid on the reparation account or subsequently to be credited to it. The failure of Germany to make regular payments under this arrangement led to the seizure by French and Belgian troops of the rich industrial district of the Ruhr. Matters thus stood at a deadlock for a time: the Germans declared themselves practically bankrupt and unable to pay the colossal sum levied against them; the French and Belgians declared that they would continue their armed occupation of German territory until their demands for compensation had been satisfied.

The deadlock was broken in 1924, when the Reparation Commission appointed a committee of economic experts (headed by **The "Dawes Plan"** General Charles G. Dawes, the former Director of the Budget of the United States), to devise some plan for the financial rehabilitation of Germany. The "Dawes Plan," as it came to be called, was promptly accepted by the French, British, and German governments. It provides for an international loan to Germany of \$200,000,000 to establish a new German state bank, stabilize the fluctuating and depreciating currency, and make the first reparation payments. All subsequent payments are to be made through this bank, from a mortgage on the railroads and industries of Germany and from the proceeds of special taxes levied for the purpose. If Germany fails to pay, the Allies may keep the tax money collected in the country. In short, Germany agrees to pawn her principal resources so that she may discharge at least a part of her indebtedness to the Allies. Military evacuation of the Ruhr, by France and Belgium, will follow as soon as Germany gives evidence of her intention faithfully to abide by the "Dawes Plan."

The military, naval, and air clauses of the treaty were intended to make Germany innocuous. They include the aboli-

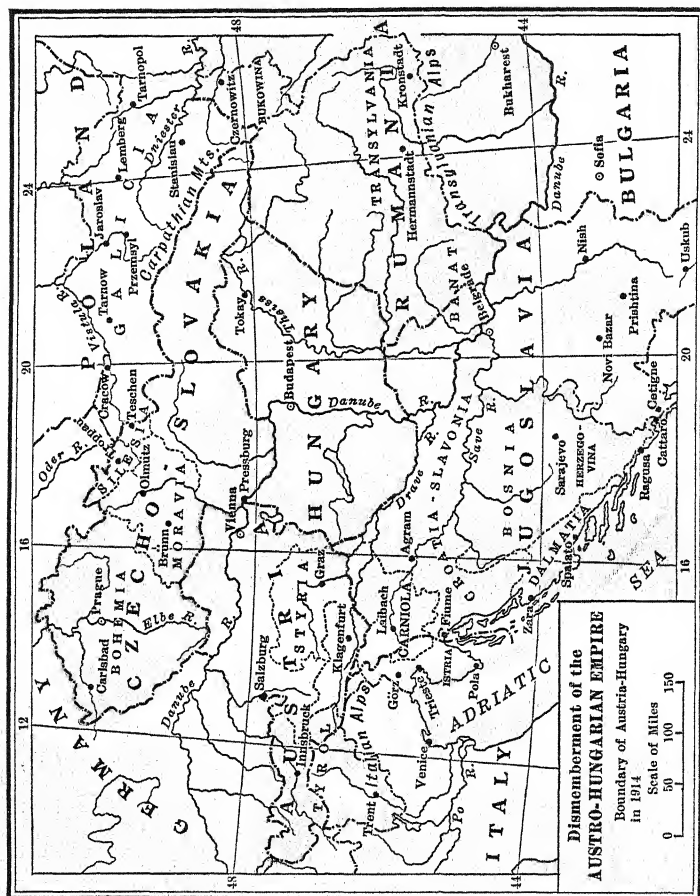
tion of conscription, the reduction of the German army to 100,000 men, including officers, and the destruction of the fortifications west of the Rhine, those in a thirty-mile zone on the east bank of the Rhine, those controlling the Baltic, and those on Helgoland. All importation, exportation, and nearly all production of war material was prohibited. The German fleet was reduced to a few ships without submarines. Airplanes, seaplanes, and dirigible balloons are not to be maintained for purposes of war. Germany also surrendered her submarine cables. These drastic requirements should pave the way for a general limitation of armaments by all nations.

259. Peace with Austria, Hungary, and Bulgaria

The treaty with Austria was signed in September, 1919, at St.-Germain, near Paris. The St.-Germain Treaty did little more than record an accomplished fact, namely, the disintegration of the Dual Monarchy. Austria ceded territory to Czecho-Slovakia and Jugoslavia and recognized their independence. Other parts of the former Austrian Empire were transferred to Italy (South Tyrol, the Trentino, the city of Trieste, and most of the peninsula of Istria), to Poland (Galicia), and to Rumania (Bukowina).¹ The treaty also embodied stringent provisions relating to reparation and disarmament.

Austria is a republic. It came into being immediately after the downfall of the Hapsburg monarchy, at the close of the war. The new Austria is a small, inland state, German in culture and chiefly German in population. The Allies, however, have refused to allow the Austrians to unite with their great Teutonic neighbor. Such a union, quite apart from the increase of German man-power, would produce an enlarged Germany extending from the Alps to the Baltic and thus would cut off western from central Europe.

¹ Rumania has also acquired Transylvania from Hungary and Bessarabia from Russia, thus becoming the largest of the Balkan states.



The treaty with Hungary was signed in June, 1920, at the Trianon, Versailles. It reduced Hungary to another small state inhabited almost entirely by Magyars. The Trianon Treaty

Czecho-Slovakia secured that part of northern Hungary containing a predominantly Slovak population; Rumania, the Rumanian district of Transylvania; and Jugoslavia, the Slovenian and Croatian territories of Hungary. The demands made upon Hungary for reparation and disarmament

were substantially identical with those of the treaty with Austria.

A republic was established in Hungary shortly after the signing of the armistice. It lasted only a few months and then gave way to a Bolshevik régime, which was equally short-lived. A national parliament in 1920 chose as regent of the country Admiral von Horthy, a member of an old and distinguished Magyar family. The former emperor, Charles I, who made two unsuccessful efforts to regain his crown, was finally exiled by the Allies to the Madeira Islands, where he died in 1922. Hungary is now a monarchy in name, but the throne is unoccupied. The Allies will not permit the restoration of the Hapsburg dynasty.

The treaty with Bulgaria, as signed in November, 1919, at Neuilly, slightly rectified the western frontier of that state in favor of Yugoslavia. The frontier with Rumania remains as before the war. The most important boundary change is on the south, where Bulgaria relinquished part of Thrace to Greece. Bulgaria thus lost an outlet on the *Ægean*. She was also obliged to limit her army to 20,000 men, to surrender all warships and aircraft, and to pay a total indemnity of \$445,000,000.

260. Peace with Turkey

The disposition of the decrepit Ottoman Empire presented one of the thorniest problems before the Peace Conference. A treaty with Turkey was signed at Sèvres, near Paris, in August, 1920, but it was never ratified, owing to the opposition of a new and vigorous Turkish government that had been set up at Angora in Asia Minor. The Nationalists, as the patriotic Turks called themselves, would not accept a treaty which, besides depriving them of the territories overrun by the Allies in the war, also gave to Greece a further slice of Turkey in Europe (Eastern Thrace) and the city of Smyrna and its environs in Asia Minor. This part of Asia Minor had belonged to ancient Hellas and still contained a considerable Greek population.

The Nationalists found an able leader in Mustapha Kemal, a Turkish officer who had won distinction in the Gallipoli campaign. He organized a strong army, drove the Greeks out of Smyrna, and took possession of Constantinople and Eastern Thrace. The Allies, confronted with this *fait accompli*, which their disagreements and bickerings with one another did so much to make possible, had to consent to a new treaty far more favorable to Turkey than the one originally framed. The Treaty of Lausanne was signed in July, 1923. It allowed the Turks to retain both Eastern Thrace and Smyrna and also recognized Turkish sovereignty over the waterways leading from the Mediterranean to the Black Sea. The treaty further provided for the compulsory exchange of Greeks living in Asia Minor for Turks living in Greece, so that each country might henceforth be freed from the alien element in its population.

Having triumphed over the Allies, the Nationalists proceeded to remake the Turkish government. They deposed the sultan, because he had consented to the humiliating Treaty of Sèvres, expelled him and his family from the country, and declared the sultanate abolished. They also did away with the caliphate, or spiritual authority which the Turkish rulers had asserted over the Moslem world. A National Assembly in 1923 declared Turkey a republic. The first president is Mustapha Kemal. The capital is Angora (ancient Ancyra) in Asia Minor. Constantinople remains, however, the cultural center of the republic. As their name indicates, the Nationalists are ardent patriots. Their policy of "Turkey for the Turks" has resulted in a wholesale withdrawal of Christians and Jews from Asia Minor. The Nationalists have also got rid of the so-called "Capitulations," or rights formerly enjoyed by foreigners in Turkey to be subject to the laws of their respective countries and not to Turkish laws. The new republican government aims to develop the economic resources of the country by building railroads and fostering agriculture, to promote education along Western lines, and, in general, to place Turkey among progressive nations.

In spite of their diplomatic victory at Lausanne, the Turks paid heavily for allying themselves with the Central Powers. They surrendered all claim to the non-Turkish provinces of Kurdistan, Syria, Palestine, Mesopotamia, and Arabia, thus losing about a third of the population and about half of the area included in the Ottoman Empire of 1914. Countries freed from Turkey

The French hold Syria under a mandate from the Supreme Council of the Allies. Syria now comprises all the territory between Turkey on the north, Mesopotamia on the east, Arabia (Transjordan) and Palestine on the south, and the Mediterranean on the west. The bulk of the population is of Arabic origin, Arabic is the prevailing language, and Islam is the leading religion. The interests of France in this part of the Levant are chiefly commercial, though there is a sentimental tradition dating back to Napoleon and even to the crusades. French schools and missions are also very numerous in the country. Syria

The British received the mandate for Palestine. They are pledged to develop the Holy Land as a national home for the Jews — a people without a country for nearly eighteen hundred years. A good many "Zionists," or Jewish nationalists, are now emigrating to Palestine, but Jews do not constitute as yet more than one-eighth of the total population. The inhabitants are mainly Arabs. Palestine

Great Britain, having been made the mandatary for Mesopotamia, placed the country under an Arab king subject to British control. Iraq, as the new kingdom is called, is naturally one of the most favored regions in the world. British administration ought to redeem it from the long blight to which it has been subjected for centuries by Turkish misgovernment. With scientific agriculture and irrigation Iraq should soon become such a granary of the Near East as Babylonia was in ancient times. Iraq

The Arab kingdom of Hejaz testifies to a new birth of Islam. The Young Turks, in their efforts to "Ottomanize" all the peoples of the Ottoman Empire, only succeeded in alienating

the Arabs, who have never forgotten that from their land came the Prophet, that in it are the holy cities of Mecca and Medina, and that Arabic is the sacred language of the Koran. An Arab revolt against Turkey broke out in 1916, under the leadership of Husein, a descendant of Mohammed and official head (*sherif*) of Mecca. He was promptly recognized as king of Hejaz, or western Arabia, by the Entente Powers. Husein in 1924 had to abdicate, in consequence of a revolt of the Wahabis, a militant sect of Moslem Arabs. The political situation in Hejaz and Arabia generally promises to be unsettled for a long time to come.

The slaughter of the Christian Armenians by the Turks is the blackest deed in all the record of the war. The victorious Allies proposed to group the Armenians who survived into a new and independent state, protected by the League of Nations. The plan was never carried into effect, owing to the revival of Turkish power under the Nationalists and the opposition of the Bolsheviki. Turkey recovered some of the Armenian districts. The remainder now form a small republic in the Caucasus, in alliance with and subject to Soviet Russia.

261. The New Nations in Central and Eastern Europe

The victorious struggle against the Central Powers led to the establishment of many new nations in central and eastern Europe. The proper delimitation of their frontiers was a difficult task. The Peace Conference gave much attention to nationality as a guide to a just settlement. Plebiscites, or popular votes, were held in various disputed areas, in order to determine what were the real wishes of the inhabitants. The need of respecting historic rights likewise required consideration, together with the necessity of securing strategic frontiers and access to the sea for the new states about to be created. Racial, historical, geographical, and economic factors thus combined to complicate the boundary problems before the conference.

One of these problems concerned the Serbo-Croats and

Slovenes, who form the group of South Slavs, or Yugoslavs. In 1914 the Serbo-Croats were distributed chiefly in the independent states of Serbia and Montenegro and in the following provinces of Austria-Hungary: Bosnia and Herzegovina, Dalmatia, and Croatia-Slavonia. The Slovenes were found in the province of Carniola.

The state of Yugoslavia represents a voluntary union of all these peoples. In order to establish it, both Serbia and Montenegro gave up their separate governments and united with the former Yugoslav provinces of Austria-Hungary. The first ruler of the kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes — to use the official title — is Alexander I, former crown prince of Serbia. Belgrade is the capital.

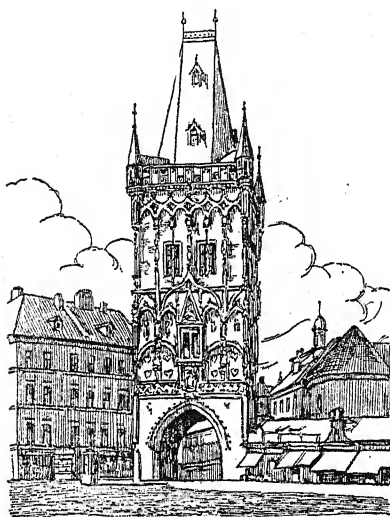
The formation of the new kingdom led to a long and bitter dispute between the Yugoslavs and the Italians. Not satisfied with the extension of Italy into the Tyrol, the Trentino, and around Trieste, Italian nationalists pressed for the annexation of the important port of Fiume, which is predominantly Italian in population. The Yugoslavs, on the other hand, felt that Fiume should belong to them, as an outlet for their new state. The dispute was finally settled by making Fiume a free city (like Danzig), but closely attached to Italy. Yugoslavia, however, obtained the Dalmatian coast, to which Italy had set up a claim during the war.

The Albanian principality created by the European powers in 1913 disappeared completely soon after the opening of the World War. Albania now forms an independent republic. The country is still very backward, lacking good highways, railroads, newspapers, and post offices, while the antipathy between its Christian and Moslem inhabitants makes for dissension.

How unwillingly the Czechs and the Slovaks fought for the Dual Monarchy in the war is a matter of common knowledge. More than one hundred thousand Czecho-Slovaks surrendered to the Russians, and many of them promptly enlisted in the tsar's armies. After the Russian Revolution it was the Czecho-Slovaks in Siberia who held that

vast country for the Allies against the Bolsheviki. Czecho-Slovaks from Great Britain, France, Italy, and the United States also volunteered in large numbers for service on the western front. There are few finer episodes in history than this spontaneous uprising of a whole nation.

The collapse of the Dual Monarchy was followed almost immediately by the setting-up of a Czecho-Slovak state. It em-



POWDER GATE, PRAGUE

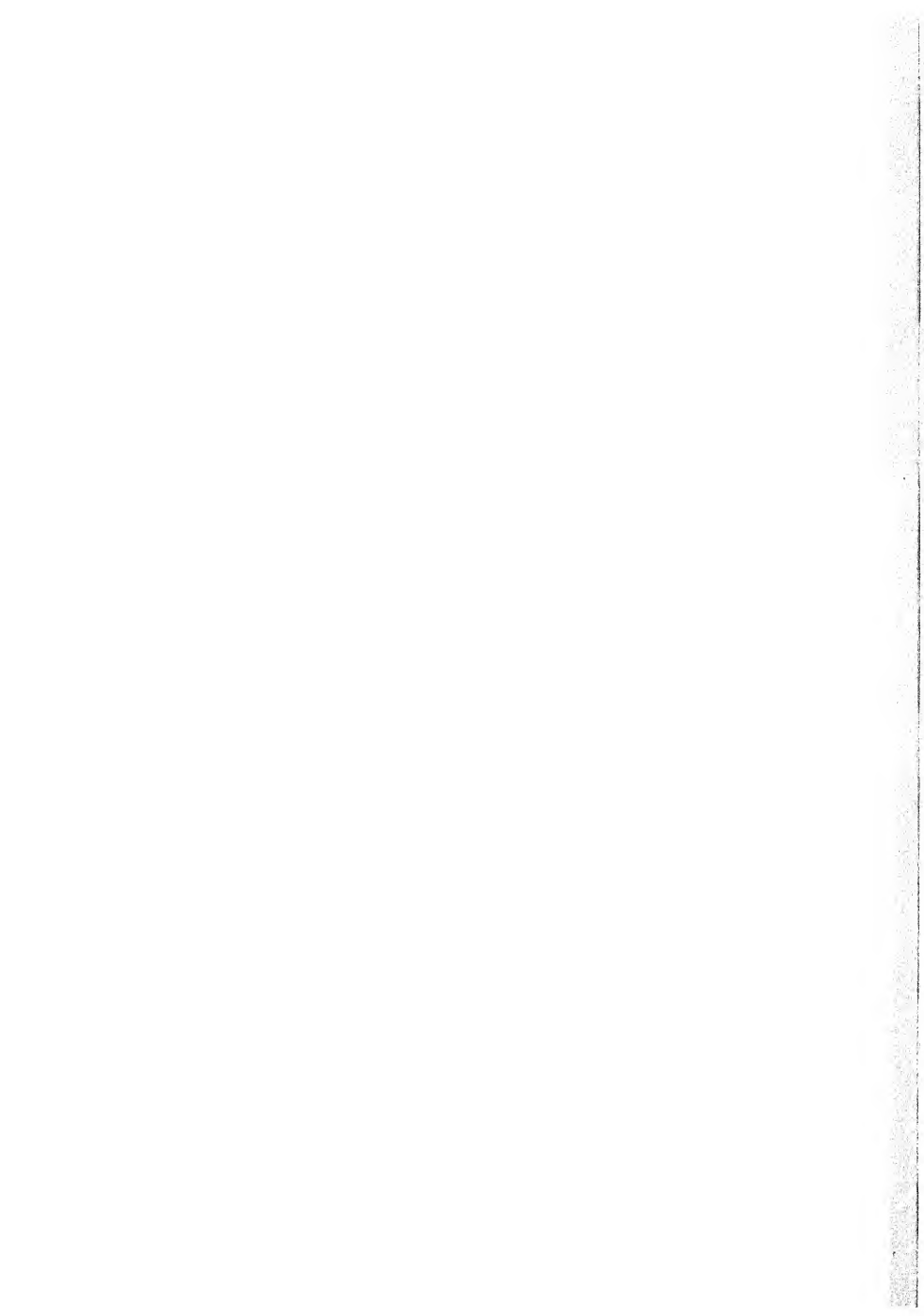
One of the finest Gothic towers in Central Europe.
Begun in 1475 and completed in 1506.

braces Bohemia, Moravia, and Austrian Silesia, which together formed an independent kingdom until its annexation by Austria in 1526, and also Slovakia. The latter country, once a part of Moravia, had been a Magyar dependency for centuries. Czecho-Slovakia is a republic with a constitution patterned after that of France, but with suffrage for both men and women. The new state occupies a central position between the Baltic and the Adriatic. It is rich in natural resources, is advanced in agriculture, trade, and manufacturing, and is well provided with common schools. Czecho-Slovakia has every assurance of a prosperous and happy future. The first president is T. G. Masaryk, formerly a university professor. The capital is Prague.

Hard, indeed, was the fate of the Poles during the World War. Those in Russian Poland had to fight against their brothers in Galicia, Posen, and West Prussia. Much of their country formed a fiercely contested battle-ground, and destruction, famine, and death followed

The Poles





everywhere in the wake of the contending armies. In 1914 the tsar, Nicholas II, promised autonomy to all the Poles, both those in Russia and those to be liberated from Austrian and German rule. Germany also proposed to set up a Polish state under German tutelage. It was reserved for the Peace Conference, however, to create the free and independent Poland of 1919.

Restored Poland includes much of the territory taken from that country by Austria and Prussia in the partitions of the eighteenth century. Disputes with Soviet Russia about the eastern boundary of Poland led to hard fighting between the Poles and the Bolsheviki during 1920. As the outcome of negotiations with the Soviet government, Poland finally acquired considerably more territory than had been allotted to her by the Peace Conference. Like her Czechoslovak neighbor, Poland is a republic with universal suffrage. She has bound herself by a special treaty with the Allies to maintain free institutions, under the ægis of the League of Nations. The first president of Poland is General Pilsudski. The capital of the country is Warsaw.

The grand duchy of Lithuania, which united with Poland in 1569, became a part of the Russian Empire after the partitions of Poland in the eighteenth century. The tsar's government made every effort to "Russify" the inhabitants, extinguish their sense of nationality, and force upon them the Orthodox Church. Such was the situation when the World War broke out. The Germans overran Lithuania during their great offensive of 1915, only to evacuate it three years later after the signing of the armistice. Lithuania then proclaimed its independence as a republic.

The Letts, who call themselves Latvis, dwell for the most part in the former Russian provinces of Courland and Livonia, around the Gulf of Riga. They too had to fight for freedom against both German armies and the Bolsheviki. Latvia is a small but progressive republic.

The provisional government of Russia in 1917 granted Esthonia a parliament, or Diet, to be elected by universal

suffrage. After the triumph of the Bolsheviki in Russia, the Diet proclaimed Esthonian independence. The Germans subsequently occupied the country, but their dream of annexing it went the way of the other Pan-German schemes. The republic of Esthonia has signed a peace treaty with the Soviet government, by which Russia abdicates all rights over her former Baltic possession.

The Swedes conquered Finland in the twelfth century and retained it until 1809. Finland, with the Åland Islands, then entered the Russian Empire as a semi-independent grand duchy. The Finnish parliament in 1917 declared for complete separation from Russia. The Finns had to contend with both the Bolsheviki and the Germans, but Germany's collapse gave them their liberty. Finland was soon recognized as a republic by the principal Allied powers.

262. Socialist Germany

Socialists assumed the leadership of the revolutionary and republican movements in many European countries. There are two types of socialism, however. Moderate socialists rely on the ballot to abolish capitalism and introduce state ownership of the means of production: they are democrats in their political thinking and accept the democratic principle of majority rule. Radical or extreme socialists advocate a violent revolution to overthrow the capitalistic middle class, the hated *bourgeoisie*, and bring in a dictatorship of the urban proletariat. These socialists, therefore, preach "class conflict"; they would employ "direct action" as the only effective method of reconstructing society. The contrast between the two socialistic parties is well marked in Germany, where the principles of Karl Marx and his followers first became popular among workingmen.

The moderate socialists (Social Democrats) before the war were the chief opponents of militarism and autocracy in Germany, and even in 1914 a bold minority of them resisted the war fever then sweeping over the country. The events of 1918 strengthened their hands; both

the army and the navy became saturated with the revolutionary spirit; and a few days before the signing of the armistice in November the uprising occurred which sent the Hohenzollerns into exile and established a socialistic government, with Friedrich Ebert, once a shoemaker, at its head.

The Social Democrats immediately encountered the opposition of the radicals, who planned to deprive the *bourgeoisie* of all power and to set up a proletarian régime. The Spartacans,¹ as they called themselves, were well supplied with arms and munitions. There were bitter conflicts between them and the republican troops. Law and order finally triumphed, after much bloodshed. The republicans also foiled several attempts by reactionary monarchists to restore the old government.

Ebert and his associates convoked a national assembly, which met at Weimar in 1919 and drafted a constitution. This was speedily ratified

by a popular vote. The new

Constitution
of the German
Republic

Germany is essentially a federative republic, though still described by the old name *Reich*, or Empire. Foreign affairs, colonies, immigration and emigration, military organization, coinage, tariffs, and posts, telegraphs, and telephones are reserved to the nation as a whole. The eighteen confederated states may legislate on many other matters, subject, however, to the prior right of legislation by the nation. Every state must have a republican form of government.



PRESIDENT EBERT

The constitution retains certain time-honored forms and

¹ Spartacus was a celebrated gladiator, who in 73 B.C. organized a formidable revolt of slaves, outlaws, and starving peasants against the Roman Republic.

features of the old government.¹ The Imperial Council (Reichsrat), which replaces the Bundesrat, consists of delegates from the confederated states. Each state has at least one vote, and in the case of the larger states one vote is accorded to every million inhabitants. No state, however, may have more than two-fifths of all the votes in the Reichsrat. This clause of the constitution should prevent the control of the council by Prussia.

Long impotent under the old imperial régime, the Reichstag now becomes the supreme law-making body. The Reichsrat may, indeed, refuse assent to a measure passed by the Reichstag, but its veto can be overridden by a two-thirds vote of the latter assembly. Members of the Reichstag hold office for four years.

The president of Germany is elected by the entire people for a term of seven years. He is eligible to reelection. The President and chancellor makes treaties, selects public officials, commands the military forces, and appoints and dismisses the chancellor, together with other members of the ministry. The constitutional provision requiring that the chancellor and his associates shall hold office only as long as they retain the confidence of the Reichstag gives to Germany substantially cabinet government.

The Weimar Assembly of 1919, more successful than the Frankfort Assembly of 1849,² made Germany a genuinely democratic state. All Germans are declared equal before the law. All privileges, whether of birth, class, or creed, are abolished. The right of suffrage is bestowed on all citizens, both men and women. The republic enjoys the support, not only of the moderate socialists, but also of the more liberal and progressive elements throughout Germany.

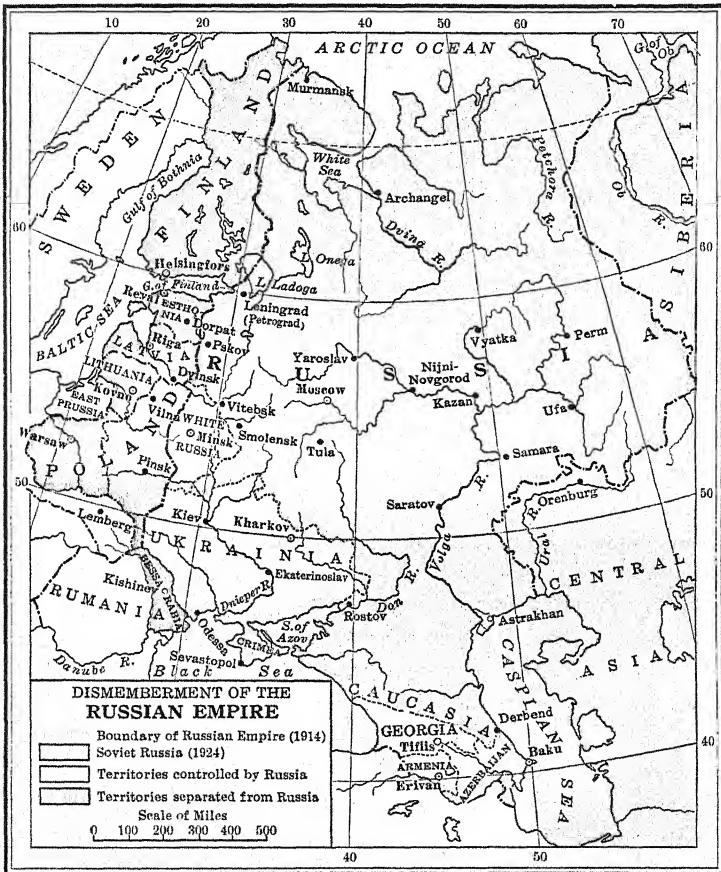
263. Soviet Russia

The Brest-Litovsk Treaty, which the Bolsheviks concluded with Germany early in 1918, did not long endure. The victorious Allies compelled Germany to repu-

¹ See pages 586-588.

² See page 558.

diate it, thus making possible the creation of the republics of Finland, Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Poland, out of territories that had been forcibly incorporated in the Russian



Empire. The Bolsheviki recognized the independence of these countries in accordance with the principle of self-determination of nationalities. They also acquiesced, reluctantly, in the transfer of Bessarabia to Rumania. Russia thus lost most of its subject and alien peoples in Europe and became a national

state, inhabited almost entirely by Russians. The capital now went back from Petrograd ¹ to Moscow.

The Bolsheviks reorganized the territories under their control. They created a great federation, known as the Union of The Soviet Soviet Socialist Republics. The largest and most federation important state in the federation is Soviet Russia, or, as the Bolsheviks prefer to call it, the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic. This includes all the area occupied by Great Russians in Europe, together with the former Asiatic provinces of the tsar's empire. The second member of the federation is White Russia. The third is Ukrainia, which comprises those areas where Little Russians predominate. The federation also contains three small republics in the Caucasus, namely, Georgia, Azerbaijan, and Armenia. Soviet Russia grants to the other states in this union some degree of independence in local concerns, but requires them to maintain a Bolshevik government and controls their foreign relations. The new federation is declared to be a decisive step toward the "union of the toilers of all countries into one world Soviet Socialist Republic."

The Bolsheviks for a time encountered serious opposition on the part of Russian liberals and Russian reactionaries, who joined forces to overthrow the Soviet government. Anti-Bolshevism Their hostile attitude was natural enough, since the in Russia Bolshevik program provided for the elimination of the aristocracy and the *bourgeoisie*. A civil war, waged with great ferocity on both sides, continued for several years. The decisive victories of the "Red" armies in 1919-1920 firmly established Bolshevik rule over all the territories of Russian race and language. The triumph of the Bolsheviks seems to be due chiefly to the fact that their opponents repeated the mistake of the *émigrés* during the French Revolution and called in foreign assistance from Great Britain, France, Japan, and the United States. This action had the effect of arousing the patriotic sentiment of the Russian people, who were now ready

¹ Called Leningrad, after the death of Lenin in 1924.

to support Lenin and Trotsky in repelling the invaders of their country.

Russia possesses a so-called constitution, framed in 1918 by the Congress of Soviets, which takes the place of a national parliament. The constitution grants the franchise to men and women over eighteen years of age, if they are "productive" laborers. This means, in practice, that all business men, professional men, merchants, and bankers, as well as peasants who employ other peasants on their farms, cannot vote or hold any public office or serve in the army. They are not citizens, according to the Bolshevik definition of citizenship. Clergymen and monks are also excluded from political rights. The Bolsheviks have disestablished the Orthodox Church and have deprived it of state support.

Lenin, Trotsky, and the other Bolshevik leaders were radical socialists. They abolished private property in land

**The
Bolshevik
régime**

and allowed the peasants to take over and divide up the great estates, without compensation to the former owners. They "nationalized" railways, banks,

forests, and mines. They seized the factories, which were to be operated henceforth by the workingmen and for the workingmen. They conscripted laborers from the hated middle and upper classes, drove them to work like chattel slaves, and even had them executed for "industrial desertion." These things were done by a small party of communists or socialists, whose numbers, according to official figures, never exceeded half a million. In short, the Bolshevik régime was — and still is — not a dictatorship of the proletariat, but a dictatorship over the great mass of the Russian people. It was — and still is — sup-



LENIN

ported by terrorism, by exiling, imprisoning, or killing all who oppose it, just as the old tsarist government disposed of its enemies. Individual liberty is non-existent in Soviet Russia.

Not satisfied with their efforts in Russia, the Bolsheviki spread socialistic propaganda in foreign countries. Their flag is the red flag; their war cry is "Workers of the **Third International**" World unite!"; their ultimate aim is a revolution by the proletariat everywhere. Accordingly, they have organized the "Third International," as a successor to two other international organizations of socialists which had been founded by the followers of Karl Marx in the nineteenth century. This organization, though centering in Moscow, has its agents and adherents in various European capitals and also in the United States.

Closed factories, disorganized railroads, and starving cities were some of the immediate results of the social experimentation of Lenin and his associates. The whole system of production and transport broke down, and, coupled with serious failure of crops, brought famine and death to many Russians. Under these circumstances the Bolsheviki began to compromise between socialism and capitalism, so far as to permit private business enterprise and private property in land. Russia, in fact, appears to be reverting gradually to the economic system of the rest of the civilized world. The Allies have now adopted a policy of non-intervention in Russian affairs. Diplomatic intercourse is being reestablished between them and the Soviet government, and commercial relations are also being resumed. Russia, whose life was so disrupted by the war, by the subsequent Allied blockade, and by the activities of the Bolsheviks, requires western capital to revive its drooping industries. The rest of Europe likewise needs to draw on the rich natural resources of Russia for economic reconstruction.

264. Contemporary European Politics

The treaties concluded by the Allies with Germany at Versailles, with Austria at St.-Germain, with Bulgaria at Neuilly, with Hungary at the Trianon, and with Turkey at Sèvres and

Lausanne, together with the diplomatic arrangements entered into between the Allies themselves, constitute the Peace of Paris. The territorial changes made by the peace affected directly or indirectly every Continental state except Spain and Portugal. A new map of Europe was drawn.

The new map is based, in large part, on the principle of self-determination, as applied to nationalities. It had received little or no consideration in the great treaties of Westphalia, Utrecht, and Vienna. Germany after her unification and Austria-Hungary and Turkey throughout the nineteenth century systematically opposed nationalism as a force disruptive of their empires. Russia upheld the same policy for the same reason. Each of these countries contained numerous "submerged nationalities," governed against their will by those whom they regarded as foreigners. The defeat of the Central Powers and the Russian Revolution offered, therefore, a unique opportunity to make over Europe in the name and in the interest of all its peoples great and small.

Germany, Turkey, and Russia, shorn of their alien elements, became essentially national states. Austria and Hungary arose as national states, each with a homogeneous population. New national states appeared in Jugoslavia, Albania, Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Esthonia, and Finland. Other countries completed their national unification: France, by the acquisition of Alsace-Lorraine; Italy, by securing *Italia Irredenta*; and Rumania, by the incorporation of Bukowina, Transylvania, and Bessarabia. Whether or not all these territorial changes prove to be permanent, they certainly recognized the principle of self-determination.

One obvious outcome of the war and the peace settlement was the lengthening of the zones of possible friction in Europe. Eight thousand miles of old boundary lines on the Continent were increased to ten thousand miles, a considerable part of this total representing newly located boundaries. Will the states whose resources and territory have been diminished be content with their new frontiers? Will the states that have secured an increase of

resources and territory be satisfied with their gains? We may raise these questions, though we cannot now answer them. Germany, though now in the League of Nations, is inspired with an intense hatred of France and may yet flame forth in a war of liberation or revenge. She cannot always be kept disarmed and impotent. Russia, losing her revolutionary ideals and reasserting her old imperialist aspirations, may sometime try to win back by force her former Baltic provinces and open once more that "window" on Europe which Peter the Great secured for her. Nor is the existing political situation in the Balkans and central Europe without elements of anxiety. The qualities of selfish ambition and envy are deep-seated, and as long as they exist they must complicate the relations of European peoples to one another.

When the World War began, two-thirds of Europe was under autocratic rule. Germany, which refused to accept either the principles or the practice of democracy, found natural support in reactionary Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey. Autocratic Russia, it is true, fought on the side of the Allies, but the Russian Revolution promised to enroll that country among liberal states. The triumph of the Central Powers would not only have dashed the hopes of the "submerged nationalities" in Europe; it would have imperiled the existence of democratic government everywhere. Germany and her satellites flung down a challenge to the liberties of mankind.

All know how that challenge was met. Two emperors, those of Germany and Austria; two tsars, those of Russia and Bulgaria; six kings, those of Prussia, Saxony, Bavaria, Würtemberg, Hungary, and Greece; one sultan, and a crowd of princes, dukes, and grand dukes renounced their hereditary rights and sought refuge either in obscurity or in exile. More than a score of sovereigns dethroned represents part of the balance sheet of the war.

With the emperors, kings, princes, dukes, and grand dukes went the whole theory of absolutism and divine right. Monarchy itself disappeared in most of central and eastern Eu-

rope, only Hungary and three Balkan states (Rumania, Bulgaria, and Jugoslavia), retaining a semblance of one-man rule.¹ The war revealed, clearly enough, what ruin might be caused by the vanity, selfishness, and ambition of a few persons. They had long menaced the peace and happiness of the world. At last, the world is done with them.

Absolutism
and divine
right dis-
credited

The republics and democracies that have sprung up in so much of Europe bid fair to be permanent. Their stability has sometimes been threatened by the radical socialists, or communists, who form an appreciable element of the population in many states. In Germany, as has been noted, the communists started the Spartacan uprising, which was bloodily suppressed. An attempt by Bela Kun, a pupil of Lenin and Trotsky, to foment a communist revolution in Hungary likewise ended in failure. The efforts of the communists to duplicate in Italy the conditions prevailing in Bolshevik Russia led to the formation of the so-called Fascisti,² a party which opposed the physical violence of the communists with still greater violence. The Fascisti found a leader in Benito Mussolini, a former Italian soldier in the war. He became a sort of temporary dictator of Italy in 1923, controlling both parliament and king, and carried through many governmental reforms. The French communists have a considerable representation in the Chamber of Deputies. The Labor Party, which for a time in 1924 controlled the British government, consists chiefly of moderate socialists, but with a fringe of radicals who support the communist movement.

Democracy
and
communism

The spread of political democracy has resulted in the making of many new constitutions. These are generally liberal documents. They establish manhood suffrage and often woman suffrage as well. They separate Church and State, where the two had previously been united. They also provide for a system of common schools, so that the people

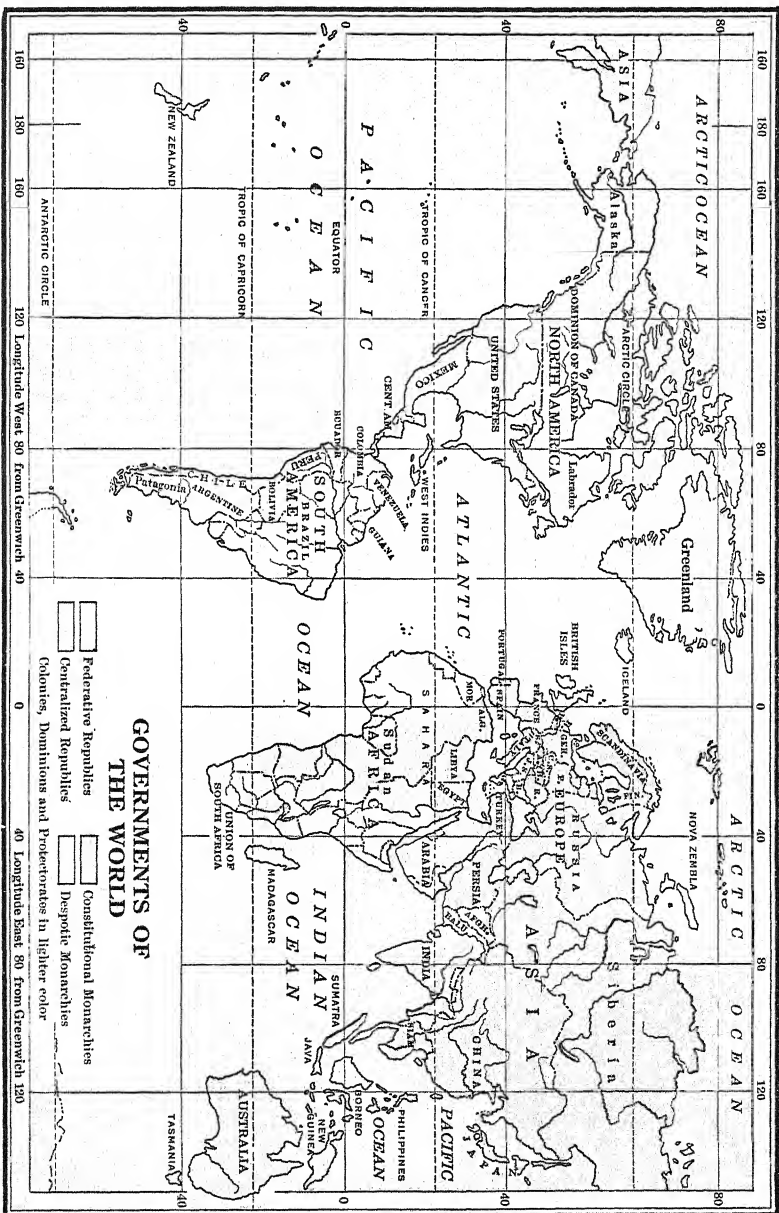
Liberal
constitutions

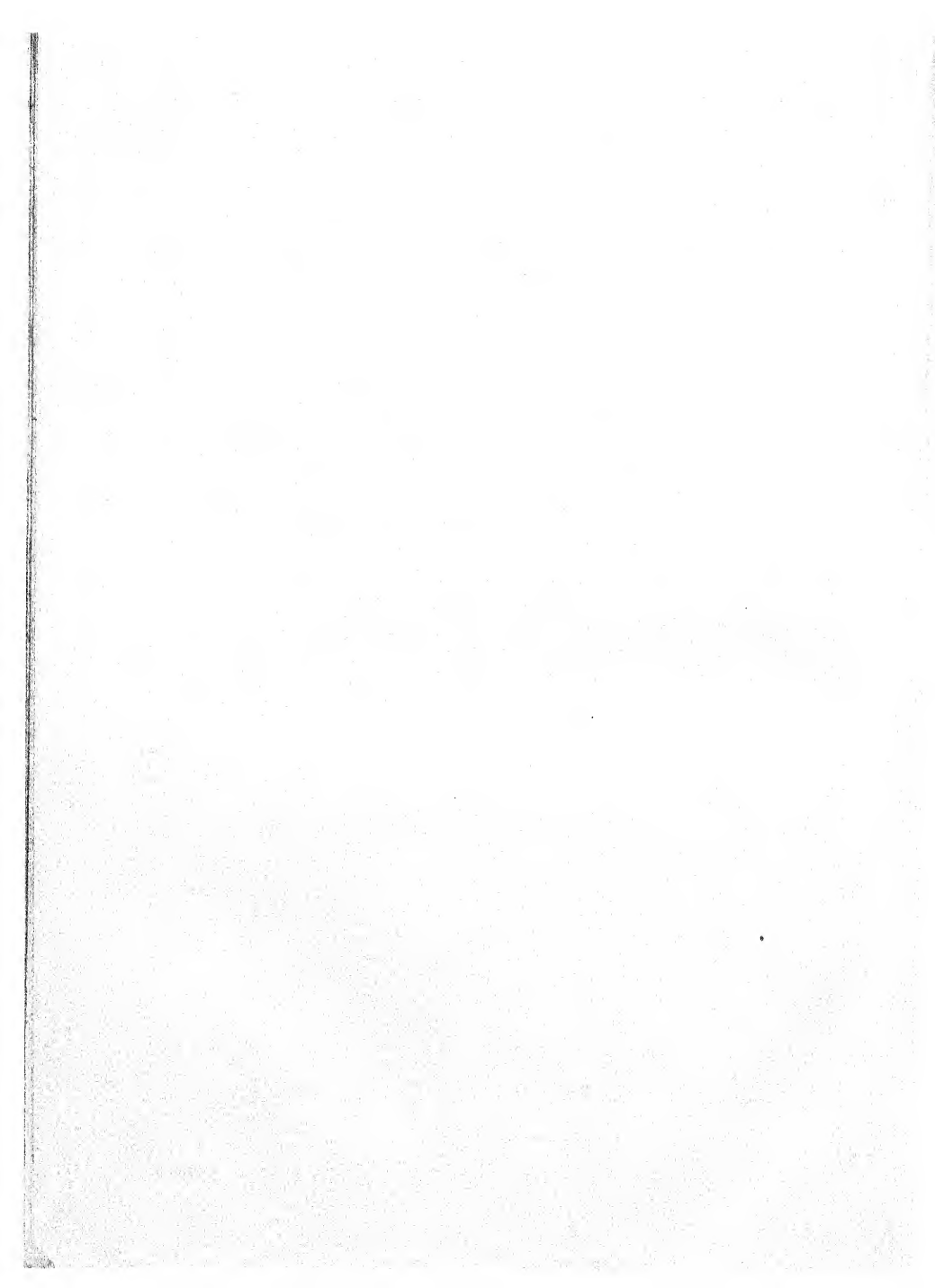
¹ Turkey became a republic in 1923 and Greece in 1924.

² The *fascis* in Old Rome were a bundle of rods wrapped about an ax and carried before the highest magistrates as an emblem of authority.

EUROPEAN GOVERNMENTS

COUNTRY	CAPITAL	RULER	PARLIAMENT
ALBANIA	Durazzo	Republic	Diet
AUSTRIA	Vienna	Republic	Bundesrat and Nationalrat
BELGIUM	Brussels	Albert I (1909-)	Senate and Chamber of Representatives
BULGARIA	Sofia	Boris III (1918-)	National Assembly, or Sobranje
CZECHO-SLOVAKIA	Prague	Republic	Senate and Chamber of Deputies
DENMARK	Copenhagen	Christian X (1912-)	Rigsdad (Landsting and Folkething)
ESTHONIA	Reval		State Assembly
FINLAND	Helsingfors	Republic	House of Representatives
FRANCE	Paris	Republic	Senate and Chamber of Deputies
GERMANY	Berlin	Republic	Bundesrat and Reichstag
GREAT BRITAIN .	London	George V (1910-)	House of Lords and House of Commons
GREECE	Athens	Republic	Bulé (Council of State and Chamber of Deputies)
HOLLAND	The Hague	Wilhelmina (1890-)	Estates-General (First Chamber and Second Chamber)
HUNGARY	Budapest		
ICELAND	Reykjavik	Christian X (1912-)	Althing (Upper House and Lower House)
ITALY	Rome	Victor Emmanuel III (1900-)	Senate and Chamber of Deputies
JUGOSLAVIA . . .	Belgrade	Alexander I (1919-)	National Assembly, or Naroda Skupshina
LATVIA	Riga		Parliament or Saeima
LITHUANIA	Vilna	Republic	
NORWAY	Christiania	Haakon VII (1905-)	Storting (Lagthing and Odelsting)
POLAND	Warsaw		Parliament, or Sejm
PORTUGAL	Lisbon	Republic	National Council and Second Chamber
RUMANIA	Bukharest	Ferdinand I (1914-)	Senate and Chamber of Deputies
RUSSIA	Moscow		Congress of Soviets
SPAIN	Madrid	Alfonso XIII (1886-)	Cortes (Senate and Congress)
SWEDEN	Stockholm	Gustav V (1907-)	Diet (First Chamber and Second Chamber)
SWITZERLAND . . .	Berne		Ständerat and Nationalrat
TURKEY	Constantinople	Republic	Senate and Chamber of Deputies





may understand and appreciate democratic institutions. Other noteworthy features of the constitutions are the insistence on ministerial responsibility to parliament — cabinet government — and the adoption of proportional representation, in order that small parties and minorities may secure representation in the legislature. The presidents of the new republics have far less authority and influence than the sovereigns whom they displaced. Their position rather resembles that of the head of the French Republic.

The World War and the Peace of Paris made an end of the political system that developed between 1871 and 1914. A Triple Alliance no longer confronted a Triple Entente. The proud dynasties of the Hohenzollerns, the Hapsburgs, and the Romanovs had disappeared, and with them their imposing empires. Germany, indeed, kept her unity and most of her territory, but the Allied requirements for disarmament and reparation reduced her, for a time at least, to the position of a second-rate power. Austria-Hungary was resolved into a congeries of states, each independent, each ambitious, each jealous of its liberties. Russia was now separated from the rest of Europe by Rumania, which had more than doubled in size, by a revived and powerful Poland, and by the new Baltic republics.

Break-up of
the Triple
Alliance

There remained Great Britain, Italy, and France. The three countries after the war had neither the resources nor the desire to impose their will upon the rest of Europe. Great Britain, occupied with urgent problems of reconstruction and burdened with new responsibilities in Africa and Asia, avoided Continental entanglements. Italy centered her interests in southeastern Europe and the Mediterranean. France, on the other hand, once more found herself the leading state on the Continent. She kept up the largest and most efficient standing army, in order to enforce the terms of the peace settlement upon Germany, and she made an alliance with Poland so that the Polish republic might serve as a buffer between Germany and Russia. France thus recovered something of her former ascendancy under Louis XIV and Napoleon.

Great Britain,
Italy, and
France

The general control of all matters springing out of the treaties was vested, originally, in the "Principal Allied and Associated Powers." The failure of the United States to ratify the treaties and the abstention of Japan from European affairs reduced the group of powers practically to Great Britain, Italy, and France. They have coöperated, though not without friction, through councils of premiers and cabinet ministers from the different countries. Some important and difficult international questions have been referred by the three powers to the League of Nations for settlement. Their continued and friendly coöperation is essential, if Europe is to recover from the war and enjoy lasting peace.

Studies

1. Where are Iraq, Hejaz, Anatolia, Kurdistan, Albania, Saar Basin, Schleswig, Upper Silesia, Istria, Eastern Thrace, Fiume, Danzig, Memel, Smyrna, and Angora?
2. On the map between pages 590-591, locate the areas occupied by Lithuanians, Letts, Esthonians, Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, Ruthenians (Little Russians), Slovenians, and Serbo-Croats (Serbs and Croatians).
3. Indicate on an outline map the new boundaries of Germany and of Russia in Europe.
4. Indicate on an outline map the boundaries of Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, and Yugoslavia.
5. Explain the use in this chapter of the expressions: secret diplomacy, self-determination, plebiscite, mandate, and free city.
6. Mention some instances of plebiscites, mandates, and free cities provided for by the peace treaties.
7. Explain briefly: Reparation Commission; "Dawes Plan"; "Third International"; Article X of the Covenant of the League of Nations.
8. Compare the Peace Conference at Paris with the Congress of Vienna as to membership, purpose, and accomplishment.
9. Indicate on the map between pages 778-779, the districts lost by Germany and Bulgaria, respectively.
10. On the same map indicate what territories have been "redeemed" by Italy and Rumania, respectively.
11. What independent states were set up by non-Russian peoples formerly in the Russian Empire?
12. Compare the boundaries of the new Poland with those of Poland before its partition (map on page 427).
13. Name and locate the principal colonial acquisitions of Great Britain and France at the expense of Germany.
14. Contrast the government of socialist Germany with that of the German Empire.
15. Contrast the government of Soviet Russia with that of the Russian Empire.
16. What did Mr. Lloyd George mean by saying, "This is a war of nationalities"?
17. What did President Wilson mean by saying, "The world must be made safe for democracy"?
18. Show how the World War and the Peace of Paris contributed to the realization of both nationalism and democracy in Europe.
19. What European states have a republican form of government? What ones are democratic monarchies?
20. How many independent countries were there in Europe in 1914? How many are there now?
21. Name and locate the capitals of the new European states.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE WORLD TO-DAY¹

265. The Cost of the World War

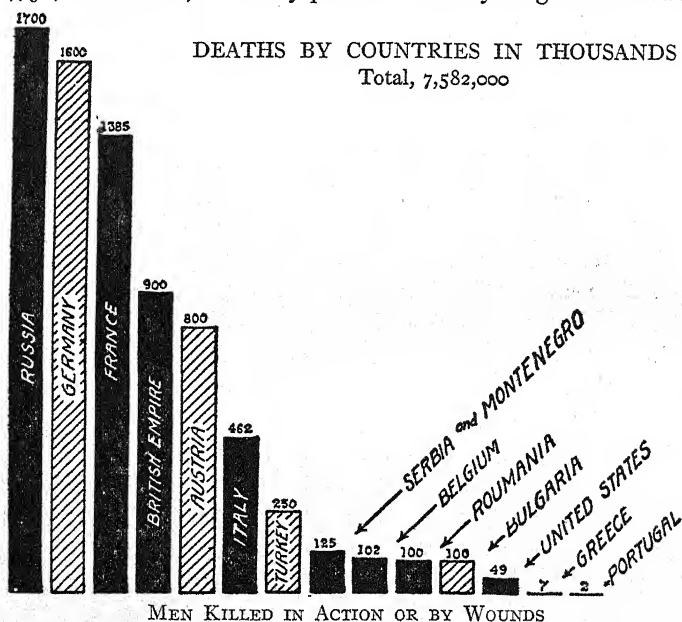
THE World War deserved its name. It cast a dark shadow over almost the entire globe. Nothing like it had ever happened before. Twenty-eight countries, with their colonial dependencies, took up arms, while five Latin-American countries severed diplomatic relations with Germany. A world war
Only sixteen countries (Spain, Switzerland, Holland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Abyssinia, Persia, Afghanistan, Mexico, Salvador, Colombia, Venezuela, Chile, Paraguay, and Argentina), with less than one-sixteenth of the world's population, remained neutral. Even neutrals, however, could not escape the dislocations resulting from a war of such magnitude.

The Allies mobilized about forty million men and the Central Powers about twenty million men, making a grand total of sixty million combatants from beginning to end. Blood cost
of the struggle. It is impossible to give an exact statement of the casualties. Probably ten million soldiers lost their lives in battle or as a result of wounds, accidents, and disease. Probably twenty million soldiers were wounded, perhaps a quarter of them being permanently disabled in body or in health. The death loss among non-combatants, as the result of pestilence, famine, and massacres, has been estimated at twenty millions. The total mortality directly traceable to the World War would thus amount to thirty millions. These appalling figures must be greatly increased if account is taken of the loss of population due to the decline of the normal birth-rate and the increase of the normal death-rate among European peoples. Not more than five million lives were lost

¹ Webster, *Historical Source Book*, No. 20, "Holy Alliance, 1815"; No. 33, "Covenant of the League of Nations, 1919."

in battle in all the wars from the time of the French Revolution to 1914.

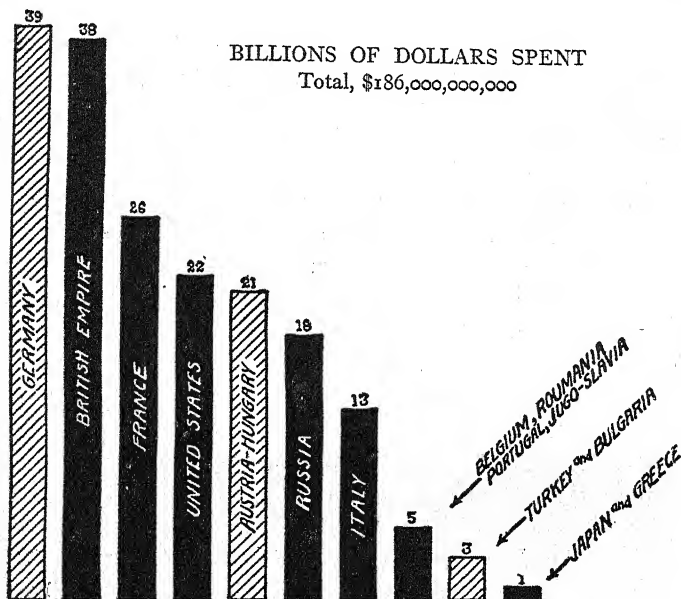
The ten million soldiers who fell in the war were mostly picked men. They had passed tests for physical and mental fitness; they were in the prime of life and health and the race and strength; they should have been the virile fathers of the next generation. France, who lost altogether 1,750,000 soldiers, had sixty per cent of her young men killed in



From "The War with Germany," published by U. S. War Department.

battle or as the result of battle. The mortality among the youth in the German, British, and other European armies doubtless reached almost as high a figure. This is necessarily the outcome of the system of selective conscription, where the fittest go to the slaughter and the weaklings remain at home. The war, therefore, injured the race fiber of the principal European nations. Its effects in this direction may make themselves felt for many decades, possibly for centuries.

A conservative estimate of the direct money cost of the war to the belligerent nations is \$186,000,000,000. This sum, colossal as it is, does not take into account the indirect cost, including the destruction of property on land and sea, the depreciation of capital, the interruption of trade, the loss of production due to the employment of the



MONEY COST TO THE COMBATANT NATIONS FOR DIRECT WAR EXPENSES, TO THE SPRING OF 1919

From "The War with Germany," published by U. S. War Department.

world's workers in military activities, the payments for war relief, and the expenditures of neutral nations. Such items, in the aggregate, would amount to many more billions. However, any estimate of either the direct or the indirect cost is more or less fallacious, unless it allows for the tremendous and rapid depreciation of the currencies in all European countries during the war period. Measured in dollars the total expenditure was one thing; measured in terms of labor and commodities it was another and lesser thing. The figure given above for the

direct cost must be halved, if it is to be adjusted to the purchasing power of currencies before the war began. But even \$93,000,000,000 is a sum so great as almost to defy the imagination. It is a thousand dollars for every mile of the distance between our earth and the sun. All the wars from the time of the French Revolution to 1914 cost not more than \$25,000,000,000.

The war was financed to some extent by increased taxation, especially in Great Britain and the United States, but chiefly by borrowing. The nations, in the first place, issued vast quantities of paper money. Such forced loans are easily made on the Continent, where the governments control the banks and possess a monopoly of note issue. The enormous sums thus put into circulation are a primary cause of the rise of prices abroad, increasing several times over the cost of labor and commodities as measured in terms of the money unit. One of the financial problems confronting Europe is the speedy withdrawal of a large part of these notes from circulation. In the second place, the nations sold their bonds, or promises to pay, to all who would buy them. The amounts raised were far greater than had been supposed possible. The people bought the bonds out of their savings, for the war taught lessons of thrift to almost every one and made it a patriotic duty for the citizen to save that his country might have more to spend. The bonds will be mostly funded into long-time obligations running many years before maturity.

The end of the war left the whole financial world in chaos. All the belligerents had to impose heavy additional taxation, in order to meet the interest on their huge debts and repair the destruction caused by the struggle. Many of them found it difficult to avoid bankruptcy. Great Britain and the United States were the only important belligerents which from the start balanced their budgets and did not show a large gap between income and expenditure. Some of the countries, particularly Germany and Russia, indulged for a time in an orgy of paper-money inflation, with the result that both the mark and the ruble became practically worthless. Even the French franc depreciated to about a fourth of its pre-war value.

War finance

Finance

after the war

THE BELLIGERENTS IN THE WORLD WAR
THE ALLIES, WITH COLONIES AND DEPENDENCIES

Country	Date of Entrance	Population	Men Mobilized	Casualties among Combatants
Serbia	1914	4,550,000	707,000	450,000
Russia	1914	175,000,000	12,000,000	9,150,000
France	1914	87,500,000	7,500,000	4,506,000
Belgium	1914	22,500,000	267,000	90,000
British Empire	1914	440,000,000	7,500,000	3,080,000
Montenegro	1914	516,000	50,000	20,000
Japan	1915	74,000,000	800,000	1,000
Italy	1915	37,000,000	5,500,000	2,800,000
San Marino	1915	12,000	100,000	10,000
Portugal	1916	15,000,000	750,000	400,000
Rumania	1916	7,500,000	750,000	274,000
United States	1917	113,000,000	4,272,000	
Cuba	1917	2,500,000		
Panama	1917	427,000		
Greece	1917	5,700,000	230,000	100,000
Siam	1917	1,350,000		
Liberia	1917	1,800,000		
China	1917	320,000,000		
Brazil	1917	25,000,000		
Haiti	1918	2,000,000		
Guatemala	1918	746,000		
Nicaragua	1918	455,000		
Costa Rica	1918	605,000		
Honduras	1918			
		1,345,761,000	39,676,000	20,890,000

CENTRAL POWERS, WITH COLONIES AND DEPENDENCIES

Country	Date of Entrance	Population	Men Mobilized	Casualties among Combatants
Austria-Hungary	1914	50,000,000	6,500,000	5,211,000
Germany	1914	86,000,000	11,000,000	6,006,000
Turkey	1914	21,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000
Bulgaria	1915	5,000,000	400,000	204,000
		156,600,000	19,500,000	12,511,000

The financial burden which our own and future generations must carry is shown by the gigantic national debts. These **National debts** now total nearly ten times what they were before the war. The debt of Great Britain, at the peak in 1920, was \$40,000,000,000; that of the United States, at the peak in 1919, was in excess of \$26,000,000,000. Both these countries are now paying off their indebtedness — the United States doing so at the rapid rate of about a billion a year. During the war the Allies borrowed about \$10,000,000,000 from the United States. Great Britain, Poland, and some of the smaller Continental states have begun to meet the interest charges on what they owe and to liquidate the principal. It is expected that the British debt to the United States will be completely extinguished in sixty years. Payments made by other European countries to the United States will likewise be spread over a long period of time. The Russian debt, both internal and external, which had reached a high figure at the time of the Revolution, was repudiated by the Bolsheviks. The Turkish Nationalists, by repudiating the indebtedness which the old Ottoman Empire contracted abroad, have taken the same short and easy, if dishonorable, step toward financial rehabilitation.

266. Lessons of the World War

No competent historian has ever held Austria-Hungary and Germany entirely responsible for the World War. Long before 1914 mighty forces making for war had been operative in the international world, forces that needed only to be released to precipitate a conflict. What these were we have already learned. First, there was extreme nationalism, a sentiment which had gained ground all through the nineteenth century. It bred ill-will between European peoples. It made difficult any real sympathy or understanding between them. Each people developed an exaggerated sense of "national honor" and, like a duelist, professed its readiness to fight "at the drop of the hat" on any occasion of the slightest insult to the government or even to

**International
responsibility
for modern
warfare**

a single citizen. Second, there was economic imperialism, producing European expansion, annexations of foreign territory, and the struggle for markets, concessions, investments, and spheres of influence in new and undeveloped regions. Such advantages were often gained by sheer force or by diplomatic pressure backed by armies and navies. Third, there was secret diplomacy, and connected therewith, the whole system of entangling alliances. Enormous power was thus placed in the hands of ambassadors and foreign-office ministers. They often made the most serious and binding agreements without the knowledge of the people at large or even the knowledge of parliaments. Fourth, there was militarism, and the wasteful, fear-producing competition in armaments. Still other forces made for international hostility. The presence in Europe of so many "submerged nationalities," longing for independence and self-government, constituted a grave danger. The numerous territorial and boundary disputes, resulting from previous wars and ill-made peace treaties, also contributed to the general insecurity. Clearly enough, no one nation, or group of nations, could be wholly blamed for this international situation. Austria-Hungary and Germany did indeed hurl the flaming torch that kindled the great conflagration, but Europe was a powder house in 1914.

The World War involved Europe, the largest part of North America and South America, much of Africa, two-thirds of Asia, and most of Oceania. Improved methods of transportation and communication have brought all civilized peoples so close together that a shot fired in the Balkans soon provoked an international crisis and at length produced an international conflict. The nations, while remaining politically independent, are now economically and socially interdependent. Their isolation is forever ended. What concerns one concerns all. The fate of one becomes the fate of all. It was impossible to localize the last war; it will be equally impossible to localize the next war.

Modern
warfare
world-wide

Everything indicates that the next war, if on the scale of the last one, will be still more destructive of life and property.

Airplanes, submarines, battleships, and armament are being rapidly improved. We now have an automatic cannon which fires one hundred and twenty shells a minute, and a sixteen-inch gun which hurls a projectile weighing more than a ton for a distance of twenty-seven miles. "Tanks" are evolving into land battleships, equipped with field guns as well as machine guns. Poison gases of incredible malignity, powerful enough to disable or kill thousands of people at one time, have been discovered and perfected. Nor does the ghastly catalogue end here. Disease germs, capable of polluting the water supply of whole areas, blight to destroy crops, anthrax to slay horses and cattle, and plague to sweep away entire populations are being prepared in the chemical laboratories of more than one great country. There is even the possibility of the discovery of some lethal electric ray which can be projected into space with deadly effect. Modern warfare, by utilizing all the agencies of modern science, threatens to become a sort of collective suicide of the nations. Whole populations will take part in it, men, women, and children doing their utmost, and all exposed to the fury of the enemy. Every means to beat down the foe and enforce a decision will be employed. Mr. Lloyd George spoke soberly when he declared that another war will be against civilization. He might have added, it will destroy civilization.

267. The Peace Movement

Christianity introduced into Europe an exalted conception of the sacredness of human life. It condemned homicide of any kind, and therefore regarded war as unlawful under any circumstances. Had not Christ declared that "all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword"?¹ The Christian Church formed, in fact, the first peace society and launched the first peace movement. This pacifist attitude could not be maintained, at a time when the Roman Empire was assailed on almost every side by barbarian

¹ *Matthew*, xxvi, 52.

invaders. The Church had to accommodate her teaching about war to the practice of a warlike age. She began by admitting the legitimacy of defensive warfare, but ere long sanctioned aggressive warfare as well. After Christianity became the official religion of the Empire in the fourth century, the militarization of the Church proceeded apace. The use of the cross on the standards of the imperial army testified to the change that had come over the spirit of Christianity.

The Church in the Middle Ages, while by no means a pacifist organization, in general cast its influence on the side of peace. It deserves credit for establishing the Truce of God and for many efforts to stamp out private warfare between feudal nobles. The Church, however, encouraged public warfare against heretics and infidels. Medieval Christians believed that it was a religious duty to exterminate these enemies of God. The institution of chivalry and the military orders of monks, such as Templars and Hospitalers, illustrate the union between Christianity and militancy.

The rise of Protestantism did not produce a change in the position of official Christianity toward war. Most of the Protestant churches were state churches, and their ministers, considering themselves as in the service of the state, usually supported whatever war their government undertook. Nevertheless, Christian sects arose which reprobated all war. The English Lollards in the fourteenth century taught that homicide in war is forbidden by the New Testament. The sixteenth-century Anabaptists, who had many adherents in Germany and other countries, believed that Christians should not bear arms or offer forcible resistance to wrongdoers or wield the sword. The Society of Friends (commonly called Quakers) likewise took an attitude of uncompromising pacifism.

Strong protests against war were voiced at various times by isolated reformers, for instance, by Erasmus, Voltaire, and Tolstoy. The nineteenth century saw the rise of peace societies, numbering several hundreds throughout the world. Their first international congress took

place as early as 1843. These societies held regular meetings and maintained a permanent bureau at Bern, Switzerland. They helped to arouse public sentiment in favor of compulsory arbitration, the restriction of armaments, and the removal of the causes of war. Useful work for peace was also done by such unofficial bodies as the Institute of International Law and the Inter-Parliamentary Union. The Pan-American Union, founded in 1890, had for its purpose the furtherance of good relations among all the twenty-one republics of the New World. The peace movement was also promoted by private benefactors. Alfred Nobel, the Swedish inventor of dynamite and other explosives, who left his fortune for the establishment of international prizes, directed that one of these should be annually awarded to the person or society rendering the greatest service to the cause of human brotherhood. Andrew Carnegie gave ten million dollars as an endowment to hasten the abolition of international war, "the foulest blot on our civilization." The endowment was particularly intended to encourage studies in economics, history, and international law, so that the world's peoples might know one another better and so avoid many sources of friction between them.

What is called international law arose as an attempt to frame rules acceptable to all nations and binding upon them in their **International** relations with one another. These rules at first **law** had most to do with the conduct of war. Hugo Grotius, the venerated founder of international law, lived during the Thirty Years' War and wrote his truly epoch-making treatise, *On the Law of War and Peace*, to lessen the horrors of that conflict. "I saw prevailing throughout the Christian world a license in making war of which even barbarous nations would have been ashamed. Recourse was had to arms for slight reasons or no reason; and when arms were once taken up, all reverence for divine and human law was thrown away, just as if men were henceforth authorized to commit all crimes without restraint."¹ After the time of Grotius, the field of international law steadily widened until not only the regulation of warfare,

¹ Grotius, *On the Law of War and Peace*, Prolegomena, 28.

but also the preservation of peace became the ideal of statesmen, publicists, and all lovers of mankind.

The catastrophe of 1914-1918 has given new strength to the peace movement. Thoughtful men are now impressed, as never before, by the horrors of past conflicts. They are ^{Abolition} apprehensive of fresh horrors to come. They are ^{of war} aware that no limits, except the habitable globe itself, can be set to the possible scope of another conflict. They realize that the roots of war sink deep into the soil of the past and that all countries are responsible, in greater or less degree, for its existence. They ask, therefore, if the time has not come to end forever armed conflict between the nations. Cannot it be abolished, as cannibalism, human sacrifice, blood revenge, witchcraft, slavery, and other anti-social practices have been abolished by the common sense of mankind? If this is to be done, we now perceive that it can only be done by international organization.

268. International Organization

The idea of maintaining peace by international agreements is not new. Several great wars have been followed by projects for the prevention of future conflicts. After the ^{Early peace} religious struggles of the sixteenth century in ^{projects} France came the "Grand Design" of Henry IV, inspired, it is said, by his minister Sully. The development of this plan for a European Confederation or Christian Republic was frustrated by the assassination of the French king. Near the close of the seventeenth century, William Penn wrote a prophetic *Essay towards the Present and Future Peace of Europe* (1692). Penn argued that an international Diet or Parliament, obeying "the same rules of justice and peace by which parents and masters govern their families, magistrates their cities, estates their republics, and princes and kings their principalities and kingdoms," could abolish warfare between the nations. The French revolutionary wars produced Immanuel Kant's *Toward Perpetual Peace* (1795). In this work the great German philosopher declared that perpetual peace might be secured by an inter-

national union of states and that such a union would become feasible when autocracies gave way to democracies.

It was the autocrats, however, who made the first attempt at a League of Nations. In 1815, after Europe had been exhausted by the struggle against Napoleon, the **The Holy Alliance** tsar, Alexander I, joined with Francis I of Austria and Frederick William III of Prussia in a so-called Holy Alliance. The three rulers pledged themselves "in the name of the Most Holy and Indivisible Trinity" to take for their sole guide henceforth "the precepts of justice, Christian charity, and peace." They further promised to remain united "by the bonds of a true and indivisible fraternity," and "on all occasions and in all places" to lend each other aid and assistance. Several other European sovereigns later signed this pledge, conspicuous exceptions being the Pope, the Sultan, and George IV, the British Prince Regent. Though a praiseworthy attempt to apply much needed principles of morality to international relations, the Holy Alliance never had any real importance. Most statesmen agreed with Metternich's characterization of it as a "loud-sounding nothing." It soon faded into oblivion, being replaced by the far more practical Concert of Europe.

The five great powers, Great Britain, France, Prussia, Austria, and Russia, who formed the Concert, did not keep peace throughout the nineteenth century. Their conflicting **The European Concert** interests and especially their nationalistic aspirations more than once led to hostilities between them. Nevertheless, the idea of a Concert persisted, and from time to time the great powers imposed their will upon the whole of Europe. They neutralized Switzerland in 1815 and Belgium in 1839. At the Congress of Paris in 1856, which concluded the Crimean War, they signed the Declaration of Paris, providing rules for the conduct of maritime warfare. By the Geneva Convention in 1864 they undertook to ameliorate warfare by land and organized the International Red Cross, with branches in every civilized country. In 1878 the great powers, now including Great Britain, France, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Italy, and Russia, met in the Congress of Berlin for the settle-

ment of the Eastern Question. Nor was the Concert confined to Europe. It organized the Congo Free State under international guarantees, neutralized the Suez Canal, coöperated with Japan and the United States to suppress the Chinese "Boxers," and held the Algeciras Conference to deal with the Moroccan problem.

The nations also began to resort increasingly to arbitration as a means of adjusting differences between them. Great Britain and the United States, for instance, ^{International} arbitrated the *Alabama* claims after the Civil War ^{arbitration} and in the same way ended a boundary dispute between British Guiana and Venezuela, which threatened for a time to involve the two great English-speaking peoples in fratricidal strife. Over two hundred awards were made by arbitral courts during the nineteenth century, and every one was executed. After 1900 many leading countries concluded treaties with each other, pledging themselves to submit to arbitration all controversies except those affecting national honor or vital interests (such as independence).

International arbitration received a great impetus at the two Hague conferences of 1899 and 1907. The assembled powers could not agree to limit armaments, but besides re- ^{The Hague} ^{conferences} ^{vising the laws of war they set up a court of arbitra-} tion, to which the nations might resort. Though without authority to enforce its decrees, the Hague Tribunal did settle a number of controversies which in earlier days might have led to war. It thus marked a distinct advance toward international peace.

Then came the World War. Austria-Hungary and Germany abruptly withdrew from the European Concert, rejected every proposal for arbitration or mediation, and, after ^{An} ^{international} ^{league} hostilities began, proceeded to violate treaty obligations and the recognized usages of warfare, both by land and sea. The Allies, in consequence, became the defenders of international law, as well as the champions of nationality and democracy. Their enormous sacrifices during the struggle promised to be in vain, unless some means could be found to preserve the sanctity of treaties and prevent future

aggressive wars. An international league began to seem, not a utopian scheme, but rather a practical necessity for the peace and security of mankind. Such thoughts as these were repeatedly expressed by responsible statesmen among the Allies, especially by Mr. Lloyd George and President Wilson.

269. The League of Nations

As soon as the Peace Conference opened at Paris, a committee representing the Allied and Associated governments began work

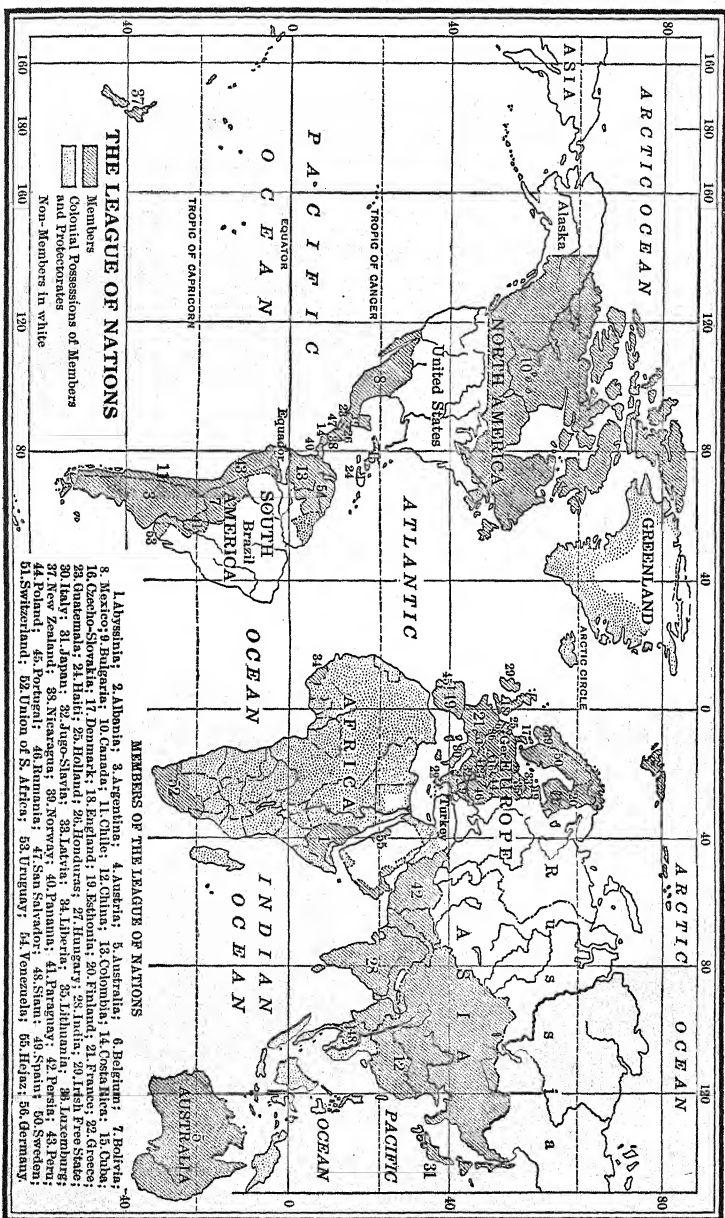
Formation of the league on the various proposals which had been put forward from time to time for an international league.

The committee presented the first draft of a constitution to the conference in February, 1919. Various modifications of it were made as the result of world-wide discussion, and the amended document was then inserted in the peace treaty with Germany. The signing of that treaty and its subsequent ratification set up the League of Nations in active operation.

The constitution, or Covenant, of the League of Nations was written in large part by President Wilson. It is a short, simple, **Covenant of the league** and dignified document. The objects of the organization are thus stated in the preamble: "The High Contracting Parties, in order to promote international coöperation and to achieve international peace and security, by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war, by the prescription of open, just, and honorable relations between nations, by the firm establishment of the understandings of international law as the actual rule of conduct among governments, and by the maintenance of justice and a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealings of organized peoples with one another, agree to this Covenant of the League of Nations."

The League of Nations consists of an Assembly, in which each member has one vote and not more than three representatives;

Organization a Council, made up of representatives of Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan, together with representatives of six other members of the league; and a permanent Secretariat at Geneva, Switzerland. The Assembly



holds a meeting once a year at Geneva, for the admission of new members and for the discussion of matters of international interest. Such power as the league possesses is in the hands of the ten members of the Council, who meet every few months and decide on action to be taken in the name of the league. All important decisions of the Council require a unanimous vote.

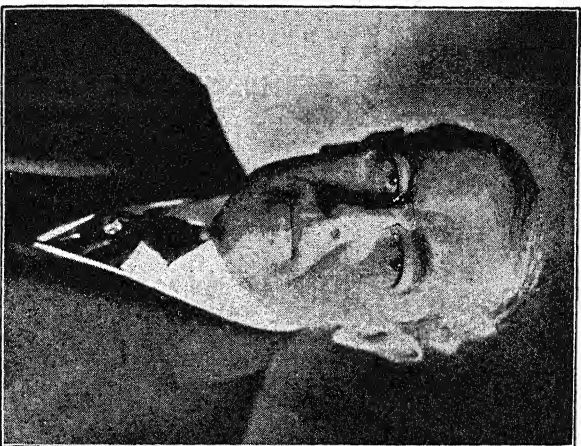
Forty-one nations¹ were represented by delegates at the first meeting of the Assembly of the league in 1920. Accessions to

the league were made at subsequent meetings, **Membership** until in 1932 its membership included fifty-five nations. For the future, any self-governing state, dominion, or colony may be enrolled by a two-thirds vote of the members. Any member may, after two years' notice, withdraw from the league, if at the time of withdrawal it has fulfilled all its international obligations. 55

Important countries still outside the league are Turkey, Russia, the United States, and Brazil, which withdrew from **Non-members** membership in 1928. The former enemy states, at first excluded, were later admitted, Germany becoming a member in 1926. Mexico entered the league in 1931. The reasons why the United States refused membership in the league have been mentioned in the preceding chapter. The abstention of these countries seriously limits the authority of the league. It cannot function with entire efficiency in European affairs until Russia is admitted and assigned a seat on the Council. Nor can it become in the fullest sense a world organization as long as the United States continues to be a non-member.

Some important duties arising out of the Peace of Paris were intrusted to the league. **Duties** It administers the internationalized areas, including the Saar Valley, Danzig, and Fiume. It also supervises the government of mandated territories, comprising the former colonies of Germany and the countries in the Near East liberated from Turkey.

¹ Canada, Australia, New Zealand, the Union of South Africa, and India are each represented in the Assembly of the league, as well as the United Kingdom. The Irish Free State is also a member of the league.



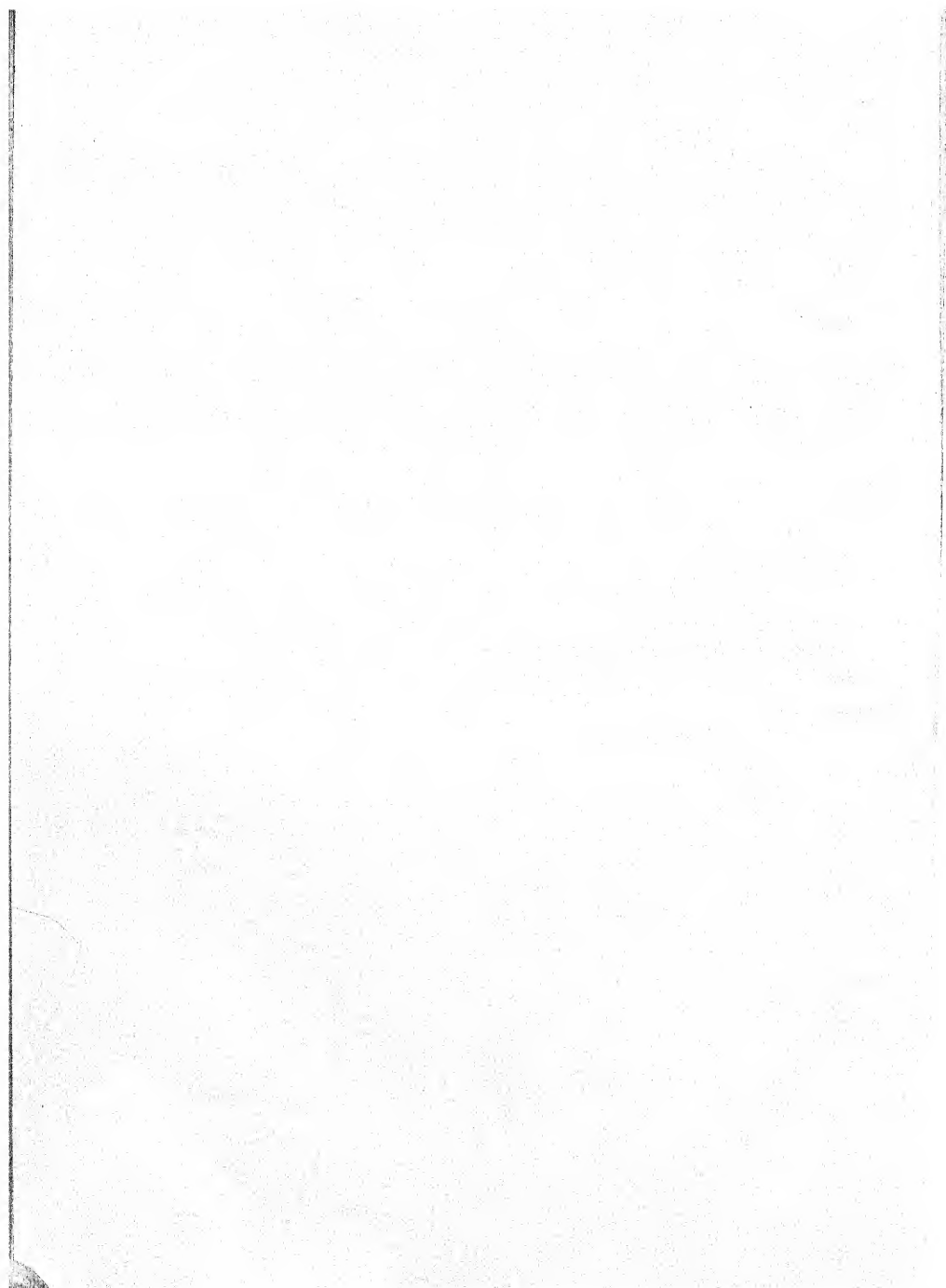
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DAVID LLOYD GEORGE



The mandatory system represents a praiseworthy departure from the usual method of disposing of enemy territories conquered in war. These territories, instead of being annexed, will be governed by the conquerors as trustees, at their own expense and without any definite benefit to themselves. They must submit an annual report to the league, which has final authority to pass judgment on the discharge of their trusteeship. The mandatory system rests on the principle that backward and undeveloped countries, unable as yet to achieve or preserve independence, ought to be treated as international responsibilities, not as opportunities for national profit and aggrandizement. Such countries should be governed in the interest of the inhabitants and for the common advantage of the world. If these good intentions are realized, a step will have been taken in getting rid of some of the evils of "imperialism."

The league serves as a convenient agency for dealing with matters that concern all its members, such as the prevention and control of disease, the regulation of the traffic in dangerous drugs, and, in conjunction with the Red Cross, the mitigation of suffering throughout the world. In the first eight months of 1924 there were no less than seventy-six of these international gatherings at Geneva. A very important department of the league, the International Labor Office, is concerned with the betterment of industrial conditions in the various countries. One of the significant provisions of the Covenant requires that any treaty or international engagement concluded by league members shall be registered with the Secretariat and published. Unless so registered it shall not be binding. This regulation, if faithfully observed, should do away with the old "secret diplomacy."

The Covenant, in its present form, declares that a war or even a threat of war is a matter of concern to the whole league. The members promise to submit any dispute likely to result in a rupture either to arbitration or to inquiry by the Council. If the dispute is submitted to arbitration, they pledge themselves to carry out in good faith

The league
and inter-
national
coöperation

The league
and inter-
national peace

any award that may be rendered and not to resort to war. If the dispute is submitted to inquiry by the Council and the report of that body is unanimously agreed to by all the members (except those that are parties to the dispute), they also pledge themselves not to resort to war. In case the Council's report is not unanimous, they agree not to go to war until three months after the report has been made. Should a member take up arms, in disregard of these agreements, it will be considered as having committed an act of aggression toward all other members. They must then sever trade and financial relations with it, thus subjecting it to economic ostracism — a sort of international boycott. The Council of the league may further recommend (but not require) that the members contribute military, naval, or air forces for use against the recalcitrant state. No occasion for the use of such measures to protect the Covenant has yet arisen. The obligations of league members are further defined by the famous Article X,¹ which declares that they will respect and preserve "as against external aggression" by non-member states the territory and independence of one another.

The league was five years old in 1925. Up to that time it had headed off or snuffed out at least six wars between European countries. These would have been minor wars at the start, but no one can tell how great they might have become before they ended. The league settled a serious dispute between Sweden and Finland as to the ownership of the Åland Islands; it gave the islands to Finland, and Sweden acquiesced in the decision. The very troublesome question of the division of Upper Silesia between Germany and Poland was referred to the league for solution; its award, drawing a new frontier line, was accepted by both countries. The league has aided in the rehabilitation of Austria and Hungary by means of international loans to these almost bankrupt countries and by the supervision of their finances. The humanitarian activities of the league are numerous. It has returned to their homes about three hundred thousand prisoners of war in Russia and other countries. It has checked an epidemic of typhus and

Accomplish-
ments of
the league

¹ See page 766.

bubonic plague in eastern Europe that might easily have spread over the entire Continent. It is engaged in efforts to stamp out the traffic in opium, a drug which has become such a curse in Oriental countries. It has provided for the holding in 1925 of a conference of the principal nations to frame a convention with respect to the international trade in arms, munitions, and implements of war. The treaties signed by various nations of central Europe, to remove discrimination against racial and linguistic minorities within their borders, form still another accomplishment of the league.

The league is by no means perfect. The Council probably has too much authority and the Assembly too little authority. The great states have undue influence in it; the smaller but more numerous states deserve more ^{The league} to-day recognition than they have yet received. The league, in other words, needs to be made more democratic. Its gravest weakness, however, is due to the fact that several major countries do not belong to it. Rejected by the United States, scorned by Soviet Russia, distrusted by Germany, and not always trusted by the Allied governments themselves, the league still lacks both power and resources to deal finally with the larger political issues confronting Europe. The league, nevertheless, has justified its existence, if only because of its functions in regard to internationalized areas and mandated territories. Its services as a clearing-house for the whole world, in matters economic and humanitarian, are likewise of great importance. Finally, by its labors in the cause of peace, the league is gradually accustoming the nations to accept some measure of supervision over their foreign relations.

As long as the nations considered themselves entirely sovereign, able to fight when and how and whom they pleased, there was nothing to prevent a strong country from attacking and perhaps conquering a weak country. This is "international anarchy," the taproot of all modern warfare. The league has begun to deal with these anarchical conditions, not only through the provisions of the Covenant, but also by the establishment of a "World Court" and by an agreement, or Protocol, for the outlawry of war.

270. The World Court and the Geneva Protocol

✓ The Covenant of the league provided for the establishment of a Permanent Court of International Justice to facilitate the peaceful settlement of disputes between the nations. Such a "World Court" was set up at The Hague, Holland, in 1922. It consists of eleven eminent judges (increased to fifteen in 1930) chosen by the Council and the Assembly of the league and representing diverse races, languages, nationalities, and legal codes. All of the major countries, except Turkey, Russia, and the United States, and most of the minor countries, have signified their adherence to this organization. Believing that the American objections to membership were removed by the so-called "Root Protocol," President Hoover, in December, 1929, authorized a representative at Geneva to sign the statutes of the court. Ratification of his action must still be secured from the Senate and from the nations already belonging to the court before the United States becomes a member of this great international organization.

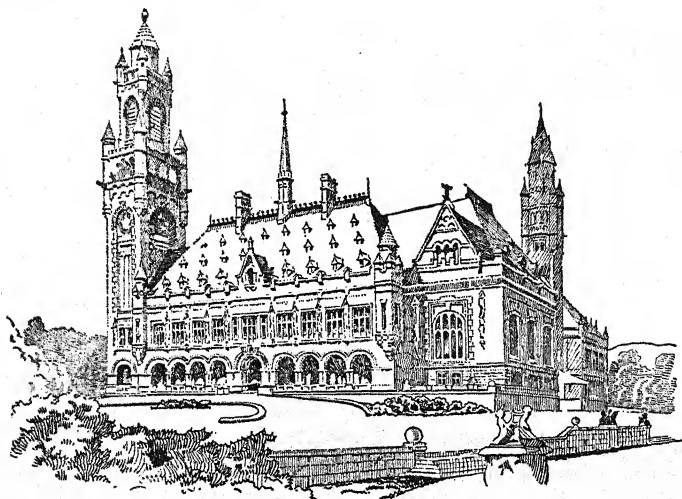
The Hague Tribunal¹ is not a court in the proper sense of the word, being merely a panel of names from which arbitrators may be selected when desired by various governments. The "World Court," on the contrary, is a body of permanent judges holding regular sessions in a definite place and at definite times. It may hear and determine any justiciable question (one relating to the interpretation of a treaty or to a matter of international law), which is submitted to it by the parties concerned. It does not have compulsory jurisdiction, however, unless the parties agree in advance to accept such jurisdiction. In this respect the "World Court" resembles the Hague Tribunal. The court also acts as a legal adviser to the League of Nations, being empowered to give an advisory opinion upon any dispute or question referred to it by the Council or by the Assembly.

The "World Court" can act only according to international law, and there are many subjects in regard to which no such law is at present applicable. Some of the great jurists of the world

¹ See page 805.

are now engaged in the preparation of an enlarged and improved international code. When completed, it will probably be submitted to the different governments, and, if approved by them, it will then become the basis of decisions by the court. This new code promises to carry forward the work of Grotius and his successors on the "Law of War and Peace."

The court
and inter-
national law



THE PEACE PALACE AT THE HAGUE

A gift of Andrew Carnegie for the use of the Hague Tribunal and for international conferences. It is also the seat of the new "World Court."

The Hague Tribunal of 1899, the League of Nations of 1920, and the "World Court" of 1922 have arisen in response to the longing of the civilized world for peace. These institutions make it more difficult than ever before for nations to fight one another, but they still recognize the right of nations to appeal to the sword. They do not outlaw war. Action in this direction was taken, for the first time in history, when the Fifth Assembly of the League of Nations adopted at Geneva in October, 1924, a Protocol for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes. The Protocol is intended to supplement, not supersede, the Covenant of the league. Assert-

The Geneva
Protocol

ing that a war of aggression constitutes "an international crime," it proceeds to define more exactly what is aggressive war and to state more definitely the obligation of the signatory nations to coerce a nation that has begun such a war. Under the terms of the Protocol any nation refusing to accept arbitration or to comply with an arbitral award becomes an aggressor. The other nations are then to bring pressure — economic, social, or military — to compel the aggressor to submit to arbitration. War, in short, is to be permitted henceforth only for the purpose of maintaining international peace. This Protocol was laid before the Council in December, 1924, for approval, modification, or rejection.

271. Disarmament

All lovers of peace realize that the setting up of such agencies as the League of Nations and the "World Court" must be accompanied by partial or complete disarmament of the nations, if war is to be forever abolished from the civilized world. The United States became the pioneer in this movement by organizing a Conference on the Limitation of Armament. In response to President Harding's invitation, delegates of nine nations (the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, Belgium, Holland, Portugal, Japan, and China) met at Washington in November, 1921, to deal with limitation of naval armament and, as connected therewith, the policy of the powers in the Far East. The conference continued in session until February, 1922. Its deliberations were so successful that the assembled powers agreed to a similar meeting eight years later, and also to frequent consultation, through commissions and other international bodies, on matters affecting their common interests. The chief results of the conference may be summarized as follows.

The delegates adopted the proposal of Secretary Hughes for a limitation of navies. The five principal naval powers agreed to scrap or convert to peaceful uses sixty-eight capital ships, and so to limit future construction that after a ten-year building holiday Great Britain and the

The Wash-
ington
Conference

Limitation
of navies

United States shall each have 525,000 tons, Japan 60 per cent of this tonnage, and France and Italy a still smaller per cent. The size of capital ships is also restricted, together with that of their guns. This agreement puts an end, at least for a decade, to much expensive and war-breeding competition in naval armaments. It further means that Great Britain surrenders the mastery of the seas. She gives up maritime supremacy, not by compulsion, but voluntarily, in the interest of a new order now dawning on the world.

The naval treaty contains an article by which the powers pledge themselves not to strengthen or enlarge the fortifications of their possessions in the Pacific. The Hawaiian Islands and the Japanese Archipelago — Japan proper — do not fall within the provisions of this article.

The five powers signing the naval treaty are also signatories to a treaty by which they agree not to use submarines as commerce destroyers, in all cases to observe the ordinary rules of visit and search of merchantmen, and to treat as a pirate any submarine commander who violates existing international law on the high seas. As between themselves, the five powers further outlaw the use of poison gas altogether.

A very important outcome of the conference was the Four-Power Treaty, arranged between the United States, Japan, Great Britain, and France. It replaces the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, which expired in 1921. The powers agree to respect one another's rights relating to their insular possessions in the Pacific. Article II provides that if the said rights are threatened by the aggressive action of any other power, the signatories "shall communicate with one another fully and frankly, in order to arrive at an understanding as to the most efficient measures to be taken, jointly or severally, to meet the exigencies of the particular situation." The period of the treaty is limited to ten years, but it will remain in force thereafter, subject to the right of any of the contracting parties to terminate it upon twelve months' notice. The principal islands of Japan are not included within the scope of the treaty,

Fortifications
"status quo"

Submarines
and
poison gas

Four-Power
Treaty

but it does apply to Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines, and the Hawaiian Islands. Taken in connection with the agreements respecting naval armaments and Pacific fortifications, the Four-Power Treaty should materially lessen the danger of future conflicts in the Far East.

All the powers at the conference signed a Far Eastern Treaty, binding each one to respect the territorial integrity and sovereign rights of China in all future dealings with that country. Japan made a separate treaty with China by which Shantung¹ was restored to Chinese control. Japan's action was supplemented by the promise of Great Britain to give up Weihaiwei,² thus completing the restoration to China of her ancient province. These and other agreements were intended to end the exploitation of Chinese territory and resources for the benefit of outsiders. They signify, in short, the adoption by foreign nations of a policy of "China for the Chinese."

The Washington Conference did not secure any limitation of naval armament in the shape of cruisers and submarines, nor did it deal at all with the problem presented by the huge land and air forces of the principal countries. The Geneva Protocol attempts to meet this situation. It provides for an International Conference for the Reduction of Armaments, which is scheduled to meet at Geneva in June, 1925. All the states of the world, whether members of the League of Nations or not, will be invited to the conference.

272. Contemporary International Politics

One obvious outcome of the war and the peace settlement was a reduction in the number of the great imperialist powers of Europe. There were six in 1914, but only three in 1924. Austria-Hungary no longer exists as a political entity. Germany, having lost navy, merchant marine, and all overseas possessions, does not at present rank as a factor in world politics. Russia has turned, at least temporarily, from the path of imperialism. On the other

Imperialist
powers of
Europe

¹ See page 769.

² See page 616 and note 1.

hand, Great Britain, France, and Italy all emerged from the war with additional foreign territories. Great Britain obtained the bulk of the German colonies and assumed the government of Palestine and Iraq (Mesopotamia). She confirmed her sovereignty over the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, established a veiled protectorate over the new Arab state of Hejaz, and enlarged her sphere of influence in Persia and Afghanistan. France secured part of the German colonies in Africa, together with the former Turkish province of Syria, and now ranks next to Great Britain as an imperialist power. The gains of Italy abroad were less considerable, though she increased somewhat her three African colonies.

The war gave Japan almost a free hand in the Far East, for her allies were busy elsewhere and China was vexed with internal disorders. Japan used the opportunity thus presented to strengthen her position in southern Manchuria and eastern Mongolia. Both of these territories nominally belong to China. Korea, shortly before the war, had been annexed to the Japanese Empire under the name of Chosen. Japan is now a continental power, with extensive and valuable holdings on the mainland of Asia. Her insular possessions have also been increased as the result of her mandate over the former German colonies north of the equator.

Japan as
an imperialist
power

The United States gained no new territory as a result of the war. Nevertheless, the war marked her coming of age as a world power. The Peace Conference incorporated in the Covenant of the League of Nations a statement that nothing in the Covenant should be deemed to affect the validity of "regional understandings like the Monroe Doctrine," thus giving formal international recognition of the doctrine. At the Washington Conference the United States likewise secured recognition of her special interests in the Pacific and the Far East, because of her possession of the Hawaiian Islands and the Philippines. It was during the war period that the United States purchased the Danish West Indies and set up protectorates over Nicaragua,

The United
States as an
imperialist
power

THE PARTITION OF THE CARIBBEAN

The map illustrates the division of the Caribbean region into three categories of territory:

- United States Territory:** Indicated by a dotted pattern, including Florida, Key West, and parts of the West Indies.
- Protectorates of United States:** Indicated by diagonal hatching, including Havana, Santiago de Cuba, and parts of the West Indies.
- British Territory:** Indicated by horizontal hatching, including Jamaica, the Bahamas, and parts of the West Indies.

Geographical features and locations shown include:

- Gulf of Mexico:** The large body of water to the west of the Caribbean Sea.
- Florida Straits:** The narrow passage between Florida and Cuba.
- Key West, Havana, Santiago de Cuba, Manzanillo, Kingston, San Salvador, Managua, Limón, and Panama:** Major cities and ports.
- Gulf of Campeche, Gulf of Honduras, Gulf of Nicaragua, Gulf of Panama, and Gulf of Darien:** Other significant bodies of water.

Haiti, and Santo Domingo. These developments, in connection with the earlier acquisition of the Panama Canal Zone and Porto Rico and the practical protectorate over Cuba, show clearly that the United States has become dominant in the Caribbean.

The imperialistic policies of European nations have in recent times caused many wars. Leading instances are the South African War (1899-1902), the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905), and the Turko-Italian War (1911-1912). These policies, if persisted in, may cause other wars. We delude ourselves if we suppose that all elements of anxiety have been eliminated from the international situation. There are still danger spots outside of Europe — in North Africa, where Spain, France, and Italy are rivals, in Egypt and the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, in Central Asia, and in China. Meanwhile, the southward expansion of the United States continues to excite apprehension in Latin America. The United States is sometimes represented by Latin Americans as a giant nation destined to absorb during the next century whatever of Mexico, Central America, and the West Indies she has not taken within the last one hundred years. These and other problems presented by modern imperialism are not insoluble. They can be solved if only there is international comity and good will to do so, if, in the words of the late President Harding, the "torches of understanding" can be made "to glow and encircle the globe."

The war and the peace treaties enabled the European map to be redrawn on the basis of national self-determination. Old states were reduced or enlarged, new states were formed, and oppressed or subject peoples received their freedom according to this principle. It could not be recognized in Europe without evoking demands for its recognition outside of Europe. The imperialist powers are now confronted with a nationalist movement in one dependency after another, among black and yellow races, as well as the white race, and among Moslems, Brahmanists, and Buddhists, as well as Christians. Great Britain, so far, has done most to comply with the demands of the nationalists. She ter-

Imperialism
and war

National
self-determi-
nation in the
Orient

minated her protectorate over Egypt in 1922 and proclaimed that country a sovereign state. Iraq, which she supervises under a mandate, has been made a kingdom under an Arab ruler and with a liberal constitution. The Government of India Act, passed by the British Parliament in 1919, accords India representative institutions. It does not completely satisfy the extreme nationalists, led by Mahatma Gandhi and other agitators, who dream of complete Indian independence. The nationalist movement is also penetrating into French Indo-China, into Korea, and into the Philippines.

Radical socialism, or Bolshevism, has not only triumphed in Russia since the war, but has also spread widely in the Orient.

**Bolshevism
in the
Orient**

The Soviet government started out by promising the former Asiatic subjects of Russia complete freedom to set up states of their own. This liberal policy did not last long. It was soon modified by the requirement that the new states accept Bolshevism and affiliate closely with the government at Moscow. The result is seen to-day in the existence throughout the Caucasus, Siberia, and Central Asia of a large number of sovietized provinces and so-called "republics." These are as much under Russian domination as they were in the days of the tsars. The Bolshevik propaganda of communism and atheism, which seeks to undermine the foundations of European civilization, also commends itself to the anti-European elements in such countries as Persia, Afghanistan, India, China, and the East Indies. Like the nationalist movement, with which it is often associated, Bolshevism promises to complicate the future relations of Occident and Orient.

As far as European expansion has been truly an ethnic conquest, it must be permanent. The intrusive whites in South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, and the two Americas have either exterminated the aboriginal inhabitants or else have imposed on them their languages, laws, customs, and religion, together with (in Latin America) a considerable strain of their blood. European expansion in the tropical parts of Africa, Asia, and Oceania means merely political

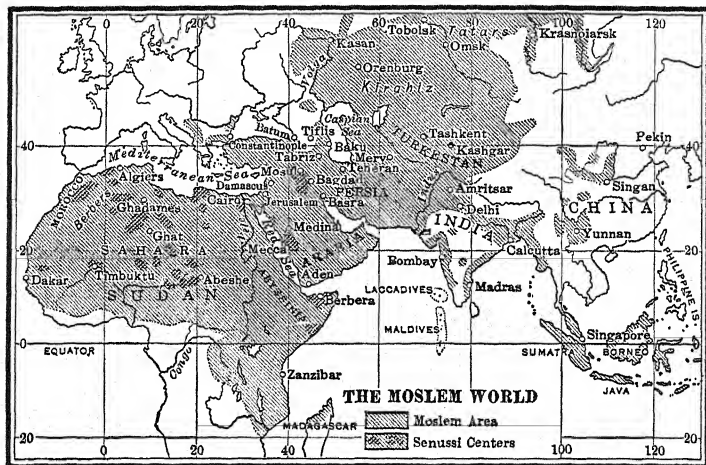
**Future of
imperialism**

conquest, which has no necessary permanence. In the long run — how long a run no one can say — dependent countries not peopled by savage or barbarous tribes seem likely to secure home rule and, ultimately, complete freedom. The World War, which so effectively disposed of the colonial ambitions of both Germany and Russia, the establishment of the League of Nations, with its system of mandates for the government of the former German possessions and Turkish provinces, and the agreements between the great powers at the Washington Conference may result in a wiser and more considerate attitude on the part of imperialist states toward their dependencies.

The relations between Europeans and non-Europeans seem likely to be influenced more and more by the factor of religion. We sometimes forget that Christianity has as yet **The factor of religion** made little impression on the civilized world outside of Europe and America. We do not always realize how numerous are the Moslems of Africa, Asia, and Oceania, the Brahmanists (or Hinduists) in India, and the Buddhists in China, Japan, and other Oriental countries.

Religion, through its use by ambitious rulers or peoples, may assume political importance. Islam has always been feared in this respect, because Moslems are required to convert unbelievers by force, as well as by peaceful **Pan-Islamism** persuasion. It is a fanatical, aggressive religion, which gains every year millions of new followers, not only among the crowded populations of Asia, but also among the negroes of Central Africa. Both yellow men and black men respond to its teachings. Its power is persistent, for no people, once converted to Islam, has ever accepted another faith. The World War produced an immense stirring among Moslems. Spain had trouble in Morocco, France in Syria, and Great Britain in Egypt and India, while all the European powers have been faced by a revived and truculent Turkey. There has even been a movement to unite all the Moslem world, at present divided into many hostile sects, through a program of political solidarity called Pan-Islamism. The movement has not gone far enough to make it likely that Christendom will have to meet some day

another combined attack by the followers of the Prophet, such as Arabs and Turks launched in earlier centuries. Pan-Islamism is not a menace to the peace of the world, but the imperialist states will find it increasingly necessary to adjust their colonial policy to the wishes, and perhaps also the prejudices, of their Moslem subjects.



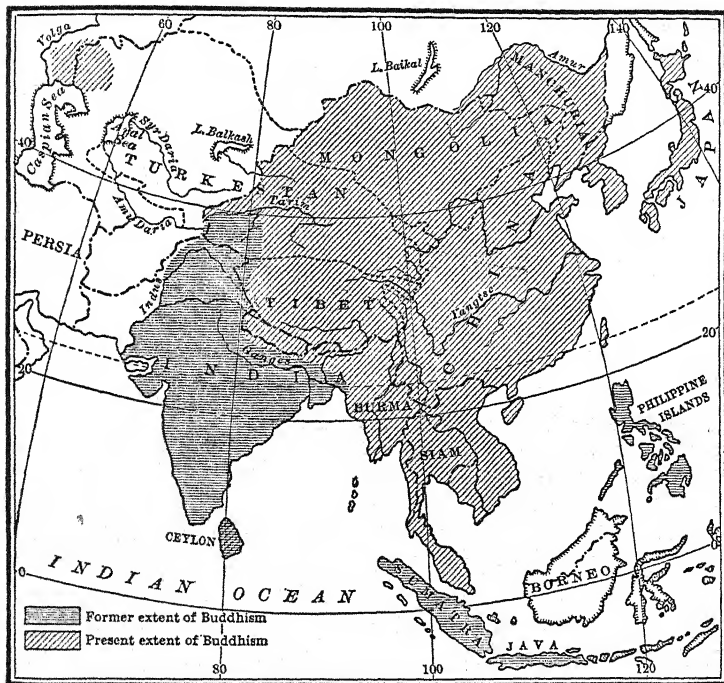
The relations between Europeans and non-Europeans are further affected by the factor of color. Classified by races, the world's population may be roughly estimated as follows: 800,000,000 for the Caucasian or White race; 600,000,000 for the Mongoloid or Yellow race; and 200,000,000 for the Negroid or Black race. While these figures are only approximate, they do show that the yellows and the blacks together equal and possibly outnumber the whites.¹

The World War, in which both yellow men and black men participated, has heightened their racial consciousness. It has made them less ready than before to acquiesce in the white man's claim to superiority on the ground of color. Religious hatreds and Bolshevik propaganda have contributed to the same result, all along the great borderland of

¹ See the map on page 637.

the Occident and Orient from northern Africa to the interior of Asia and still farther east in China and Japan.

Meanwhile, the assumed menace of the "Yellow Peril," as it is called, has led to various restrictions upon the entrance of Orientals into English-speaking countries. This attitude is defended on the general ground that yellow men do not readily assimilate with whites, and on the



EXPANSION OF BUDDHISM

special ground that their lower standard of living enables them to displace whites in the labor market and thus reduces wages or creates unemployment. The United States excluded Chinese as early as 1882 and Japanese as recently as 1924. Legislation to limit or entirely prohibit Oriental immigration has also been adopted by Canada, the Union of South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand. In Latin America, where Chinese and Japanese

are not numerous, the danger from the "Yellow Peril" has seemed too remote to produce a general exclusion movement. It may be noted that Japan herself excludes Chinese laborers, alleging that Chinese can live on less than Japanese and consequently can work for lower wages.

Peaceful intercourse between the Orient and that Occident to which America belongs as much as Europe depends more than ever before on racial concord. If the League of Nations or some similar organization is to be successful, white men, yellow men, and black men must coöperate in the task of making a better world. Not the popular refrain "East is East and West is West," but the Golden Rule and the saying attributed to the Chinese Confucius, "All men between the four seas are brothers," express the true spirit of modern internationalism.

Studies

1. Explain: Pan-American Union, Holy Alliance, Concert of Europe, Hague Tribunal, Covenant of the League of Nations, "World Court," and Geneva Protocol.
2. Mention four leading causes of European wars during the last century. What other causes might be mentioned?
3. Trace the attitude of official Christianity toward war from the first Christian centuries to the present time.
4. What did Lord Bryce mean by saying, "If we do not destroy war, war will destroy us"?
5. What were some of the historical antecedents of the League of Nations?
6. Explain the present organization and functions of the league.
7. Why did not the United States join the league? What other important countries are non-members?
8. How does the Covenant of the league attempt to prevent war between league members?
9. What do you understand by international law? How does it differ from ordinary law?
10. Compare the abolition of private warfare toward the close of the Middle Ages with recent movements to abolish public warfare.
11. How far did the Washington Conference limit armaments?
12. Name the five great imperialist powers of to-day.
13. Discuss briefly some of the problems of contemporary imperialism.
14. How have Oriental countries been affected by nationalist movements and Bolshevist agitation?
15. Comment on the significance in contemporary international politics of the factor of religion and the color factor.

TABLE OF EVENTS AND DATES

- 476 Deposition of Romulus Augustulus. Extinction of the line of Roman emperors in the West.
- 496 Clovis adopted Catholic Christianity. Paved the way for intimate relations between the Franks and the Papacy.
- 529-534 Codification of Roman law. The *Corpus Juris Civilis* formed perhaps the most important contribution of Rome to civilization.
- 622 The Hegira (Flight) of Mohammed from Mecca to Medina. Marks the beginning of the Mohammedan era.
- 732 Battle of Tours. The victory of the Franks under Charles Martel stemmed the farther advance of the Moslems into western Europe.
- 800 Charlemagne crowned Emperor of the Romans. Formation of the so-called Holy Roman Empire.
- 843 Treaty of Verdun and 870 Treaty of Mersen. Marked important stages in the dissolution of Charlemagne's dominions.
- 962 Otto I, the Great, crowned Roman Emperor. Revival of the so-called Holy Roman Empire.
- 982 Greenland discovered by the Northmen.
- 988 Christianity introduced into Russia. The Russians henceforth came under the influence of the Greek Church and Byzantine civilization.
- 1054 Final rupture of the Greek and Roman Churches. Destroyed the religious unity of European Christendom.
- 1066 Battle of Hastings. Resulted in the Norman Conquest of England.
- 1095 Council of Clermont. Beginning of the crusades.
- 1122 Concordat of Worms. A compromise arrangement between the Papacy and the Holy Roman Empire.
- 1206-1227 Conquests of Jenghiz Khan. Brought a large part of Asia and eastern Europe under Mongol sway.
- 1215 Magna Carta. Defined the rights of Englishmen and inspired their later struggles for political liberty.
- 1271-1295 Travels of Marco Polo. Polo's narrative of his travels greatly increased the interest of Europeans in the Far East.
- 1275 "Model Parliament" of Edward I. A Parliament which for the first time included representatives of all classes of the English people.

- 1309-1377 "Babylonian Captivity" of the Papacy. The removal of the popes to Avignon weakened their political authority.
- 1348-1349 Black Death in Europe. Hastened the decline of serfdom and the emancipation of the peasantry.
- 1378-1417 The "Great Schism." Weakened the spiritual supremacy of the popes over western Christendom.
- 1396 Greek first taught at Florence, Italy. The revival of Greek studies in western Europe formed an important aspect of the Renaissance.
- 1453 Constantinople captured by the Ottoman Turks. End of the Byzantine Empire and beginning of the Eastern Question.
- 1456 First book printed at Gutenberg's press in Mainz, Germany.
- 1487 Cape of Good Hope rounded by Diaz. The final step in the Portuguese exploration of the western coast of Africa.
- 1492 Discovery of America by Columbus.
- 1498 India reached by Vasco da Gama. The Portuguese thus opened up an ocean passage from Europe round Africa to the Far East.
- 1517 Luther's Ninety-five Theses posted. Beginning of the Protestant Reformation in Germany.
- 1519-1522 Magellan's circumnavigation of the globe.
- 1543 Publication of Copernicus's treatise "On the Revolution of Celestial Orbits." Resulted in the adoption of an entirely new system of astronomy, by which man's outlook on the universe has been fundamentally changed.
- 1545 Silver mines of Potosi in Bolivia discovered. The output of silver from these mines greatly enlarged the supply of money in western Europe, thus stimulating industrial and commercial enterprise.
- 1545-1563 Council of Trent. An important agency in the Catholic Counter-Reformation.
- 1577-1580 Drake's voyage around the world.
- 1588 Defeat of the Spanish Armada. Gave to England control of the sea and made possible English colonization of North America.
- 1598 Edict of Nantes issued by Henry IV of France. A noteworthy step in the direction of religious toleration.
- 1607 Settlement of Jamestown. The first permanent English colony in America.
- 1611 Authorized Version of the Bible. The translation still in ordinary use among Protestants throughout the English-speaking world.
- 1648 Peace of Westphalia. Ended the religious wars.
- 1687 Newton's "Principia" published. One of the most important contributions ever made to physical science.

- 1688-1689 The "Glorious Revolution." Completed the work of the Puritan Revolution by overthrowing absolutism and divine right in England.
- 1704 Battle of Blenheim. Defeated the attempt of Louis XIV to make France supreme in western Europe.
- 1762 Rousseau's "Social Contract" published. Its democratic teachings were put into effect by the French revolutionists.
- 1763 Peace of Paris. Ended the Seven Years' War and gave to England a colonial empire in India and North America at the expense of France.
- 1768-1779 Voyages of Captain James Cook. Greatly increased geographical knowledge of the Pacific Ocean and its archipelagoes.
- 1769 Arkwright's "water frame," 1770 Hargreaves's "spinning jenny," 1779 Crompton's "mule," and 1785 Cartwright's power loom.
- 1781-1782 Watt's steam engine patented. The steam engine had previously served only for pumping; henceforth it could be applied to manufacturing and transportation.
- 1776 Declaration of Independence.
- 1783 Peace of Paris and Versailles. Ended the War of the American Revolution.
- 1787 Constitution of the United States framed.
- 1789 Meeting of the Estates-General in France. The first step toward the French Revolution.
- 1803 Louisiana Purchase. Made possible a greater United States.
- 1804 The Code Napoléon promulgated. The most lasting memorial of the Napoleonic era.
- 1807 Fulton's steamboat, the "Clermont," in successful operation.
- 1814-1815 Congress of Vienna. Remade the map of Europe after the revolutionary and Napoleonic era.
- 1815 Battle of Waterloo. Brought about the final overthrow of Napoleon Bonaparte.
- 1823 Monroe Doctrine enunciated. Has prevented European interference in the affairs of the New World.
- 1825 Stockton and Darlington Railway opened. The first line over which passengers and freight were carried by steam power.
- 1826 Independence of the Spanish-American colonies recognized by Spain.
- 1830-1831 The "July Revolution" in Europe. Overthrew absolutism and divine right in France and created modern Belgium.
- 1832 Reform Act in Great Britain. The first step in democratizing the British government.
- 1833 Abolition by Great Britain of slavery in the British West Indies.
- 1837 Morse's first telegraph instrument exhibited.

- 1838 The Atlantic Ocean crossed by the "Great Western."
- 1839 Lord Durham's Report. Embodied liberal proposals for colonial self-government, which were subsequently adopted by Great Britain for Canada and other overseas possessions.
- 1848-1849 The "February Revolution" in Europe. Made France again a republic and led to revolutionary upheavals in Italy, Germany, and the Austrian Empire.
- 1851 Crystal Palace Exhibition at London.
- 1854 Treaty between Japan and the United States.
- 1858-1861 Russian serfdom abolished by Alexander II.
- 1863 Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation.
- 1864 International Red Cross Society founded.
- 1866 Atlantic Cable laid.
- 1869 Suez Canal opened.
- 1870 Rome occupied by Italian troops. Unification of Italy completed.
- 1871 German Empire proclaimed at Versailles.
- 1874 International Postal Union established.
- 1875 First telephone patented by A. G. Bell.
- 1899 Meeting of the First Hague Peace Conference.
- 1900 Trans-Siberian Railway completed from Petrograd to Vladivostok.
- 1903 S. P. Langley's airplane and 1908 Wright Brothers' airplane.
- 1909 North Pole reached by Robert E. Peary and 1911 South Pole reached by R. Amundsen.
- 1912 China becomes a republic.
- 1914 Panama Canal opened.
- 1914-1918 World War.
- 1917 The Russian Revolution and establishment of Bolshevism in Russia.
- 1919 Peace Conference at Versailles.
- 1920 First meeting of the League of Nations.
- 1921 Washington Conference on the Limitation of Armament.
- 1922 "World Court" organized.
- 1925 Locarno Pacts.
- 1928 Pact of Paris.
- 1930 London Conference on Limitation of Naval Armament.

INDEX AND PRONOUNCING VOCABULARY

NOTE.—The pronunciation of most proper names is indicated either by a simplified spelling or by their accentuation and division into syllables. The diacritical marks employed are those found in Webster's *New International Dictionary* and are the following:

ā as in <i>āle</i> .	ō as in <i>ōld</i> .	oi as in <i>oil</i> .
â “ “ <i>senāte</i> .	ô “ “ <i>ôbey</i> .	ch “ “ <i>chair</i> .
â “ “ <i>câre</i> .	ô “ “ <i>ôrb</i> .	g “ “ <i>go</i> .
ă “ “ <i>ăm</i> .	ö “ “ <i>ödd</i> .	ng “ “ <i>sing</i> .
ǎ “ “ <i>ǎccount</i> .	ø “ “ <i>søft</i> .	ŋ “ “ <i>ink</i> .
ä “ “ <i>ärm</i> .	ø “ “ <i>cönnect</i> .	th “ “ <i>then</i> .
à “ “ <i>àsk</i> .	û “ “ <i>ûse</i> .	th “ “ <i>thin</i> .
á “ “ <i>sofá</i> .	û “ “ <i>ûnite</i> .	tu “ “ <i>nature</i> .
ē “ “ <i>ēve</i> .	û “ “ <i>ûrn</i> .	du “ “ <i>verdure</i> .
ë “ “ <i>ëvent</i> .	ü “ “ <i>ûp</i> .	κ for ch as in Ger. <i>ich</i> , <i>ach</i> .
ě “ “ <i>ěnd</i> .	ž “ “ <i>circžs</i> .	ŋ as in Fr. <i>bon</i> .
ē “ “ <i>recēnt</i> .	ü “ “ <i>menü</i> .	y “ “ <i>yet</i> .
ě “ “ <i>markēr</i> .	ö “ “ <i>föod</i> .	zh for z as in <i>azure</i> .
ī “ “ <i>īce</i> .	ö “ “ <i>föot</i> .	
ī “ “ <i>īll</i> .	ou “ “ <i>out</i> .	

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